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OLYMPIC
VICTOR LISTS
and
ANCIENT
GREEK HISTORY

Paul Christesen

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OLYMPIC VICTOR LISTS AND ANCIENT GREEK HISTORY

This is the first comprehensive examination of Olympic victor lists. The origins, development, content, and structure of Olympic victor lists are explored and explained, and a number of important questions, such as the source and reliability of the date of 776 for the first Olympics, are addressed. Olympic victor lists emerge as a clearly defined type of literature that has largely escaped the attention of modern-day scholars. This book offers a new perspective on works by familiar writers such as Diodorus Siculus and a sense of the potential importance of less well-known authors such as Phlegon of Tralleis.

Paul Christesen is assistant professor of ancient Greek history at Dartmouth College.

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AND ANCIENT GREEK
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CONTENTS

<i>List of Illustrations</i>	<i>page</i> ix
<i>List of Tables</i>	xi
<i>Preface</i>	xiii
<i>A Note on Terminology, Transliterations, and Editions</i>	xv
1 An Introduction to Olympic Victor Lists	I
1.1 Three Questions	I
1.2 A Brief Introduction to Greek Chronography	8
1.3 A Very Brief Introduction to Panhellenic Athletic Festivals	15
1.4 A Capsule History of <i>Olympionikai</i>	21
2 Hippias of Elis and the First Olympic Victor List	45
2.1 The Authorship and Date of the First Olympic Victor List	46
2.2 Hippias' <i>Olympionikai</i> : Context	51
2.3 Hippias' <i>Olympionikai</i> : Content	57
2.4 An Archival Source for Hippias' Catalog of Olympic Victors? Part One: Background	73
2.5 An Archival Source for Hippias' Catalog of Olympic Victors? Part Two: Documentary Records in Eighth-Century Greece	76
2.6 An Archival Source for Hippias' Catalog of Olympic Victors? Part Three: Inconsistencies in the Dating of Events in the Early History of Olympia	112
2.7 Hippias' Sources	122

2.8	Whence 776?	146
2.9	The Olympic Victor List: An Assessment	157
3	<i>Olympionikon Anagraphai</i> and Standard Catalogs of Olympic Victors	161
3.1	History of the Type	165
3.2	Aristotle's <i>Olympionikon Anagraphe</i>	170
3.3	Eratosthenes' <i>Olympionikon Anagraphe</i>	173
3.4	The Aristotelian <i>Pythionikai</i>	179
3.5	Standard Victor Catalogs	202
3.6	Lists of Athletes with Multiple Olympic Victories	215
3.7	Discontinued Events in the Olympic Program, the Order of Events at Olympia, Contest Rules	220
4	Olympiad Chronographies	228
4.1	Eusebius and His Chronographic Work	232
4.2	Eusebius' <i>Chronographia</i>	240
4.3	The Eusebian Olympic Victor List	243
4.4	The Source of the Eusebian Olympic Victor List	250
4.5	Timaeus of Tauromenium	277
4.6	Dionysius of Halicarnassus	289
4.7	Castor of Rhodes	295
5	Olympiad Chronicles	296
5.1	Philochorus	304
5.2	Ctesicles	307
5.3	Diodorus Siculus	310
5.4	Castor of Rhodes	311
5.5	Dionysius of Halicarnassus	322
5.6	Thallus	322
5.7	Phlegon	326
5.8	<i>POxy XVII 2082</i>	334
5.9	<i>POxy I 12</i>	337
5.10	Cassius Longinus	340
5.11	Dexippus	341
6	Conclusion	348
	<i>Appendices</i>	361
	Appendix 1.1 <i>Scopas</i>	363
	Appendix 1.2 <i>Tiberius Claudius Polybius</i>	364

CONTENTS

<i>Appendix 1.3 Aristodemus of Elis</i>	366
<i>Appendix 2 Hippias of Elis</i>	368
<i>Appendix 3.1 Aristotle's Olympionikon Anagraphe</i>	369
<i>Appendix 3.2 Eratosthenes' Olympionikon Anagraphe</i>	371
<i>Appendix 3.3 The Aristotelian Pythionikai</i>	374
<i>Appendix 3.4 POxy II 222</i>	382
<i>Appendix 3.5 IG II² 2326</i>	385
<i>Appendix 4.1 The Eusebian Olympic Victor List</i>	386
<i>Appendix 4.2 Timaeus of Tauromenium</i>	408
<i>Appendix 4.3 Dionysius of Halicarnassus</i>	410
<i>Appendix 5.1 Philochorus</i>	415
<i>Appendix 5.2 Ctesicles</i>	416
<i>Appendix 5.3 Diodorus Siculus</i>	417
<i>Appendix 5.4 Castor of Rhodes</i>	418
<i>Appendix 5.5 Dionysius of Halicarnassus</i>	433
<i>Appendix 5.6 Thallus</i>	434
<i>Appendix 5.7 Phlegon</i>	437
<i>Appendix 5.8 POxy XVII 2082</i>	445
<i>Appendix 5.9 POxy I 12</i>	448
<i>Appendix 5.10 Cassius Longinus</i>	452
<i>Appendix 5.11 Dexippus</i>	453
<i>Appendix 6 A Catalog of Olympic Victors Before Hippias?</i>	461
<i>Appendix 7 Aristotle on the Foundation of the Olympic Truce and of the Olympic Games</i>	466
<i>Appendix 8 Olympiads and Pankration Victors in Thucydides</i>	468
<i>Appendix 9 More on the Accuracy of Hippias' Olympic Victor Catalog</i>	475
<i>Appendix 10 The Olympic Victor List and the First Messenian War</i>	482
<i>Appendix 11 Memorization and the Olympic Victor List</i>	488
<i>Appendix 12 Hippias' Calculation of the Date of 776</i>	491
<i>Appendix 13 The Spartan King Lists</i>	505
<i>Appendix 14 Variant Olympiad Dating Systems</i>	508
<i>Appendix 15 Menaechmus of Sicyon's Pythikos</i>	514
<i>Appendix 16 The Sicyonian Anagraphe</i>	517
<i>Appendix 17 Relationships between Olympionikai</i>	519
<i>Bibliography</i>	533
<i>General Index</i>	565
<i>Index Locorum</i>	575

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Map of Elis.	<i>page</i> 52
2. Inscription from Olympia listing members of athletic guild who won Olympic victories (Olympia Inv. 1148).	144
3. Entries from Jerome's translation of Eusebius' <i>Chronikoi Kanones</i> for the years equivalent to 1506–1488 BCE (44a–b Helm).	236
4. Entries from Jerome's translation of Eusebius' <i>Chronikoi Kanones</i> for the years equivalent to 704–692 BCE (92a–b Helm).	238
Apx 14.1. Discus from Olympia with dedicatory inscriptions giving alternate numbers for the same Olympiad (255th and 456th) (<i>IvO</i> 240/1).	511

LIST OF TABLES

1. Additions to the Program of Events at Olympia	page 17
2. Terminology for Different Types of <i>Olympionikai</i>	29
3. Known Examples of <i>Olympionikon Anagraphai</i> and Standard Catalogs of Olympic Victors Circulating as Independent Works	39
4. Known Examples of Olympiad Chronographies	40
5. Known Examples of Olympiad Chronicles	41
6. Pisatan Seizures of Olympia	114
7. Victor Lists from Local Athletic Contests	130
8. <i>IG XII 9 952</i>	133
9. Olympia 1148	142
10. Known Examples of <i>Olympionikon Anagraphai</i> and Standard Catalogs of Olympic Victors Circulating as Independent Works	162
11. Probable Contents of Specific <i>Olympionikon Anagraphai</i>	164
12. The <i>Olympionikai</i> and <i>Pythionikai</i> in Lists of Aristotle's Works	200
13. The Structure of Catalogs of Olympic Victors and the Evolution of the Olympic Program	211
14. Known Examples of Olympiad Chronographies	231
15. Ordering of Greek Chronographic Material in Eusebius' <i>Chronographia</i>	254
16. The Eusebian Source List (<i>Chronographia</i> 125.6–24 Karst) and Explicit Citations in the <i>Chronographia</i> of the Authors in that List	260
17. Source Citations Pertaining to Secular History in Eusebius' <i>Chronikoi Kanones</i>	262
18. Known Examples of Olympiad Chronicles	300

LIST OF TABLES

19. Sources and Subjects of the Shorter Fragments of Castor's <i>Olympionikai</i>	314
Apx 3.1. Pythiad Dates in the Pindaric Scholia	377
Apx 13.1. The Spartan King Lists: Agiads	505
Apx 13.2. The Spartan King Lists: Eurypontids	506
Apx 17.1. Overlap in Victor Listings in Extant <i>Olympionikai</i>	528

PREFACE

In the course of bringing this project to completion I have been immeasurably aided by more individuals than I can properly thank. The Class of 1962 at Dartmouth College generously provided a fellowship that made it possible to carry out much of the research for this book. I was also fortunate to spend a summer as a Margo Tytus scholar at the Department of Classics at the University of Cincinnati and to make use of their wonderful facilities.

Numerous people, most notably Michael Flower, Mark Golden, Donald Kyle, Alden Mosshammer, Max Nelson, Kurt Raaflaub, and Zara Torlone, have taken the time to read earlier drafts and to make suggestions that contributed markedly to the final product. My colleagues in the Department of Classics at Dartmouth, Margaret Graver, Jeremy Rutter, Roberta Stewart, Jim Tatum, Hakan Tell, and Roger Ulrich, also provided helpful comments for which I am most grateful. Along the way I have received advice on specific points and assistance from Richard Burgess, Dominic Machado, Susannah Maurer, Elliot May, Sarah Murray, Peter Siewert, Michael Stone, Elizabeth Sullivan, Meg Sullivan, and Christoph Ulf. William Stoddard edited the manuscript and notably improved it in the process. Peter Katsirubas was immensely helpful in shepherding the manuscript through the various stages of publication. The debt I owe to my family in general and my parents in particular defies simple expression but is no doubt well known to readers from their own experience. Finally, special thanks are due to my wife, Cecilia, for her unswerving patience and support.

Hanover, New Hampshire
February 17, 2007

A NOTE ON TERMINOLOGY, TRANSLITERATIONS, AND EDITIONS

This book is aimed primarily at scholars who specialize in classical antiquity, but I have made an effort throughout to ensure that the narrative is as accessible as possible to a broader audience. In the interests of brevity, I have refrained from explaining terms and abbreviations that might be unfamiliar to nonspecialists but that can be found in the standard reference book for all things Greek and Roman, the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*. I have supplied definitions of terms not found in the *OCD* in notes to the main text. Both specialists and nonspecialists will want to consult Section 1.4 for discussion of the terminology used to distinguish different kinds of Olympic victor lists.

Much of the evidence for Olympic victor lists consists of fragments.¹ In collections such as Felix Jacoby's *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* (*FGrH*) and Karl Müller's *Fragmenta Historicum Graecorum* (*FHG*), a fragment is considered to be either a verbatim quote from a lost text or a reference that makes clear the content of a piece of a lost text. Jacoby also compiled what he called *testimonia*, which provide evidence for an author's biographical details and corpus. Throughout the discussion that follows, the terms *fragment* and *testimonium* are employed in accordance with the usages of Jacoby and Müller.

All dates are BCE unless otherwise specified. In some cases dates are cited in a split-year format, such as 884/3. This is a necessary convention because both Olympiads and Athenian archon years, two of the basic time-reckoning systems used by ancient Greeks, began in

¹ On the difficulties involved in using fragments to reconstruct original works, see Baron 2006, 1–14 and *passim*; Brunt 1980; and the articles assembled in Most 1997.

the summer and hence straddle two Julian years. Some events dated on the basis of Olympiads or Athenian archons can be assigned to a specific point in time and hence to a specific Julian year. In other cases, that is not possible, and the date is indicated in a split-year format.

All translations of ancient Greek sources are those of this author unless otherwise specified. Greek names have been transliterated in such a way as to be as faithful as possible to original spellings while taking into account established usages for well-known people and places. Unless otherwise specified, all ancient Greek texts are taken from the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* (TLG), and authors' names are spelled as in the TLG. The latter practice, in combination with the transliteration system used here, can have the unfortunate effect of producing variant spellings for homonyms, such as King Theopompos of Sparta and Theopompus of Chios. I have, nonetheless, employed the spellings from the TLG because many of the authors cited below are sufficiently obscure to make easy reference to the TLG desirable. I have also adopted the titles for individual works suggested by the TLG. Many of those titles are Latinized (e.g., Pausanias' guide to Greece is given the appellation *Graeciae Descriptio*). This custom has the weight of tradition behind it, but is not without its problems. When dealing with works not specifically listed in the TLG, I have as a rule directly transliterated the Greek title. It is, unfortunately, impossible to achieve complete consistency in transliterating the names of people, places, authors, and works without detaching oneself completely from earlier conventions or ruthlessly Latinizing all Greek names and words.

All citations pertaining to Eusebius' *Chronographia*, with the exception of the Greek version of the Olympic victor list found in that work, refer to the 1911 translation of Josef Karst. All citations of line numbers in the Greek version of Eusebius' Olympic victor list refer to the text printed in Appendix 4.1. All citations pertaining to Jerome's translation of Eusebius' *Chronikoi Kanones* refer to the second edition of Rudolf Helm's *Die Chronik des Hieronymus*.²

² Helm 1956. On the intricacies of properly citing Jerome's translation of the *Chronikoi Kanones*, see Burgess 2002.

The texts of inscriptions and papyri are marked in accordance with the Leiden system, which can be briefly summarized as follows:

$\alpha\beta$.	Letters that survive in part, but not sufficiently to exclude alternative readings
[$\alpha\beta$]	Letters not now preserved that the editors believe to have been part of the original text
{ $\alpha\beta$ }	Letters inscribed/written in error by the cutter/scribe and deleted by the editors
< $\alpha\beta$ >	Letters supplied by the editors because the cutter/scribe either omitted them or inscribed/wrote other letters in error
($\alpha\beta$)	Letters supplied by the editors to fill out an abbreviation in the text as transmitted
[[$\alpha\beta\gamma\delta$.[$\epsilon\zeta$]]	A passage that has been erased and can [or cannot] now be read
[. . .]	Lost letters that cannot be restored, of the number indicated
[- - - -]	A lacuna or space of indeterminate size
^v	One letter-space uninscribed
<i>vacat</i>	(Remainder of) line uninscribed/left blank ³

Series of letters that are capitalized indicate places where the reading of the letters is clear, but the meaning is not.

³ The descriptions given here are taken from Rhodes and Osborne 2003, xxv–xxvi.

I

AN INTRODUCTION TO OLYMPIC VICTOR LISTS

I.1. THREE QUESTIONS

For on the day of judgement the Holy One will judge his world as it says, “For by fire will the Lord execute judgement.” And the fire will increase to fifteen cubits above Mt. Tabor, and above the highest of all mountains, the mountain called Olympus. For from that mountain the Greeks made the reckoning of the Olympiads. For each four years they would ascend Mount Olympus, and they would write their victories in the dust of the soft earth which was on the mountain. (*Signs of the Judgement*, Hebrew version, 257r.3–8)¹

The anonymous Christian author who wrote *Signs of the Judgement* eloquently expresses, albeit in a poetic and slightly confused way, the importance ancient Greeks attached to recording the names of victors in the Olympic Games. Indeed, Olympic victor lists were documents of considerable importance in the ancient world. Nevertheless, they remain largely unknown even among classicists. It may be helpful, therefore, to begin by answering three basic questions I have been repeatedly asked during the time that I have worked on this project: What, exactly, was an Olympic victor list? What sort of textual evidence is available? Why are Olympic victor lists of more than passing interest?

In its original and most basic form, an Olympic victor list was a cumulative catalog of victors at the Olympic Games. These catalogs began with the Olympics held in the year corresponding to 776 BCE

¹ The translation is taken from Stone 1981, which should also be consulted for information on date and authorship.

and continued to the time they were compiled. Hippias of Elis assembled the first Olympic victor list sometime around 400 as part of a larger work on the history of Olympia and the Olympic Games. By the Roman period, Olympic victor lists covered more than 200 Olympiads and contained the names of well over 2,000 athletes. Information about individual Olympic victors appeared in other types of literature such as local histories of Elis and treatises on athletic contests. It is, however, important to avoid conflating works that include scattered information about specific athletes with those that contain cumulative catalogs of Olympic victors. To do so would be to group together a large number of texts that have little in common. Only those works that offer catalogs of victors for multiple Olympiads can properly be described as Olympic victor lists.²

Olympic victor lists would have remained little more than a curiosity had it not been for the fact that Olympiads proved to be a convenient means of reckoning time. Starting in the fourth century, numbered Olympiads and the names of victors in the *stadion* (a short footrace) at those Olympiads became the basis of a widely used system for identifying individual years. As a result, the Olympic victor list became a useful, chronologically ordered framework that was utilized by both chronographers and historians. Chronographers took the Olympic victor list and added the names of magistrates and kings that served as the bases of other dating systems. Historians added notes about important events that took place during each Olympiad. Numerous different versions of the Olympic victor list came into being as successive chronographers and historians updated the catalog of victors and made choices about how much and what kind of information to attach. Some sense of the varied nature of Olympic victor lists can be had from the fact that the

² Historical works based on numbered Olympiads without named Olympic victors are for obvious reasons not discussed here. The most well-known example of such a work is Polybius' *Historiae*, in which each Olympiad is generally covered in two books and in which numbered Olympiads are used as date markers on numerous occasions. Polybius does not, however, name the corresponding Olympic victors, so the *Historiae* is not an Olympic victor list. On the structure of the *Historiae*, see Marincola 2001, 116–24. Another relevant example can be found in the *Historiae* of Posidonius, who probably organized his historical work in the same fashion as Polybius. See Malitz 1983, 60–74.

shortest version took up less than a single book, whereas the longest versions occupied twenty books or more.³ Ancient Greeks used the word *Olympionikai* to describe Olympic victor lists of all varieties, and these two terms are used interchangeably here.

The history of Olympic victor lists extends from the work of Hippias of Elis in the late fifth century BCE to that of Panodoros in the beginning of the fifth century CE.⁴ The roster of authors who are known to have written *Olympionikai* includes Aristotle, Cassius Longinus, Castor of Rhodes, Ctesicles of Athens, Dexippus of Athens, Diodorus Siculus, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Eratosthenes, Eusebius of Caesarea, Hippias, Panodoros, Philochorus of Athens, Phlegon of Tralleis, Scopas, Sextus Julius Africanus, Thallus, and Timaeus of Tauromenium. The large number of *Olympionikai* that were compiled and their wide circulation is evident from the fact that the extensive papyrus finds from Oxyrhynchus in Egypt, an unexceptional city on the edge of the Greek world, include three different Olympic victor lists.

Only a fraction of the *Olympionikai* produced by ancient authors has come down to us, but the sum total of the extant text is nonetheless considerable. The *Olympionikai* of Eusebius, Diodorus Siculus, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus survive in something close to their original form. The only complete Olympic victor list extant is the catalog of winners in the *stadion* at Olympiads 1–249 found in Eusebius' *Chronographia*.⁵ Diodorus' *Bibliotheca Historica* originally supplied the

³ Because most Olympic victor lists survive in a fragmentary state, we are largely dependent on statements by ancient authors for information about their length. Those statements typically do nothing more than specify a number of books. The length of a book in an ancient prose work was generally in the neighborhood of 2,000 lines. There was, however, considerable variation, with the shortest books running to about 1,100 lines, the longest to more than 5,500. Even within individual works books could vary widely in length. Book 6 of Pausanias' *Graeciae Descriptio* contains 2,500 lines, Book 8 4,172. On book lengths, see Birt 1959 (1882), 307–41.

⁴ Panodoros worked with his contemporary Annianos, but the precise nature of their association remains unclear. In the interests of simplicity, their joint efforts are here ascribed solely to Panodoros. For further discussion, see Sections 4.1–4.

⁵ Eusebius produced a chronographic study in two books called the *Chronika*. The books were almost independent works, so each had its own preface and title. The first book was called the *Chronographia*, the second the *Chronikoi Kanones*. The Olympic victor list appeared only in the *Chronographia*.

names of *stadion* victors in the first 180 Olympiads, but the preserved sections of the work cover only the mythological period (before the beginning of the Olympics) and the 75th to the 119th Olympiads. Dionysius' *Antiquitates Romanae* originally supplied the names of *stadion* victors in the 68th to 129th Olympiads, but the preserved sections of the work end in the 85th Olympiad.⁶ We also have lengthy fragments of *Olympionikai* by Castor, Phlegon, and the anonymous authors of *POxy* I 12, II 222, and XVII 2082. Numerous short fragments from about fifteen other *Olympionikai* are extant.

Olympic victor lists are of great interest to the modern scholar for five reasons. First, *Olympionikai* constitute a particular, well-defined type of literary work that has heretofore received little attention. Olympic victor lists came into being at a relatively late date and were never intended for performance, so it would be inappropriate to identify them as constituting a distinct literary genre, as that term is currently understood.⁷ At the same time, *Olympionikai* served a specific range of functions and were a recognized and recognizable type of text with an expected constellation of features. There is, however, a tendency to treat each version of the Olympic victor list separately or in relation to one or two other such works, rather than collectively. Careful study of the surviving fragments of *Olympionikai* as a group makes it possible to add a small but important dimension to the current understanding of ancient Greek literary activity.

Second, Olympic victor lists present intriguing interpretive possibilities, many of which have never been properly explored. Among Foucault's intellectual legacies is the now widely accepted belief that the way humans organize and present knowledge reflects and affects their understanding of the world around them and the power structures of the society in which they live. More specifically, texts that systematize knowledge necessarily impose an order on the material they contain, an order that enshrines a particular worldview. *Olympionikai*, especially those *Olympionikai* that included historical

⁶ The last *stadion* victor named is Crison, in the 83rd Olympiad. Fragments of the missing sections of both Diodorus' and Dionysius' histories survive, but not enough to complete their victor lists.

⁷ On ancient and modern definitions of genre, see Conte 1994, 105–28. On genre in ancient historiography, see Marincola 1999.

notices, were by their very nature a means of systematizing knowledge. Olympic victor lists were structured in such a way as to create a uniform, endlessly extensible temporal grid based on the Olympic Games, which were a powerful symbol of Hellenic tradition and identity throughout classical antiquity. As a result, *Olympionikai* had a special attraction for authors of the Hellenistic and Roman periods interested in the relationship between past and present, Greek and non-Greek. What might seem to be a simple literary form can thus offer important insights into evolving *mentalités*.⁸

Third, *Olympionikai* were one of the means by which literate Greeks familiarized themselves with recent events in the Mediterranean basin. In the era before the printing press or electronic communications, there was a need for compact summaries of important happenings that could be easily updated.⁹ This need was felt with particular urgency among Greeks, who were dispersed over an unusually large geographical area. The Greeks, like other premodern, literate cultures, responded by producing simply organized historical chronicles, and the Olympic victor list proved to be very useful for this purpose.¹⁰ The resulting chronicles were organized on a strictly chronological basis and were internally divided on the basis of Olympiads. It was difficult to produce such a work with a larger narrative structure and clear ending. As Hayden White has noted, “The chronicle . . . often seems to wish to tell a story, aspires to narrativity, but typically fails to achieve it. More specifically, the chronicle usually is marked by a failure to achieve narrative closure. It does not so much conclude as simply terminate . . . *in medias res*, in the chronicler’s own present. . . .”¹¹ The absence of a clear narrative structure was advantageous in that new chronicles organized around Olympiads could be quickly produced by copying some or all of the contents of earlier accounts and adding more recent

⁸ For a discussion of the relevant parts of Foucault’s work, see Smart 1985, 18–70. For the intellectual background to Foucault’s work, see Burke 2000, 1–17. For a discussion of the potential interpretive importance of systematizing texts from classical antiquity, see König 2005, 1–44.

⁹ On the dissemination of information in the classical world, see Lewis 1992 and Riepl 1913.

¹⁰ For one significant comparandum, see Spiegel 1978 on chronicle writing in medieval France.

¹¹ White 1987, 5.

information to the end. We have fragments from twelve historical chronicles of this sort, and it is clear that they were quite popular in the ancient world. As a result, an exploration of Olympic victor lists can provide a glimpse of one of the ways Greeks learned about their world.

Fourth, Olympic victor lists were the basis of a widely used time-reckoning system and thus are critical to our understanding of the chronological underpinnings of Greek history. The reliability of the early parts of the Olympic victor list was the subject of vigorous, but ultimately inconclusive, debate in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Scholarship that has appeared since that time makes it possible to revisit this debate and to resolve many previously contentious issues such as the source of the date of 776 for the first Olympics. These issues are of potentially great significance because minor changes in our understanding of chronology can have major interpretive ramifications that impinge on such disparate issues as the conquest of Messenia by the Spartans and the introduction of athletic nudity. Finally, Olympic victor lists are a key source of information about the history of Greek athletics, a subject of enduring interest to both scholars and the general public.

Given the importance of *Olympionikai* and the large amount of textual evidence that is available, one might think that Olympic victor lists would have been the subject of monographic treatment in the past. In fact, no such treatment has ever been produced, nor have all the extant fragments of *Olympionikai* ever been collected in a single publication.¹² The reasons for this are not entirely clear, but they would at minimum include the fact that a thorough study of the Olympic victor lists requires a firm grounding in both Greek chronology and the history of Greek athletics. Felix Jacoby, for instance, demurred writing a detailed study of Hippias' *Olympionikai* on the grounds that such a study would require a full consideration of the *Grundlagen* of Greek chronology.¹³ The quantity and quality of the scholarly literature

¹² Luigi Moretti assembled a list of the names of all known Olympic victors but did not print the source texts on which his list is based (Moretti 1957).

¹³ Jacoby 1923–58, 3b1: 223. The emphasis that Jacoby and others placed on the work of the fifth-century “founders” of Greek historiography has probably also contributed to the neglect of *Olympionikai*. For the importance of Jacoby and his predecessor Eduard

on chronology and on athletics have improved considerably in the past half century, removing what may have been perceived as an insuperable obstacle.

Most of the important scholarly literature on Olympic victor lists consists of short studies dating to the period before World War II. The standard treatments remain the ten pages that Julius Jüthner devoted to *Olympionikai* in his 1909 commentary on Philostratus' *De Gymnastica* and the surprisingly brief discussion found in Jacoby's *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*.¹⁴ The one aspect of Olympic victor lists that has attracted continuing attention from scholars, the first of whom was none other than Isaac Newton, has been the reliability of the names and dates in the early parts of the list. Articles continue to appear on this subject, but the parameters of the debate have not changed significantly in close to a century, and recent work has done little more than stir up old embers.

The time is ripe, therefore, for a systematic study of Olympic victor lists. *Olympionikai* have remained largely unknown in no small part due to the scattering of the relevant texts and scholarship in publications that have appeared over the course of more than two centuries. My goal in writing this book has been to bring together all of this material and to present it in a fashion that enables readers to work through it with relative ease. This is an overtly preliminary study that makes no claim to exhausting the interpretive possibilities of Olympic victor lists. Rather, my hope is that this book will facilitate future research on *Olympionikai*.

Before proceeding further, a few words on organization are in order. The remainder of this chapter supplies brief introductions to Greek chronography (Section 1.2) and to Panhellenic athletic festivals (1.3), a basic understanding of which is a prerequisite for any serious discussion

Schwartz in enshrining a relatively negative view of Hellenistic historiography, see Strasburger 1977. Another possible factor is the tendency to value narrative history over chronicles, on which see White 1987, 1–25.

¹⁴ Jüthner 1909, 60–70 and Jacoby 1923–58, 3b1: 221–8. Gustav Gilbert's treatise on Olympic victor lists is at points strikingly insightful (Gilbert 1875). It is, however, only ten pages long and is thoroughly out of date because it was written before the excavations at Olympia and the publication of the papyrus finds from Oxyrhynchus. Bengtson's brief but widely cited comments on Olympic victor lists derive directly from Jüthner (Bengtson 1983, 21–5).

of Olympic victor lists. Those knowledgeable in these areas may find it expedient to move directly to Section 1.4, which contains a capsule history of Olympic victor lists and samples of different types of *Olympionikai*. Chapter 2 offers a detailed study of Hippias' *Olympionikai*, including the sources on which Hippias drew in compiling his victor catalog and hence the reliability of the early parts of the Olympic victor list. Chapter 3 treats *Olympionikai* that included both a victor catalog and extensive material on Olympia and the Olympic Games. Chapter 4 examines Olympic victor lists compiled by chronographers; Chapter 5 focuses on Olympic victor lists compiled by historians. Chapter 6 returns to the question of why *Olympionikai* repay careful attention. The reasons for arranging the material in this manner are discussed in Section 1.4.

A collection of all the known fragments of Olympic victor lists and the relevant testimonia can be found in Appendices 1 through 5. In order to avoid repetition, the fragments of *Olympionikai* treated in the main text are for the most part given in English translation only. References to the appropriate appendices are supplied to guide the reader to the Greek text. Appendices 6 through 15 contain treatments of various technical issues. I have placed this material in appendices because it supports and supplements the discussion in the main text while being sufficiently removed from the primary narrative as to be potentially distracting. Here again appropriate references are supplied to guide the reader.

1.2. A BRIEF INTRODUCTION TO GREEK CHRONOGRAPHY

Prior to the fifth century, Greeks did not have any system of absolute chronology that was used beyond the boundaries of a single *polis*.¹⁵ Moreover, even systems used only within individual *poleis* were

¹⁵ A system of absolute chronology consists of an uninterrupted series of time units, each occupying a known, fixed span, and thus provides a uniform chronological scale. See Bickerman 1980, 62–79. The overview of the development of time-reckoning systems in ancient Greece given here is based on Ginzel 1906–14, 2: 350–60; Holford-Strevens 2005, 108–30; Mosshammer 1979, 84–127; and Samuel 1972, 189–248.

rare or perhaps nonexistent through the entirety of the Archaic period.¹⁶ Indeed, Alden Mosshammer has argued that “there was not . . . a sense of historical time at all” before the fifth century.¹⁷ Starting at the end of the sixth century, Greeks began showing an interest in developing systems capable of clearly quantifying temporal distance. Sometime around 500 Hecataeus of Miletus published his *Genealogiai*, which presented a rationalized account of the progression of generations in Greek myth. By establishing generational relationships among various mythological and historical figures, Hecataeus placed those figures into a chronological relationship. Although generational reckoning was a blunt instrument, the imposition of a fixed sequence of generations represented a major advance in imposing a uniform temporal grid on past and present.¹⁸

The next significant step was taken in the last third of the fifth century, when Greek communities began to identify individual years by reference to the name of an eponymous magistrate. The calculation of temporal distance between two events required a continuous list of magistrates so that the number of intervening eponyms could be counted. Most *poleis* eventually marked years on the basis of eponyms. This produced a bewildering array of time-reckoning arrangements, because each *polis* used its own magistrates as a reference point.

The multiplicity of eponym systems presented a serious problem for Greek authors interested in specifying dates in a fashion

¹⁶ Ancient Greek history is frequently divided by modern scholars into the following periods: Geometric (900–700 BCE), Archaic (700–480), Classical (480–323), and Hellenistic (323–31).

¹⁷ Mosshammer 1979, 85. The development in ancient Greece of what Mosshammer calls a sense of historical time has been the subject of much discussion. See Möller and Luraghi 1995 and Momigliano 1977, 179–204.

¹⁸ On the mechanics of generational reckoning in ancient Greece, see Ball 1979; den Boer 1954, 5–54; and Prakken 1943, 1–48. Generational reckoning remained important even after the development of more precise means of measuring time because of the need to assign dates on a *post eventum* basis. On this subject, see Burn 1935. The chronographic significance of Hecataeus’ work is a subject of some debate. Meyer believed that Hecataeus used generational relationships to date events (Meyer 1892, 1: 169–88). A number of scholars, including most recently Bertelli, have argued that Hecataeus did not exploit the chronographic potential of his genealogies. On Hecataeus, see Bertelli 2001; Hornblower 1994, 7–16; Jacoby 1912; and the bibliography cited therein.

comprehensible to large numbers of readers. One solution was to utilize the names of officials from three particularly influential communities, Sparta, Athens, and Argos, all of which seem to have developed eponym-based time-reckoning systems at an early date. Spartans began identifying years using the names of their ephors shortly after 440, and a list of Spartan kings and ephors was compiled, possibly by Charon of Lampsacus, at about this time. The Athenians employed the names of their archons for this purpose, and the Athenian archon list was inscribed on marble *stelai* and put on display in the agora sometime in the last quarter of the fifth century. In the second half of the fifth century, Hellanicus of Lesbos assembled a continuous list of the priestesses of Hera at Argos and specified the number of years that each priestess held the office. For each year thus defined, he listed events that took place in various parts of Greece.¹⁹

It is against this background that the initial compilation of the Olympic victor list must be understood. Hippias compiled the first complete list of Olympic victors sometime around 400. Hippias' catalog of Olympic victors was probably framed around an unnumbered series of *stadion* victors who functioned as eponyms, the same format used for the lists of Spartan ephors, Athenian archons, and priestesses of Hera. A fragment of the historian Philistus of Syracuse shows that Olympic *stadion* victors were being used as chronological referents in the first half of the fourth century. This indicates that the chronographic potential of Hippias' list of *stadion* victors was rapidly exploited.²⁰

Once various systems of absolute dating had been established, it became necessary to clarify the relationship among those systems so that dates expressed in one fashion could be compared with those expressed in another. This was accomplished in the late fourth or early third century by Timaeus of Tauromenium who, according to Polybius, "matches the ephors with the kings of Sparta starting from the earliest times and sets the lists of Athenian archons and priestesses of Argos alongside the list of Olympic victors..." (12.11.1; see Appendix 4.2 for the Greek text).

¹⁹ See Section 2.5 for further discussion of eponym lists and relevant bibliography.

²⁰ See Sections 2.1 and 2.5 for further discussion of the Philistus fragment.

The chronological system based on Olympiads eventually became predominant.²¹ In part this was because Olympiads enjoyed the advantage of Panhellenic appeal and immediate familiarity. Another contributing factor was the innovation of numbering the Olympiads that was introduced by Aristotle in the second half of the fourth century.²² Numeration made it possible to calculate the temporal distance between events without consulting the full list of eponyms and engaging in laborious counting.²³ The names of eponymous *stadion* victors continued to be used, in conjunction with numbered Olympiads, because the pairing of name and number helped prevent the corruption of the alphabetic numerals found in Greek manuscripts. Name and number could be checked against each other to ensure accuracy. This in turn meant that the Olympic victor list continued to be of considerable importance despite the advent of numbered Olympiads. It is important to keep in mind that Olympiad dates were used primarily in literary sources, particularly by historians and chronographers. Individual communities continued to maintain their own eponym systems, which were the basic time referents employed in documents such as laws and honorary decrees.²⁴

²¹ The Pythiads and Nemeads (though evidently not the Isthmiads) were eventually numbered, but the iterations of these contests were not used to date historical events. (On the numeration of the Pythiads, see Section 3.4. On the numeration of the Nemeads and not the Isthmiads, see Section 2.5.) There is a single use of the Actia games, which were founded by Augustus and which, like the Olympics, were held every four years, to date a historical event. In *De Bello Judaico* Josephus writes, "After the first Actiad, Caesar added to Herod's kingdom the area called Trachonitis . . ." (1.398.1). This must reflect a failed attempt to install Actiads as a parallel to or replacement for Olympiads.

²² See Sections 3.2 and 3.4 for more on Aristotle's *Olympionikai*.

²³ Consider, for example, someone in what we would designate as 400 BCE who was interested in learning how long ago the Battle of Salamis had been fought and who knew that it took place during the archonship of Calliades in Athens and that this corresponded to the first year of the 75th Olympiad (480 BCE). If he used the archon date, he needed to locate a continuous list of Athenian archons, start with the current archon, and carefully count each of the eighty intervening names. Matters were much simpler if he used the Olympiad date because all he needed to know was that it was currently the first year of the 95th Olympiad in order to figure out that Salamis had been fought 80 years earlier.

²⁴ The growth of larger political units such as the Hellenistic kingdoms led to the development of dating systems that were used over large areas and that either supplemented or supplanted local time-reckoning arrangements. The Seleucids, for instance, employed a system that numbered years from the restoration of Seleucus to power in Babylon.

The dominance of Olympiad dating in literary contexts was also due in part to Eratosthenes of Cyrene (c. 285–c. 195). Eratosthenes produced an *Olympionikai* and a chronographic study called the *Peri Chronographion*. The latter was an extremely influential work that formed the basis of all subsequent chronographic endeavors in the Greek world. The *Peri Chronographion* provided dates for a wide range of important people and events in Greek history based on numbered Olympiads. In employing Olympiads Eratosthenes had to confront two problems. First, the *Peri Chronographion* began with the Trojan War and thus well before any possible date for the first Olympiad. Eratosthenes solved this problem by using the Spartan king list as the chronological frame for the period stretching from the Trojan War to the first Olympiad. Second, Olympiads were held every four years, and thus were not as precise a chronological indicator as annual eponymous magistrates. The solution adopted by Eratosthenes was to subdivide each Olympiad into years 1 through 4. An illustrative example of the resulting system can be found in Dionysius of Halicarnassus' *Antiquitates Romanae*, in a passage that explores the date of the founding of Rome:

With respect to the final settlement or founding of Rome or whatever it should be called, Timaeus . . . says that it took place at the same time as the founding of Carthage, in the thirty-eighth year before the first Olympiad. . . . Porcius Cato does not make use of Greek chronological systems, but . . . declares that it occurred 432 years after the Trojan War. This year, according to the *Peri Chronographion* of Eratosthenes, corresponds to the first year of the 7th Olympiad. (1.74.1–2; see Appendix 4.3 for the Greek text)

Eratosthenes reinforced the importance of the Olympiads in general, and of the first Olympiad and the corresponding date of 776 in particular, by using the first Olympiad as a critical epoch. He divided the history of the world into three parts, the “obscure” period (stretching from creation to the Flood), the mythical period (from the Flood to the first Olympiad), and the historical period (everything after the first Olympiad).²⁵ This division was widely accepted, and so 776 became

²⁵ On Eratosthenes' eras, see Censorinus, *De Die Natali* 21.1–3, as well as Jacoby's comments on this passage (Jacoby 1923–58, 2d: 709–10). Astrid Möller has recently argued that Jacoby was wrong in believing that the Censorinus passage cited above reflects

the epoch that separated history from myth. Numerous modern scholars continue to identify 776 as the first firm chronological point in Greek history.²⁶

Apollodorus of Athens (c. 180–c. 110) continued Eratosthenes' work in the *Chronika*, a treatise written in iambic trimeters. Apollodorus' work differed from that of Eratosthenes in that it was built around Athenian archons rather than numbered Olympiads. The reasons for this change are not entirely clear, but probably had something to do with Apollodorus' Athenian extraction and the fact that archon names fit more easily than Olympiad numbers into verse. The *Chronika* was complex and unwieldy and so was not widely used, but the dates contained therein were almost immediately summarized in chronological handbooks that enjoyed a great deal of popularity. Many of these handbooks deviated from the original in that dates were expressed in Olympiads, almost certainly under the influence of Eratosthenes' work. The Athenian archon list did, however, remain important in chronological systems, and a composite approach, utilizing both Olympiads and Athenian archons, was frequently employed.²⁷

With the absorption of Greece into the Roman sphere of influence, it became necessary to synchronize Greek and Roman time-reckoning systems. Eventually, a dating system using Olympiads, Athenian archons, and Roman consuls came into being. Diodorus Siculus, for instance, starts his account of the first year of the 108th Olympiad (348 BCE) as follows:

Theophilos held the archonship in Athens, Gaius Sulpicius and Gaius Quintius were appointed consuls in Rome, and the 108th Olympiad was held, in which Polycles of Cyrene won the *stadion*. (16.53.1)

Eratosthenes' ideas (Möller 2005). She suggests instead that Wolfram Ax may be right in arguing that the threefold division of time in Censorinus ultimately derived from Castor of Rhodes (Ax 2000, 359). However one chooses to read the evidence, there can be no doubt that ancient chronographers used Olympiad 1 as an important dividing line between the periods of myth and of history.

²⁶ See, for example, the second edition of Oswyn Murray's *Early Greece*, in which 776 is marked as the first date in Greek history derived from chronologically reliable lists (Murray 1993, 310).

²⁷ On Apollodorus and his work, see the bibliography cited in n. 15, as well as Jacoby 1902a, 1–74 and *passim*.

The spread of Christianity created new challenges. Christians needed to incorporate the events recounted in the Hebrew scriptures into extant chronological systems. They also wished to demonstrate that Biblical history considerably antedated anything Greek. Theophilus of Antioch, whose work dates to the second half of the second century CE and who was one of the earlier Christian chronographers, puts it succinctly in his *Ad Autolycum*:

From the compilation of the periods of time and from all that has been said, the antiquity of the prophetic writings and the divine nature of our message are obvious. This message is not recent in origin, nor are our writings, as some suppose, mythical and false. They are actually more ancient and more trustworthy.²⁸ (3.29, trans. Robert Grant)

Christian chronographers necessarily concerned themselves with earlier time reckoning systems, including Olympiads, to which they needed to refer to make themselves understood.

Christian chronography rapidly developed an eschatological dimension. This is evident in the work of Sextus Julius Africanus (c. 160–c. 240 CE). Africanus wrote a five-book chronographic study, the *Chronographiai*, that synchronized sacred and secular history. In this work, Africanus dated events from creation, so that years were numbered *Annus Mundi*. He placed creation in the year corresponding to 5501 BCE, which put the birth of Jesus in 5501 AM. He expected the end of the world to come in 6000 AM, based on the idea that one millennium was allotted for each day of creation.²⁹ A different system, also structured around Christian beliefs, was created by Eusebius of Caesarea (c. 260–c. 340 CE). Eusebius strongly opposed the eschatological, millenarian ideas that lay behind Africanus' *Annus Mundi* system.

²⁸ On the development of Christian chronography, see Adler 1989, *passim* and Landes 1988.

²⁹ Technically speaking, Africanus numbered years not from the creation of the world, but from the creation of Adam. This distinction is irrelevant in the present context but was of considerable importance to Christian chronographers. See Adler 1989, 43–6. Africanus supplied a highly specific date for creation: March 22, 5501 BCE. On this date, see Grumel 1958, 22–4 and Mosshammer 2006. On Africanus and his work, see the bibliography cited in n. 20 of Chapter 4.

Instead of dating from creation, Eusebius numbered years from the birth of Abraham, which he placed in the year corresponding to 2016 BCE.³⁰

With the cessation of the Olympics in the early fifth century CE,³¹ Olympiads rapidly went out of fashion as a means of reckoning time. The chronographic importance of Olympiads had in any case been gradually undermined by the imposition of Roman rule over the entire Mediterranean and the conversion of Rome into an empire. The names and regnal years of rulers had long been used in the Near East as chronological referents, and a similar system became the dominant means of reckoning time in the later Roman empire.

1.3. A VERY BRIEF INTRODUCTION TO PANHELLENIC ATHLETIC FESTIVALS

There were four major Panhellenic athletic festivals in ancient Greece: the Olympic, Pythian, Isthmian, and Nemean Games. The traditional founding date of 776 for the Olympics is, as we will see, open to question, but there can be no doubt that athletic contests were being held regularly at Olympia by the early seventh century at the latest. The Olympics, which had originally been attended almost exclusively by inhabitants of the area around Olympia, gradually developed a higher profile and became a truly Panhellenic event in the sixth century. The Olympics created a model that was followed at other sites. A preexisting festival at Delphi was reorganized in 586, giving rise to the Pythian Games. The Isthmian and Nemean Games were founded shortly thereafter. The Olympic and Pythian Games were held every four years, the Isthmian and Nemean Games every two years.³² These four games were arranged in a four-year cycle so that they did not

³⁰ On Eusebius' views on chronology and eschatology, see Landes 1988. On Eusebius' views on the chronology of the earliest period of the world, see Adler 1989, 43–71 and Eusebius *Chronographia* 36.17–37.9 Karst.

³¹ See the bibliography cited in n. 6 of Chapter 5.

³² An excellent general survey of Greek athletics can be found in Miller 2004. On the development of the Olympics into a Panhellenic event, see Funke 2003; Morgan 1990, 26–105; and Ulf 1997b.

overlap. This cycle was known as the *periodos*, and athletes who won at all four games were known as *periodonikai*.³³

There were two basic components of the *periodos* games, the *gymnikos agon* and the *hippikos agon*.³⁴ The program of events in the *gymnikoi* and *hippikoi agones* at the four *periodos* games was sufficiently similar that the Olympics can, for present purposes, be taken as typical. The array of contests evolved over the course of time, and the synopsis given here reflects the situation at the end of the third century, after which time few changes were made. The *gymnikos agon* consisted of four different footraces, the pentathlon, and the combat sports (boxing, wrestling, and *pankration*). The four footraces were the *stadion* (one length of the track, roughly 200 meters), the *diaulos* (two lengths of the track), the *dolichos* (typically 20–24 laps and so roughly 7–9 kilometers), and the *hoplites* (two lengths of the track, carrying armor).³⁵ Competitors in the *gymnikos agon* were divided into two age classes at Olympia and Delphi (boys and men) and into three age classes (boys, youths [*ageneioi*], and men) at Isthmia and Nemea. The *hippikos agon* consisted of chariot races for two and four horses and two and four colts as well as races for colts and horses. There were also contests for heralds and trumpeters, with the winners fulfilling these functions for the duration of the festival.

Notes about additions to the program of events at the Olympics were a basic feature of Olympic victor lists. The dates at which specific events were believed to have been added can be summarized as shown in Table 1.³⁶ The tradition that the Olympic Games originally consisted

³³ By the second century CE the idea of the *periodos* had been expanded to include some or all of the following contests: the Heraia at Argos, the Actia at Nicopolis, the Sebastia at Naples, and the Capitolia in Rome. See Golden 1998, 10–11.

³⁴ The *gymnikos agon* consisted of events conducted in the nude and hence its name was based on the Greek term for being unclothed (*gymnos*). The *hippikos agon* consisted of various kinds of equestrian contests and hence its name was based on the Greek word for horse (*hippos*). For the sake of convenience, these events are described below as gymnastic and hippic. At the Pythian and Isthmian Games there was a third component, the *mousikos agon* (musical contests), which is not of interest here because there were no comparable contests at Olympia and hence no entries for victors in musical contests in Olympic victor lists.

³⁵ At Nemea there was a fifth footrace, the *hippios* (two laps of the track). The length of the *dolichos* varied from place to place. See Jüthner 1965–8, 2: 108–9.

³⁶ The relevant ancient sources are examined in detail in Section 3.5.

TABLE 1. *Additions to the Program of Events at Olympia*

Olympiad	Year	Event
1	776	<i>stadion</i>
14	724	<i>diaulos</i>
15	720	<i>dolichos</i>
18	708	pentathlon, wrestling
23	688	boxing
25	680	four-horse chariot race
33	648	<i>pankration</i> , horse race
37	632	boys' <i>stadion</i> , boys' wrestling
38	628	boys' pentathlon (immediately discontinued)
41	616	boys' boxing
65	520	<i>hoplites</i>
70	500	race for mule carts (discontinued in 444)
71	496	race for mares (discontinued in 444)
93	408	two-horse chariot race
96	396	heralds and trumpeters
99	384	four-colt chariot race
129	264	two-colt chariot race
131	256	colt race
145	200	boys' <i>pankration</i>

solely of the *stadion* accounts for the use of *stadion* victors as eponyms in the Olympic victor list.³⁷

Olympia was located in the region of Elis in the northwestern Peloponnese. The region of Elis was not politically unified until a late date, and control over Olympia seems to have fluctuated between the residents of the Peneios River valley in northern Elis (Hollow Elis) and the residents of the Alpheios River valley (Pisatis) in southern Elis for a considerable period (see the map in Section 2.2). Hollow Elis gradually asserted control over most of the region of Elis during the course of the Archaic period and seems to have taken over Olympia in a definitive and final way in the second quarter of the sixth century.³⁸

³⁷ See Appendix 9 for the evidence pertaining to the early program of events at Olympia. See Appendix 8 for the idea that Olympic victors in the *pankration* were used as eponyms before the time of Hippias.

³⁸ The history of Elis is treated in detail in Section 2.2.

The date at which athletic contests began at Olympia is unclear.³⁹ There are hundreds of dates in the ancient sources expressed in terms of numbered Olympiads. These numbered Olympiads imply a date for the first Olympiad, but this requires that they be converted into modern systems of time reckoning. Fortunately, several ancient authors place independently dateable events in specific Olympiads. Eusebius, for example, synchronizes the fifteenth year of Tiberius' reign with the fourth year of the 201st Olympiad (*Praeparatio Evangelica* 10.9.2–3), and Diodorus records a solar eclipse in the third year of the 117th Olympiad (20.5.5).⁴⁰ These and similar passages indicate that Olympiad 1 was placed in the year corresponding to 776.⁴¹

This is not the end of the matter, however, because most Greeks believed that what was designated as Olympiad 1 was not the first time games were held at Olympia. There seems to have been general agreement in the ancient world that contests were held intermittently at Olympia beginning in the “heroic” period (with Heracles or even earlier), so that what was identified as the first Olympics for the purposes of reckoning time (Olympiad 1) was not in fact the first

³⁹ The origins of the Olympic Games have been the subject of extended and as yet unresolved debate. Four basic possibilities have been identified. The Olympics might have originated in a funerary contest that was institutionalized, in initiatory rites that were gradually transformed, in games that were part of a recurring or intermittently celebrated religious rite, or in a purely secular fashion. The relevant evidence is sparse and late and does not support a definitive conclusion. This is not a matter of critical importance in the present context. For a thorough treatment of the sources, ancient and modern, see Ulf and Weiler 1980.

⁴⁰ On the evidence that connects the first Olympiad to the year corresponding to 776, see Clinton 1834, 1: 150–52 and Samuel 1972, 189–90.

⁴¹ There has been a certain amount of confusion in the modern scholarship about the equation of Olympiad 1 with 776 because of the variant starting dates of different ancient calendars. The Olympics were timed to coincide with the second full moon after the summer solstice and hence took place in July or August (Miller 1975). Ancient chronographers typically equated each of the four years of an Olympiad with a corresponding year in the Athenian calendar, which also began in the summer. The overlap between what might be called Olympic years and other calendars was much less precise. A particular problem has been the Syro-Macedonian calendar, which placed the beginning of the year in the autumn. The various extant versions of Eusebius' *Chronikoi Kanones* have led some scholars to conclude that Eusebius synchronized Olympiads with Syro-Macedonian years and that he thus placed the first Olympiad in the year corresponding to 777. Others believe that this is simply a problem of textual transmission. On this subject, see the conflicting opinions expressed in Burgess 1999, 28–35 and Mosshammer 2006. It is here assumed that Eusebius equated Olympiad 1 with 776.

Olympics. At least some chronographers placed the first games held at Olympia in the year corresponding to 1581 BCE.⁴² There was a consensus that the continuous series of Olympiads that ran until the fifth century CE began when the Games were refounded by Lycurgus of Sparta and Iphitos of Elis, and there was a concomitant tendency to identify the Lycurgus-Iphitos Olympics as the first Olympiad. Even this was a problem, however, because there were two divergent dates assigned to the Olympiad organized by Lycurgus and Iphitos, 884 and 776.⁴³

The date of the first celebration of games at Olympia is typically given as 776 in modern scholarship because Olympic victor lists began with Coroibos of Elis, whose victory in the *stadiion* was placed by ancient Greeks in the year corresponding to 776. The identity of Coroibos as the first recorded Olympic victor is most evident in the Olympic victor list preserved in Eusebius' *Chronographia*, which begins with Coroibos.⁴⁴ A range of other sources make it clear that Eusebius expressed a standard opinion in listing Coroibos as the first recorded Olympic victor.⁴⁵ The placement of Coroibos' Olympic victory in the year corresponding to 776 is also evident from Eusebius, who uses the Coroibos Olympics as an epoch and synchronizes it with dates expressed in a variety of other time-reckoning systems. Here again Eusebius simply adopted a well-established position. The preserved fragments of Aristotle's *Olympionikai* show that he almost certainly dated the first Olympiad to 776.⁴⁶ Eratosthenes (*FGrH* 241 F1a) and Apollodorus (*FGrH* 244 F61a) both dated the first Olympiad by means of intervals to later events, such as the Peloponnesian War and the death of Alexander.⁴⁷ These events are independently dateable, and

⁴² See Appendix 14.

⁴³ See Section 2.8 for further discussion.

⁴⁴ See Appendix 4.1 for the text. Pindar (*Olympian* X) gives a list of victors in the Olympiad organized by Heracles, but the mythical figures mentioned by Pindar do not appear in any known catalog of Olympic victors. On this subject, see Appendix 6.

⁴⁵ See, for example, Athenaeus 382b, Aristodemus of Elis *FGrH* 414 F1, Callimachus F541 Pfeiffer, Eustathius *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem* 3.308.16–17, Pausanias 5.8.6, Phlegon *FGrH* 257 F1, scholiast Lucian Lucianic work 41 section 9, Strabo 8.3.30, and Tiberius Claudius Polybius *FGrH* 254 F2.

⁴⁶ See Section 3.2.

⁴⁷ See Section 2.8.

they show that both Eratosthenes and Apollodorus, the two most prominent chronographers of the ancient world, dated the Olympiad in which Coroibos won the *stadion* to the year corresponding to 776.

Eratosthenes and Apollodorus, however, both believed that the continuous series of Olympiads began with Lycurgus and Iphitos, whose Olympics they placed in the year corresponding to 884. Those who subscribed to Eratosthenes' and Apollodorus' ideas described the Olympiads between 884 and 776 as "unregistered" because the names of the victors in them were not recorded.⁴⁸ The potential confusion about what precisely is meant by the term "first Olympiad" or "Olympiad 1" is sometimes avoided by describing the games held in 776 as the "Coroibos Olympics."

All this goes to show that there was considerable dispute even in the ancient world about when games were held at Olympia for the first time and about when the continuous series of Olympiads began. The problem is further compounded by the fact that all the dates in the ancient Greek sources pertaining to the early history of Olympia and the Olympic Games rest on weak foundations and cannot be taken as trustworthy.⁴⁹ The literary sources that suggest a date of 776 for the first Olympics are thus problematic in a number of different ways.

The archaeological data from Olympia does not provide a significantly higher level of clarity. Olympia became a sanctuary of Zeus

⁴⁸ The entire structure of Olympiad dating is nicely summarized in the following scholion to Lucian (Lucianic work 41 section 9):

Among the ancients the number of the Olympiad was used for the identification of years. Thus, for example, "The following thing took place in the 100th Olympiad [----]." And this was recognition of the precision of the years, just like the annual magistracy of the Athenian archons among the Athenians, on which basis it was recorded, "in the archonship in Athens of such and such a person the following thing took place." The annual notes of the consuls [were used for the same purpose] among the Romans. The registration of the Olympiads begins with Iphitos who renewed the Olympic Games, which began with Heracles, as Pindar says: "Indeed, Heracles established the Olympic Games" [*Olympian II* 5]. The contest having been neglected until the time of Iphitos, he next renewed it, but as the victors were not registered, the games remained unmarked for a long period of time. From which, as Callimachus relates, thirteen Olympiads from [----] in the 14th Olympiad a certain Coroibos won the *stadion*, from which the registration of the Olympiads occurs and this Olympiad is placed first in order. But others say that from the time when Heracles the son of Alcmena founded the contest at Olympia to the first numbered Olympiad there are 459 years.

⁴⁹ See Section 2.8.

by 1000 and large dedications in the form of monumental bronze tripods began by 875.⁵⁰ Tripods frequently functioned as prizes in athletic contests, and so the tripods at Olympia have been seen as evidence of the existence of games prior to the eighth century. Tripods were, however, dedicated for a range of reasons, not all of which had to do with athletic contests.⁵¹ The votives found at Olympia indicate that it was originally patronized primarily by residents of the immediately surrounding regions and that visitors from a gradually widening area began to frequent the site in the last quarter of the eighth century. Major work was carried out in the sanctuary at the end of the eighth century, including the diversion of the river Cladeos and the digging of wells to accommodate the needs of spectators. This has led the excavators at the site to suggest a date of around 700 for the inception of the Olympics.⁵² It remains possible, nonetheless, that games of purely local significance were held at Olympia prior to 700.

1.4. A CAPSULE HISTORY OF *OLYMPIONIKAI*

We can now turn our attention back to Olympic victor lists. The purpose of this section is to outline the history of *Olympionikai* from beginning to end. The reason for this arrangement is that there are numerous, complex, interlocking questions about the development, structure, and contents of Olympic victor lists. It is to be hoped that the summary treatment offered here will make it easier to work through the sometimes intricate argumentation in later chapters.

The reader should be aware that this section is proleptic in that it incorporates but does not defend a number of conclusions reached

⁵⁰ The archaeological data is summarized in Morgan 1990, 26–105, though see now also Eder 2001a, Eder 2003, and Kyrieleis 2002. Morgan concludes that “the earliest and most likely time for the beginning of wider participation in the Olympiads is the last quarter of the eighth century, and there are no grounds for pushing back any further a formalised Olympic games on the later model” (48).

⁵¹ See Appendix 9. W. D. Heilmeyer has argued that the date of 776 can be supported archaeologically on the basis of Geometric statuettes found at Olympia (Heilmeyer 1972, 90 and Heilmeyer 1979, 19–24), but this has been effectively refuted by Herrmann (1982). See also Cartledge 1982.

⁵² Mallwitz 1988.

in subsequent parts of the work. Many of the points discussed in this section are based directly on my own analysis of the frequently imperfect evidence. I have made a concerted effort to introduce appropriate qualifications, but it is impossible to present a history of *Olympionikai* that is both concise and fully nuanced. Cross-references are supplied throughout to detailed presentations of the relevant evidence and scholarship found in Chapters 2 through 5. My expectation is that some readers will find it expedient to pursue cross-references that pertain to points of particular interest to themselves, whereas others will prefer to proceed in a more linear fashion and simply read from the beginning of the book to the end.

The only clear statement in the ancient sources about the genesis of the first *Olympionikai* can be found in Plutarch's *Numa*:

It is difficult to make precise statements about chronology, and especially chronology based on the names of Olympic victors. They say that Hippias of Elis produced the list of Olympic victors at a late date, starting with nothing authoritative that would encourage trust in the result. (1.4; see Section 2.1 for the Greek text)

Plutarch's wording implies that Hippias' Olympic victor list was known as *Olympionikon Anagraphe* (*Register of Olympic Victors*).⁵³

The heart of Hippias' *Anagraphe* was a catalog of Olympic victors that began with the iteration⁵⁴ of the Olympics organized by Iphitos of Elis and Lycurgus of Sparta in 776. Hippias identified the 776 Olympics as "first" because he believed that it was at this point that an unbroken series of iterations of the Games began. Individual Olympiads in the catalog were identified solely by the names of *stadion* victors. The catalog itself seems to have been very simple. It consisted of a listing of the names of all the victors at each Olympiad, along with their hometowns and events in which they won.

Hippias' *Anagraphe* also seems to have included a considerable amount of historical material, in no small part because Hippias produced his *Olympionikai* in order to buttress Elean claims to Olympia

⁵³ Hippias' *Olympionikai* is treated in detail in Chapter 2.

⁵⁴ The term "iteration" is used to describe one occurrence of any athletic contest that was held on a regular basis at fixed intervals.

and the surrounding regions, which were threatened by Sparta. This historical material identified the Spartans in general and Lycurgus in particular as playing a major role in establishing Elean control of Olympia and adjacent territories, a clever maneuver that made it more difficult for Sparta to take control of Olympia away from Elis.

Hippias played a pivotal role in the history of *Olympionikai* because he compiled the first cumulative catalog of Olympic victors. Before Hippias produced his *Anagraphe*, lists of victors in at least some specific iterations of the Olympics were inscribed on bronze plaques displayed at Olympia. In addition, there were numerous dedications of and honorary inscriptions to individual Olympic victors, both at Olympia and elsewhere, that preserved relevant information. There were also orally transmitted stories about successful athletes. There was, however, no single document, epigraphic or otherwise, that contained a complete, sequentially organized list of Olympic victors.

The complexity of the task that Hippias undertook is not to be underestimated. The material with which he worked contained substantial lacunae that could be made good only with great difficulty. Moreover, the written records at his disposal were not organized in anything resembling a systematic fashion, did not reach back beyond the sixth century, and offered little or no internal dating information. Hippias, as a result, faced serious challenges, first in assembling an exhaustive list of victors, and then in putting those victors into an accurate chronological sequence.

Hippias seems to have begun by calculating a starting date for the first Olympiad in his victor catalog. He probably did so by associating that Olympiad with Lycurgus and then using the Spartan king list and generational reckoning to arrive at a date. (Lycurgus was believed to have been the offspring of a Spartan king.) Hippias then distributed the names he collected into the space between the first Olympiad in his catalog and his own time. The date of 776 should thus be understood as an approximation. The participation of Lycurgus in the first Olympiad is far from certain, generational dating was notoriously inaccurate, and widely variant dates for Lycurgus were circulated in the ancient world. In addition, the archaeological evidence from Olympia has been taken to show that athletic contests did not begin at the site until sometime around 700. Though the archaeological evidence is too ambiguous to

be conclusive, it too suggests that the date of 776 ought not be treated with reverence.

The accuracy of the early parts of the Olympic victor list, roughly speaking the period before the early sixth century, is also problematic. Many if not most of the names in the Olympic victor list, including those for the early Olympiads, are likely to be correct in the sense that the individual in question won an Olympic victory at some point. At the same time, there is no reason to think that Hippias had anything but the most approximate sense of when earlier athletes won their victories. The precision that is suggested by the placement of specific individuals in specific Olympiads, such as Antimachos of Elis in the 2nd Olympiad and hence 772, is illusory. This means that the entries in the early parts of the Olympic victor list cannot serve as the bases of sound argumentation unless they can be confirmed from alternative sources, which are almost always lacking.

Hippias' *Olympionikai* was supplanted by another recension of the Olympic victor list produced by Aristotle in the 330s.⁵⁵ Aristotle's *Olympionikai* contained both a catalog of Olympic victors that listed the winners in all events and a collection of information on the history and structure of the Olympics. Aristotle introduced an important innovation in numbering the Olympiads. Thereafter individual iterations of the Olympics were identified by both the name of a *stadion* victor and a number. Hippias' *Olympionikai* is never cited by later authors, quite possibly because the Olympiads in its victor catalog were not numbered, which meant that it was difficult to use and functionally obsolete by the second half of the fourth century.

Timaeus of Tauromenium stands next in the line of compilers of Olympic victor lists. Timaeus was born c. 350 in Sicily and spent much of his life in exile in Athens. He produced an important chronographic study with the title *Olympic Victors or Praxidikan Chronological Matters*.⁵⁶ In this work, Timaeus synchronized four lists of eponyms: Spartan kings and ephors, Athenian archons, priestesses of Hera at Argos, and Olympic victors.

⁵⁵ On Aristotle's *Olympionikai*, see Sections 3.2 and 3.4.

⁵⁶ This title (Ὀλυμπιονίκας ἢτοι χρονικά πραξίδικα) is difficult to translate into English because the significance of the second part is not clear. On Timaeus and his work, see Section 4.5.

Timaeus' *Olympionikai* represented a new form of Olympic victor list in that it was a purely chronographic document. The *Olympionikai* of Hippias and Aristotle both responded to a real interest in the history of the Olympic Games and in Olympic victors. In Timaeus' *Olympionikai*, however, chronographic issues were front and center. Timaeus used Olympiads and Olympic victors simply as one of a number of different means of reckoning time. He probably supplied only the names of *stadion* victors, and not a complete catalog of all the winning athletes in each Olympiad, because, for chronographic purposes, the names of the other victors were superfluous. The stripped-down Olympic victor list exhibited by Timaeus was likely presented as one part of a table in which various eponym systems were laid side by side so that dates from one system could be quickly converted to another.

Timaeus was also responsible for another important innovation. In his *Historiai* (a history of Magna Graecia), he began the practice of using numbered Olympiads to date historical events. This rapidly became a standard approach among Greek historians. Timaeus did not, however, take the next obvious step and organize the narrative in his *Historiai* on the basis of numbered Olympiads. In the late fifth century, Hellanicus wrote a historical chronicle organized annalistically using the list of the priestesses of Hera at Argos as the framework and a local history of Athens that probably used Athenian kings and archons in the same way.⁵⁷ It was merely a matter of time until someone used the Olympic victor list in a similar fashion, particularly after Aristotle numbered the Olympiads. A significant hurdle that needed to be overcome in producing a historical chronicle with Olympiads as a framework was that all the dates found in earlier sources needed to be converted into Olympiads. Timaeus' *Olympionikai* made it possible to do this with relative ease, and it is almost certainly not coincidental that Philochorus, who wrote the first known chronicle organized around Olympiads, lived in the same city at the same time as Timaeus.

Philochorus was born c. 340 and enjoyed a long career as an author and religious official in Athens.⁵⁸ He produced an *Olympionikai* in two books with the title *Olympiades*. The title is significant because it

⁵⁷ There is some debate as to whether Hellanicus' history of Athens (*Atthis*) was annalistic or not. See the bibliography in n. 123 of Chapter 2.

⁵⁸ On Philochorus, see Section 5.1.

emphasizes Olympiads rather than Olympic victors and signals a concomitant shift in subject matter. Whereas earlier *Olympionikai* focused on the Olympic Games and Olympic victors or the chronological ramifications of the Olympic victor list, the *Olympiades* was primarily a historical chronicle that included the names of Olympic victors for chronological purposes. The text consisted of entries for each Olympiad, identified by number and the names of one or more victors. Each entry listed important historical events that took place during the Olympiad in question.

By the early third century, then, three types of Olympic victor list had come into being: (1) simple listings of Olympic victors, (2) catalogs of Olympic victors that were modified to fulfill purely chronographic functions, and (3) catalogs of Olympic victors that included historical notices. Most versions of the Olympic victor list that were subsequently produced can be placed under one of these three headings, in part because *Olympionikai* typically fulfilled one of a limited number of functions and were composed accordingly and in part because later writers were aware of the precedents set by Hippias, Aristotle, Timaeus, and Philochorus. Once these authors had produced their *Olympionikai*, they began a chain of transmission that continued thereafter. Authors working on *Olympionikai* drew on the texts of their predecessors for victor catalogs, which they then updated, and no doubt copied other information as well.⁵⁹ This helped make anyone compiling an *Olympionikai* cognizant of the structure and contents of earlier works of the same sort.

As the *Olympionikai* produced after the time of Philochorus are more easily understood when treated as examples of one of these three types (and hence not generic Olympic victor lists), the discussion that follows is based on this tripartite classification. A cautionary note is, however, in order. Each of the three categories of Olympic victor list should be understood as an ideal type that functions as a heuristic device rather than as precise description. *Olympionikai* were produced in considerable numbers for nearly a millennium. Authors compiled versions of the Olympic victor list that suited their own ends, so that each edition of the Olympic victor list was in some ways unique.

⁵⁹ For further discussion of the high level of interconnection between various *Olympionikai*, see Appendix 17.

Moreover, there was never anything approaching a prescription for composition that rigidly guided the choices of authors who produced Olympic victor lists. Authors of *Olympionikai* were conscious of their predecessors' work while pursuing their own ends. As John Marincola has shown, "the dictates of ancient literary criticism enjoined authors to work within a tradition, and to show their innovation within that tradition."⁶⁰ All this goes to say that there is sufficient uniformity in *Olympionikai* to make the categorization of different versions of the Olympic victor list useful, but the limits of the signification of such categories need to be kept in the foreground.

It is, for obvious reasons, critical to have at our disposal terminology that clearly differentiates the three types of Olympic victor list. The terminology utilized here is largely my own. The Olympic victor list as it was first compiled will hereafter be identified as a standard catalog of Olympic victors. Standard catalogs were cumulative registers of Olympic victors that listed the winners in all events but provided very little in the way of information beyond victors' names, hometowns, and the events in which they won. Catalogs of Olympic victors that contained additional chronographic information will be called chronographic catalogs of Olympic victors. Chronographic catalogs seem to have given the names only of winners in the *stadion*. Catalogs of Olympic victors with added historical notices will be referred to as Olympiad chronicles.⁶¹ The victor lists in Olympiad chronicles

⁶⁰ Marincola 1997, 258. For further discussion, see pp. 12–19 of the same work, as well as Marincola 1999.

⁶¹ The term "Olympiad chronicle" is applied here to all historical works that were built around a framework of numbered Olympiads and named Olympic victors, regardless of the length and format of the historical notices supplied for each Olympiad. The defining traits of chronicles (as opposed to narrative histories) are normally considered to be (1) presentation of material in strict chronological order and (2) minimal authorial interpretation or comment. All Olympiad chronicles clearly conform to the former criterion. The latter is less immediately applicable to works such as Diodorus' *Bibliotheca Historica*. Even in the case of Diodorus, however, the choice to present material in chronological order divided by Olympiads had notable implications (see Chapter 6). It is possible to arrive at a different, and equally valid, definition of the term Olympiad chronicle by putting aside the presence or absence of named Olympic victors as a criterion and by placing more emphasis on the format of the historical notices attached to each numbered Olympiad. For such an approach, see the forthcoming work of R. W. Burgess and Michael Kulikowski cited in n. 105 of Chapter 2. For a discussion of the terms "annal," "chronicle," and "history," see Croke 2001.

supplied either the names of the winners in all events or just those in the *stadion*.

Catalogs of Olympic victors were incorporated into different kinds of treatises, and so it is also necessary to supply terminology for these larger works. Standard catalogs of Olympic victors circulated as stand-alone works and appeared in treatises that provided information about Olympia and the Olympic Games. These treatises are here called *Olympionikon anagraphai*.⁶² Chronographic catalogs of Olympic victors were invariably incorporated into larger chronographic studies that contained lists of magistrates and kings that were used to reckon time. These larger studies will be called Olympiad chronographies. Only a single term is necessary to describe catalogs of Olympic victors with added historical notices and the works in which those catalogs appeared – Olympiad chronicles – because in this instance the catalog of victors and the work as a whole were coterminous. The resulting terminological system is summarized in Table 2.

In view of the fact that *Olympionikai* remain a relatively obscure form of literature, it may also be helpful to provide short samples of each type of Olympic victor catalog. A standard catalog of Olympic victors is preserved on POxy II 222, which dates to the middle of the third century CE and consists of two columns of text, the contents of which cover the 75th through 78th and 81st through 83rd Olympiads (480–468, 456–448).⁶³ Here is a section of text from column 1 (see Appendix 3.4 for the Greek text):

76th Scamandros of Mytilene *stadion*

Dandis of Argos *diaulos*

[...] [...] of Laconia *dolichos*

[...] of Taras pentathlon

[...] of Maroneia wrestling

Euthymos of Locris in Italy boxing

Theogenes of Thasos *pankration*

⁶² The usage adopted here proceeds by analogy with the title of Hippias' *Olympionikai*. *Anagraphe* was regularly used in Greek texts to describe documents consisting of sequentially listed information such as registers of names. *Pinax* was occasionally used in the same way. On the meaning of *anagraphe* and *pinax*, see Aly 1929, 46–9; Pritchett 1996, 27–33; and Wilhelm 1909, 257–75. The term *anagraphe* is capitalized when used as part of the title of Hippias' *Olympionikai* and otherwise left in lower case.

⁶³ For a full treatment of POxy II 222, see Section 3.5.

TABLE 2. *Terminology for Different Types of Olympionikai*

Type of Catalog of Olympic Victors	Terminology for Catalog	Terminology for Treatise in Which That Type of Catalog Appeared
Simple listing of winners in all events	Standard catalog of Olympic victors	<i>Olympionikon anagraphe</i> (standard catalogs also circulated as stand-alone works)
Listing of <i>stadion</i> victors with supplemental chronographic information	Chronographic catalog of Olympic victors	Olympiad chronography
Listing of victors in all events or just of <i>stadion</i> victors with added notices of historical events that took place in each Olympiad	Olympiad chronicle	Olympiad chronicle

[.] of Laconia boys' *stadion*
 Theognetos of Aegina boys' wrestling
 Agesidamos of Locris in Italy boys' boxing
 [. . .]uros of Syracuse *hoplites* most powerfully of all
 Theron of Acragas four-horse chariot
 Hieron of Syracuse horse race

77th Dandis of Argos *stadion*
 [. . .]ges of Epidauros *diaulos*
 Ergoteles of Himera *dolichos*
 [. . .]amos of Miletus pentathlon
 [- - -]menes of Samos wrestling
 Euthymos of Locris in Italy boxing
 Callias of Athens *pankration*
 [. . .]sandridas of Corinth boys' *stadion*
 [. . .]cratidas of Taras boys' wrestling
 Tellon of Mainalos boys' boxing
 [. . .]gias of Epidamnos *hoplites*, winning twice

Demos of Argos four-horse chariot
Hieron of Syracuse horse race

78th Parmeneides of Poseidonia *stadion*
Parmeneides the same *diaulos*
[. . .]medes of Laconia *dolichos*
[- - -]tion of Taras pentathlon in the friendliest fashion
Epharmostos of Opous wrestling
Menalces of Opous boxing
Epitimadas of Argos *pankration*
Lycophron of Athens boys' *stadion*
[. . .]emos of Parrhasia boys' wrestling most beautifully
[. . .]nes of Tiryns boys' boxing
[. . .]los of Athens *hoplites*
Hieronymos [Hieron?] of Syracuse four-horse chariot

A chronographic catalog of Olympic victors is found in Eusebius' *Chronographia*. Four short sections from this catalog will give the flavor of the whole (see Appendix 4.1 for the Greek text):

1st Olympiad, in which Coroibos of Elis won the *stadion*.

For this was the only contest in which they competed for thirteen Olympiads.

2nd. Antimachos of Elis *stadion*.

Romos and Romulos were born.

3rd. Androclos of Messenia *stadion*.

4th. Polychares of Messenia *stadion*.

5th. Aischines of Elis *stadion*.

6th. Oibotas of Dyme *stadion*.

7th. Diocles of Messenia *stadion*.

Romulos founded Rome.

8th. Anticles of Messenia *stadion*.

9th. Xenocles of Messenia *stadion*.

10th. Dotades of Messenia *stadion*.

11th. Leochares of Messenia *stadion*.

12th. Oxythemis of Coroneia *stadion*.

13th. Diocles of Corinth *stadion*.

14th. Desmon of Corinth *stadion*.

The *diaulos* was also added, and Hyphenos of Elis won.

...

54th. Hippostratos of Croton *stadion*.

Arechion of Phigaleia, being strangled, died while winning the *pankration* for the third time. His corpse was crowned, his opponent having conceded defeat, his leg having been broken by Arechion.

55th. Hippostratos, the same man, for a second time.

This was when Cyrus became king of the Persians.

56th. Phaidros of Pharsalos *stadion*.

57th. Ladromos of Laconia *stadion*.

...

114th. Micinas of Rhodes *stadion*.

Alexander died, after which his empire was divided up among many, and Ptolemy became king of Egypt and Alexandria.

115th. Damasias of Amphipolis *stadion*.

116th. Demosthenes of Laconia *stadion*.

117th. Parmenides of Mytilene *stadion*.

118th. Andromenes of Corinth *stadion*.

Antenor of Athens or Miletus, (won) the *pankration*, uncontested, a *peri-odonikes*, unconquered in three age groups.

119th. Andromenes of Corinth *stadion*.

120th. Pythagoras of Magnesia-on-Maeander *stadion*.

Ceras of Argos (won) the wrestling, he who tore the hooves off a cow.

...

183rd. Theodoros of Messenia *stadion*.

Julius Caesar was sole ruler of the Romans.

184th. The same, a second time.

Augustus became emperor of the Romans.

185th. Ariston of Thurii *stadion*.

Much of the supplemental information found in the Eusebian list, such as the accession of Cyrus in the 55th Olympiad and the reigns of the Roman emperors, was present because it was chronographically significant. Cyrus, for example, was a key link between Persian, Greek, and Biblical chronologies. The catalog of Olympic victors in the *Chronographia* was but one of twenty-three different lists of magistrates and rulers that were used as the bases of the chronological systems of the Assyrians, Medes, Lydians, Persians, Hebrews, Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans.⁶⁴ The *Chronographia* was thus what is here called an Olympiad chronography.

⁶⁴ On Eusebius' chronographic work, see Sections 4.1–4.4.

The catalogs of Olympic victors in Olympiad chronicles supplied either the names of victors in all events or just those of *stadion* victors. A good example of an Olympiad chronicle with a full victor listing can be found in a fragment from an *Olympionikai* written by Phlegon of Tralleis, who worked in the second century CE.⁶⁵ Photius, a ninth-century CE Byzantine scholar, wrote a careful summary of Phlegon's Olympiad chronicle. Photius evidently copied verbatim the beginning of the last entry he read, the one for the 177th Olympiad (72 BCE). The repeated use of καί ("and") at the beginning of sentences in the appended historical notices indicates that Photius summarized rather than copied this part of the entry, but Photius nonetheless supplies a good sense of what the work looked like.

I have read as far as the 177th Olympiad, in which Hecatomnos of Miletus won the *stadion* and the *diaulos* and the *hoplites*, winning three times, Hypsicles of Sicyon *dolichos*, Gaius of Rome *dolichos*, Aristonymidas of Cos pentathlon, Isidoros of Alexandria wrestling, winning the *periodos* without having suffered a fall, Atyanas son of Hippocrates of Adramytteion boxing, Sphodrias of Sicyon *pankration*, Sosigenes of Asia boys' *stadion*, Apollophanes of Cyparissiae boys' wrestling, Soterichos of Elis boys' boxing, Calas of Elis boys' *pankration*, Hecatomnos of Miletus *hoplites*, he who was crowned three times in the same Olympiad, for the *stadion*, *diaulos*, and *hoplites*, Aristolochos of Elis four-horse chariot, Hagemon of Elis horse race, Hellanicos of Elis two-horse chariot, the same man four-colt chariot, Cletias of Elis two-colt chariot, Callipos of Elis colt race.

Lucullus was laying siege to Amisus, and having left Murena with two legions to carry on the siege, he himself set out with three other legions to Cabeira, where he went into winter quarters. And he ordered Hadrian to wage war on Mithridates, and upon attacking Hadrian was victorious. And there was an earthquake in Rome that destroyed much of the city. And many other things happened in this Olympiad. And in the third year of this Olympiad the census of the Romans reckoned their number as 910,000. And upon the death of Sinatrouches the king of the Parthians, Phraates succeeded to the throne, the one called Theos. And Phaidros the Epicurean was succeeded by Patron. And Vergilius Maro the poet was born in this year, on the ides of October. In the fourth year Tigranes and Mithridates, having collected 40,000 infantry and 30,000 cavalry, arranging them in the Italian

⁶⁵ Phlegon's work is discussed in detail in Section 5.7.

fashion, attacked Lucullus. And Lucullus won, and 5,000 of Tigranes' men fell in battle and a larger number was taken prisoner, without taking into account the rest of the general rabble. And Catulus dedicated the Capitoline in Rome, and Metellus, having set out to make war in Crete, having three legions, came to the island, and defeating Lasthenes in battle, he was acknowledged as imperator, and he shut the Cretans within their walls. And Athenodoros the pirate, having enslaved the Delians, shamefully maltreated the images of the so-called gods, but Gaius Triarius, having repaired the damaged parts of the *polis*, fortified Delos. (FGrH 257 F12; see Appendix 5.7 for the Greek text)

Other Olympiad chronicles supplied only the Olympiad number and *stadion* victor. One such Olympiad chronicle survives on *POxy* I 12. This is a third-century CE papyrus that contains six columns of writing with short lacunae at the top and bottom of each column.⁶⁶ The following section, covering the years 348–337, is typical of the whole (see Appendix 5.9 for the Greek text):

[Column 1]

In the 108th Olympiad, Polycles of Cyrene won the *stadion*, and the archons at Athens were Theophilos, Themistocles, Archias, and Euboulos. In the first year of this Olympiad, the philosopher Plato died and Speusippos succeeded him as head of the school. In the second year, Philip [lacuna due to cutting down of papyrus]

[Column 2]

In the 109th Olympiad, Aristolycos of Athens won the *stadion*, and the archons at Athens were Lyciscos, Pythodotos, Sosigenes, and Nicomachos. In the second year of this Olympiad, Dionysius II, tyrant of Sicily, having fallen from power, sailed to Corinth and remained there, teaching letters. In the fourth year, the eunuch Bagoas murdered Ochos, the king of the Persians, and established the youngest of Ochos' sons, Arsēs, as king, while he himself controlled everything.

In the 110th Olympiad, Anticles of Athens won the *stadion*, and the archons at Athens were Theophrastos, Lysimachides, Chairondes, and Phrynichos. In the first of these years, the Samnites arrayed themselves for battle against the Romans. In the second year, the Latins, having banded together, attacked the Romans. In the third year, Philip, the king of the Macedonians, defeated

⁶⁶ For a full treatment of *POxy* I 12, see Section 5.9.

the Athenians and Boeotians in the famous battle at Chaeronea; his son Alexander fought with him and distinguished himself. And at that time Isocrates the rhetor died, having lived about ninety years [lacuna due to cutting down of papyrus, text for this entry continues in next column]

[Column 3]

the eunuch Bagoas killed Arsēs, the king of the Persians, along with his brothers, and he established Darius the son of Artabazus, who belonged to the royal family, as king in Arsēs' place. And at that time the Romans fought against the Latins. In the fourth year, the assembly of the Greeks met and chose Philip to be supreme commander in the war against the Persians.

The historical notices in *POxy* I 12 are quite brief, but the same basic format could be used in much more elaborate chronicles. This is apparent from Diodorus' *Bibliotheca Historica*. Diodorus built the sections of the *Bibliotheca* covering the years after 776 around a framework that is nearly identical to that found in *POxy* I 12.⁶⁷ His historical account is annalistic and uses numbered Olympiads and *stadion* victors, along with the names of the Athenian archon and Roman consuls, to identify the first year of each Olympiad. When the account of the first year of an Olympiad ends, the arrival of the next year is noted through citation of the succeeding Athenian archon and Roman consuls. The following passage is typical (see Appendix 5.3 for the Greek text):

When this year had passed, Theophilus held the archonship in Athens, Gaius Sulpicius and Gaius Quintus were appointed consuls in Rome, and the 108th Olympiad was held, in which Polycles of Cyrene won the *stadion* (348 BCE). During the magistracies of these men, Philip, who was eager to lay hands on the *poleis* of the Hellespont, seized Mecyberna and Torone without a battle on account of treachery. Then he launched an expedition against Olynthos, the greatest of the *poleis* in those regions, with a large army. Having first defeated the Olynthians in two battles, he shut them into their walls and laid siege to the city, and he lost many of his soldiers in making continuous assaults against walls. In the end he corrupted with money the chief magistrates of the Olynthians, Euthycrates and Lasthenes, and on account of their treachery captured Olynthos. (16.53.1–2)

[Approximately ninety lines of text follow, describing other events in this year.]

⁶⁷ On Diodorus' work, see Section 5.3.

In the archonship of Themistocles at Athens, Gaius Cornelius and Marcus Popilius succeeded to the office of consul (347 BCE). During the magistracies of these men, the Boeotians, having pillaged much of Phocis' territory around the city named Hya, defeated their enemies and killed around seventy of them. . . . (16.56.1)

[Approximately 125 lines of text follow, describing other events in this year.]

Despite the marked difference in the length of the historical notices, the *Bibliotheca Historica* and *POxy* I 12 are virtually identical in terms of basic structure.

We can now complete our exploration of the history of Olympic victor lists by tracing the development of each of the three types of *Olympionikai*, picking up where we left off in the third century BCE. The *Olympionikon anagraphe* did not enjoy a long history after Aristotle. Sometime in the early third century part or all of Aristotle's *Olympionikon anagraphe* seems to have been inscribed on stone and erected in the Lyceum in Athens. The surviving text (*IG* II² 2326) includes a summary of the order in which events were introduced into the Olympic program and the beginning of a list of athletes who won multiple victories at Olympia. This was, however, not a new *Olympionikon anagraphe*, but the monumentalization of an existing one.⁶⁸ In the middle of the third century, Eratosthenes produced the next *Olympionikon anagraphe*, and there are no known examples thereafter. *Olympionikon anagraphai* became extinct because new kinds of literature came into being in the early Hellenistic period that offered detailed information about Olympia and the Olympic Games. These included periegetic writings that described Olympia for the benefit of visitors, treatises on athletic contests, and local histories of Elis. None of these works included catalogs of Olympic victors, so they were not *Olympionikai*, but their existence made the long historical excurses in *Olympionikon anagraphai* superfluous.⁶⁹

It is beyond question that standard catalogs of Olympic victors of the type originally found in *Olympionikon anagraphai* continued to be produced, but they appear to have circulated as independent works.

⁶⁸ For more on *IG* II² 2326, see Section 3.5.

⁶⁹ On Eratosthenes' *Olympionikai*, see Section 3.3. On periegetic writings, treatises on athletic contests, and local histories of Elis, see Section 3.1.

Each of the two basic components of *Olympionikon anagraphai*, historical material on the Olympics and a victor catalog, thus became separate entities, spelling the end of this type of *Olympionikai*. Stand-alone catalogs of Olympic victors served an important purpose because they were compact and thus relatively inexpensive to reproduce and easy to consult. Registers of Olympic victors could also be found in Olympiad chronographies or Olympiad chronicles, but these were longer works that required more time and effort to copy and use. We have already seen an example of a stand-alone catalog of Olympic victors in *POxy* II 222, which was written in the third century CE. The date when standard victor catalogs began to be circulated as independent entities cannot be established with any precision. Pausanias saw in the gymnasium at Olympia an inscribed victor list set up by an Elean named Paraballon (6.6.3). There are no extant remains of this inscription, and so it is impossible to be certain as to its exact contents, but it is likely to have been a simple list of victors. Paraballon is typically dated to the third century, so this inscription may have been the earliest standard catalog of Olympic victors that was not part of an *Olympionikon anagraphē*.⁷⁰

After the time of Timaeus, chronographic catalogs of Olympic victors and Olympiad chronographies were produced intermittently throughout classical antiquity, typically in response to the need to synchronize Greek chronology with that of other peoples in the Mediterranean. There are five known Olympiad chronographies in addition to that of Timaeus. In the first century, Castor of Rhodes produced an Olympiad chronography that synchronized the chronological systems used by Greeks, Romans, and various peoples to the east such as the Assyrians.⁷¹ Dionysius of Halicarnassus, in the second half of the first century, compiled an Olympiad chronography in which he compared Greek and Roman time-reckoning systems and calculated a foundation date for Rome.⁷² The emergence of Christianity resulted in the production of a number of chronographic works that outlined new time-reckoning systems using Hebrew and Christian scriptures as their primary referent. We have already encountered one such work,

⁷⁰ For further discussion of Paraballon's inscription, see Section 2.5.

⁷¹ Castor's work is treated in Section 5.4.

⁷² Dionysius' work is treated in Section 4.6.

Eusebius' *Chronographia*, which included a chronographic catalog of Olympic victors. Eusebius copied his Olympic victor list from an Olympiad chronography written by Sextus Julius Africanus (who in turn worked from an earlier Olympiad chronicle written by Cassius Longinus), and Panodoros wrote the last known *Olympionikai* c. 400 CE in the form of a revised version of Eusebius' *Chronographia*.⁷³

The passage of time and accumulation of historical events inevitably made any Olympiad chronicle obsolete, and so this type of *Olympionikai* was produced with some regularity. Eleven Olympiad chronicles are known in addition to that of Philochorus. Nine of the eleven can be associated with specific authors: Ctesicles of Athens (Hellenistic period), Castor of Rhodes (first century), Diodorus Siculus (first century), Dionysius of Halicarnassus (end of first century), Thallus (first or second century CE), Phlegon of Tralleis (who produced two different *Olympionikai* in the second century CE), Cassius Longinus (third century CE), and Dexippus of Athens (third century CE). The other two extant Olympiad chronicles come from anonymous papyri. *POxy* XVII 2082 dates to the second half of the second century CE and *POxy* I 12 to the first half of the third century CE.⁷⁴

Two further *Olympionikai* are known but cannot be classified for lack of sufficient evidence. Scopas wrote an *Olympionikai* at some point before the first century CE, but all that can be said about its contents is that they included a story about an athlete who turned into a wolf.⁷⁵ Tiberius Claudius Polybius (late first century BCE or early first century CE) is mentioned by Eusebius and Syncellus alongside authors who wrote Olympiad chronicles (*FGrH* 254 F1–3). Eusebius cites Polybius for the number of Olympiads before the Coroibos Olympics (F2) and describes him as “attentive to Olympiads” (F3).⁷⁶ Polybius thus possibly but not certainly wrote an Olympiad chronicle. One other author can very tentatively be added to the list of those who compiled *Olympionikai*. Aristodemus of Elis, who probably lived in the second century, is cited by later authors for information about the number

⁷³ On Eusebius', Africanus', and Panodoros' *Olympionikai*, see Sections 4.1–4.4.

⁷⁴ *POxy* II 222 and XVII 2082 have been taken as copies of Phlegon's *Olympionikai*, but this is far from certain. See Appendix 17.

⁷⁵ For Scopas' work, see *FGrH* 413.

⁷⁶ For Tiberius Claudius Polybius' work, see *FGrH* 254.

of Olympiads prior to the Olympiad in which Coroibos won the *stadion*, the number of *Hellanodikai*, and the *Altis*,⁷⁷ but nothing further is known about his work.⁷⁸ It is likely that Aristodemus wrote an *Olympionikai* of some sort, but the information for which he is referenced might also have been found in a local history of Elis. These authors will not be discussed in the main text, but the relevant fragments are collected in Appendices 1.1–1.3.

The sum total of known *Olympionikai* comes to approximately twenty-five examples, and can be summarized as shown in Tables 3 through 5.

These tables understate, by an unknowable margin, the number of *Olympionikai* that were produced in the ancient world. This is clear from the Olympiad chronicles. The majority of the twelve known Olympiad chronicles date to the first century and later, a reflection of the fact that historical chronicles needed to be updated with some regularity. We can be virtually certain that Olympiad chronicles were produced throughout the Hellenistic period but did not survive because they became obsolete.⁷⁹ In addition, we are often dependent upon titles of lost works as a means for identifying them as *Olympionikai*, which indicates that some works of which we have only the title but which are not cited in the preceding lists probably included catalogs of Olympic victors. This is most applicable to Olympiad chronographies. The known examples of this type of *Olympionikai* for which we have titles all bore sole or alternate appellations that obscure the inclusion of an Olympic victor list. A number of authors, including Autocharis (*Chronoi*), Euthymenes (*Chronika*), Xenagoras (*Chronon*), and Xenocrates (*Chronika*), are known to have written chronographic studies that may well have incorporated Olympic victor lists, but the extant evidence does not make a firm judgment possible.⁸⁰

⁷⁷ The *Altis* was the name of the sanctuary at Olympia.

⁷⁸ For Aristodemus' work, see *FGH* 4.14. The scholiast to Pindar *Olympian* X 55 should be added to the fragments cataloged by Jacoby. The authorship of the first Olympic victor list is erroneously ascribed to Aristodemus in Wacker 1998.

⁷⁹ Relatively little historical writing from the Hellenistic period survives. For an estimate of the amount that was originally produced and discussion of the reasons for its loss, see Strasburger 1977. It is also possible that Olympiad chronicles became more popular in the Roman period for reasons that are discussed in Chapter 6.

⁸⁰ See n. 3 of Chapter 4.

TABLE 3. *Known Examples of Olympionikon Anagraphai and Standard Catalogs of Olympic Victors Circulating as Independent Works*

Author	Date That Work Appeared	Title of Work	Number of Books	State of Preservation
Hippias of Elis	c. 400	<i>Olympionikon Anagraphē</i> (<i>Register of Olympic Victors</i>)	?	1 testimonium
Aristotle, probably with Callisthenes	330s	<i>Olympionikai</i> (<i>Olympic Victors</i>)	1	6 short fragments
IG II ² 2326 (probably an inscribed copy of the Aristotelian <i>Olympionikai</i>)	275–250	n/a	n/a	17 lines
Victor list inscribed in gymnasium at Olympia by Paraballon, later updated by Euanoridas	3rd and 2nd centuries	n/a	n/a	mentioned by Pausanias
Eratosthenes of Cyrene	3rd century	<i>Olympionikai</i>	at least 2	10 short fragments
POxy II 222, unknown author	mid-3rd century CE	?	?	85 lines (with POxy XXIII 2381)

TABLE 4. *Known Examples of Olympiad Chronographies*

Author	Date That Work Appeared	Title of Work	Number of Books	State of Preservation
Timaetus of Tauromenium	late 4th/early 3rd century	<i>Olympionikai etoi Chronika</i> <i>Praxidika (Olympic Victors or Praxidikian Chronological Matters)</i> <i>Kanon (Canon)</i>	?	5 short fragments
Castor of Rhodes	1st century		1	20 fragments total (5 of which are lengthy) from this work and from Castor's Olympiad chronicle 9 fragments of varying length at least 55 fragments, many of which are lengthy
Dionysius of Halicarnassus	end of 1st century	<i>Chronoi (Time Periods)</i>	?	
Sextus Julius Africanus	217–221 CE	5	?	
Eusebius	first quarter of 4th century CE	<i>Chronika (Chronological Matters)</i> ^a	1	nearly complete
Panodorus	c. 400 CE	Revised version of Eusebius' <i>Chronika</i>	?	numerous lengthy fragments ^b

^a Eusebius' Olympic victor list appeared in the first book of his *Chronika*. This book had its own title, *Chronographia*. See Sections 4.1 and 4.2.
^b Panodorus produced both a revised version of Eusebius' *Chronika* and his own chronographic study that drew heavily on the *Chronika*. As a result, attribution of many of the preserved fragments from Panodorus' work is difficult.

TABLE 5. *Known Examples of Olympiad Chronicles*

Author	Date That Work Appeared	Title of Work	Number of Books	Start/End Point of Historical Account	Nature of Victor Catalog	State of Preservation
Philochorus	first half of 3rd century Hellenistic period	<i>Olympiades (Olympiads)</i> <i>Archonton kai Olympionikon Anagraphe (Register of Archons and Olympic Victors)</i>	2 at least 3	? ?	? ?	1 testimonium 3 short fragments
Diodorus Siculus	1st century	<i>Bibliotheca Historica (Historical Library)</i>	40	Creation/First year of 180th Olympiad (60 BCE)	Just <i>stadion</i> victors	Books 1–5 (mythological period) and 11–20 (480–302) preserved in full, numerous fragments from remainder
Castor of Rhodes	1st century	<i>Chronikon Epitome (Summary of Chronological Matters)</i>	6	Ascension of Ninos and Aigialeus (2123/2 BCE)/ Fourth year of 179th Olympiad (61/60 CE)	Probably just <i>stadion</i> victors	20 fragments total (5 of which are lengthy) from this work and from Castor's Olympiad chronography (<i>Kanon</i>)

(continued)

TABLE 5. (continued)

Author	Date That Work Appeared	Title of Work	Number of Books	Start/End Point of Historical Account	Nature of Victor Catalog	State of Preservation
Dionysius of Halicarnassus	end of 1st century	<i>Antiquitates Romanae</i> (<i>Roman Antiquities</i>)	20	Beginnings of Rome/First year of 129th Olympiad (264 BCE)	Just <i>stadion</i> victors	Books I–II (beginnings of Rome to 85th Olympiad/441) preserved in full, numerous fragments from remainder
Thallus	1st or 2nd century CE	<i>Historiai</i> (<i>Histories</i>)	3	Trojan War (or earlier)/202nd Olympiad (29–33 CE) (or later)	Probably just <i>stadion</i> victors	8 short fragments
Phlegon of Tralleis	2nd century CE	<i>Olympionikon kai Chronikon Synagoge</i> (<i>Collection of Olympic Victors and Chronological Matters</i>)	15 or 16	First Olympiad/229th Olympiad (137–40 CE)	Full victor list	34 fragments, 2 of which are lengthy
Phlegon of Tralleis		<i>Epitome Olympionikon</i> (<i>Summary of Olympic Victors</i>)	2	?	?	1 testimonium

(continued)

TABLE 5. (continued)

Author	Date That Work Appeared	Title of Work	Number of Books	Start/End Point of Historical Account	Nature of Victor Catalog	State of Preservation
P _{Oxy} XVII 2082	second half of 2nd century CE	?	?	Preserved sections cover Olympiads 120–21 (300–293 BCE)	Full victor list	7 legible fragments from a single papyrus with approximately 120 lines of text (many of which are heavily damaged)
P _{Oxy} I 12	first half of 3rd century CE	?	?	Preserved sections cover Olympiads 106–16 (356–312)	Just <i>stadion</i> victors	6 columns of text comprising approximately 200 lines
Cassius Longinus	211–213 CE	?	18	?	Probably full victor list	1 testimonium
Dexippus of Athens	second half of 3rd century CE	<i>Chronike Historia</i> (<i>Historical Chronicle</i>)	at least 12	Mythical period/262nd Olympiad (269–72 CE)	?	20 fragments, 1 of which is lengthy

This completes our survey of the history of Olympic victor lists. The discussion in the remainder of this book contains the detailed argumentation that supports the conclusions summarized above. We will begin by returning to Hippias and his *Olympionikai*.

HIPPIAS OF ELIS AND THE FIRST OLYMPIC VICTOR LIST

The following discussion of Hippias and his Olympic victor list is divided into nine sections. The first section (2.1) reviews the evidence that links the earliest cumulative catalog of Olympic victors to Hippias and fixes a date of c. 400 for the appearance of his *Olympionikai*. The second section (2.2) explores the historical context in which Hippias produced his *Olympionikai*. The conclusions from Sections 2.1 and 2.2 are then used, along with the relevant ancient sources, to establish insofar as possible the content of Hippias' *Olympionikai* (2.3). The single most debated question in the previous scholarship on *Olympionikai* has been whether Hippias drew on archival sources, and hence simply published existing records, or whether he used a diverse array of sources and thus actually compiled the Olympic victor list himself. This controversy is of some importance because, if Hippias did not have archival sources at his disposal, the accuracy of the early parts of the Olympic victor list must be considered dubious. After a review of the previous scholarship (2.4), the evidence for documentary sources from the eighth century is examined (2.5), as are inconsistencies in the dates given in the ancient sources for early events at Olympia (2.6). The conclusion that Hippias compiled rather than published the first Olympic victor list means that it is necessary to explore the nature of the sources on which he drew in doing so (2.7) and the means by which he established 776 as the date for the first Olympiad (2.8). The chapter ends with a consideration of the ramifications of the preceding discussion for our understanding and use of the Olympic victor list (2.9).

2.1. THE AUTHORSHIP AND DATE OF THE FIRST OLYMPIC VICTOR LIST

There are no extant fragments of Hippias' *Olympionikai* and but a single testimonium, which is found in Plutarch's *Numa*:

τοὺς μὲν οὖν χρόνους ἐξακριβῶσαι χαλεπὸν ἐστὶ, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἐκ τῶν Ὀλυμπιονικῶν ἀναγομένους, ὧν τὴν ἀναγραφὴν ὀψέ φασιν Ἱππίαν ἐκδοῦναι τὸν Ἡλείον, ἀπ' οὐδενὸς ὀρμώμενον ἀναγκαίου πρὸς πίστιν· (1.4 (FGrH 6 F2))

It is difficult to make precise statements about chronology, and especially chronology based on the names of Olympic victors. They say that Hippias of Elis produced the list of Olympic victors at a late date, starting with nothing authoritative that would encourage trust in the result.

Müller and Jacoby make the reasonable inference on the basis of this passage that Hippias' *Olympionikai* was known as *Olympionikon Anagraphe* (*Register of Olympic Victors*).¹

Plutarch's statement that Hippias was the first to produce a catalog of Olympic victors may seem surprising, given the great prestige enjoyed by Olympic victors. Strong supporting evidence can, however, be found in the fact that the first Olympic victor list appeared sometime between 400 and 360, precisely the time when Hippias was active. The date of 400–360 is based on the manner in which Thucydides temporally situates the beginning of the Peloponnesian War, other eponym lists, and the first known use of an Olympic *stadion* victor as an eponym. (For evidence that has erroneously been taken to indicate the existence of a catalog of Olympic victors before Hippias' time, see Appendix 6.)

Thucydides was very concerned about chronological precision. He dated events by numbering the years of the war from its beginning and subdivided each year into two seasons, winter and summer. At 3.25, for instance, he writes, “so ended this winter, and so ended the fourth year of this war recorded by Thucydides.” He anchored this system of relative chronology by providing the most thorough possible absolute date for the beginning of the war:

The war between the Athenians and Peloponnesians and the allies on either side really begins at this point, from which they no longer had dealings

¹ Müller 1878–85, 2: 61 and Jacoby 1923–58, 3b: 305.

with one another without the intermediation of heralds and with hostilities having begun they fought continuously. My account of events is written in chronological order, as each event happened, divided into summers and winters. For the thirty-year truce that came into being after the conquest of Euboea lasted fourteen years. In the fifteenth year, in the forty-eighth year of the priestess-ship of Chrysis at Argos and during the ephorate of Ainesios in Sparta and two months before the end of the archonship of Pythodoros in Athens, six months after the battle at Potidaia and just at the beginning of the spring . . . ² (2.1.1–2.1)

What is conspicuous by its absence is any attempt to date the beginning of the war relative to the Olympics. (Thucydides elsewhere refers to two specific Olympiads but does not use them for dating purposes. See Appendix 8.) Thucydides states that he began writing his history as soon as the war started (1.1.1), but he also seems to have gone back and edited at least some parts of his text.³ Given the great significance that he attached to the absolute date of the beginning of the Peloponnesian War, it seems likely that Thucydides would have included an Olympiad date of some kind had an Olympic victor list been available while he was still writing.⁴ This would indicate that the first Olympic victor list

² On Thucydides 2.1.1–2.1, see Gomme, Andrewes, and Dover 1945–81, 1: 1–8 and Rhodes 1988, 179–80. The seriousness with which Thucydides took his chronological system is reflected in the fact that he chose to begin his chronology of the war with the Theban attack on Plataia because it came at the beginning of a spring. On this point, see Gomme et al. 1945–81, 2: 70 and Smart 1986. Hornblower claims that Thucydides' listing of different eponyms at 2.1.1–2.1 is intended to highlight the advantages of his own method of seasonal dating (Hornblower 1994, 25–6). There may be an element of truth in this, but Hornblower seems to underestimate the need for Thucydides to connect his own system of relative chronology with extant systems of absolute dating.

³ The question of what part of Thucydides' text was written when has been endlessly discussed. See the summary in Hornblower 1987, 136–54.

⁴ Dionysius of Halicarnassus criticized Thucydides for dividing his narrative into summers and winters instead of using topography or more generally recognized chronological subdivisions employed by writers of local histories (*De Thucyde* 9). Dionysius' criticism is rejected in a commentary on Book 2 of Thucydides, of unknown authorship, found on a second-century CE papyrus (*POxy* VI 853):

Dionysius of Halicarnassus in his treatise on Thucydides blames Thucydides on a few grounds, and discusses three chief points, first that he has not fixed his dates by archons and Olympiads, like other historians, but according to a system of his own by summers and winters . . . Such is Dionysius' view; but in opposition to this rash criticism one might reasonably retort that [---] . . . For the system of dating by archons and Olympiads had not yet come into common use . . . (Cols. 1.7–2.7, translation from the original publication of the papyrus by Grenfell and Hunt)

went into circulation, at the earliest, shortly before Thucydides' death c. 400.

This fits well with what we know about other eponym lists. The most obvious comparanda are the lists of Spartan ephors, Athenian archons, and priestesses of Hera at Argos, all of which made their first appearance in the second half of the fifth century.⁵ We can, therefore, establish a firm *terminus post quem* for the first Olympic victor list of about 400.

A fragment from the history of Sicily written by Philistus of Syracuse provides a *terminus ante quem* of c. 360. This fragment contains the earliest known use of a *stadion* victor to identify a specific Olympiad:⁶

And Philistus in the first book of his *Sikelikai*, "In the Olympiad, in which Oibotas [the Dymaiaen] won the *stadion*."⁷ (FGrH 556 F2; see Section 2.3 for the Greek text)

The lack of any obvious connection between Oibotas (who came from an obscure town north of Olympia) and Sicily indicates that Philistus was providing an Olympiad date for an unknown event in Sicilian history, using Oibotas as an eponym to identify the Olympiad in question. This presumes the existence of a cumulative catalog of Olympic *stadion* victors, without which a reference to Oibotas' victory

The commentator is surely right that Dionysius unreasonably expects Thucydides to use chronological systems that only later became standard.

⁵ For more on eponym lists, see Section 2.5.

⁶ Two passages in Xenophon's *Hellenica* contain Olympiad dates. At 1.2.1 the year is identified using a numbered Olympiad and the name of the *stadion* victor. At 2.3.1 only the name of the *stadion* victor is given. In his recent commentary on the *Hellenica*, Peter Krentz argues that these dates are interpolations. Following Lotze 1962, Krentz points out that the Olympiad dates found at 1.2.1 and 2.3.1 do not match the system of dating by campaign seasons that is followed throughout the *Hellenica* (Krentz 1989, 108–10). One might also add that even 1.2.1 and 2.3.1 are not identical (only one has an Olympiad number). There can be little doubt, therefore, that Xenophon did not use Olympiad dates. See also Appendix 6 on the appearance of numbered Olympiads in the work of Hippias of Rhegium and Xanthus of Lydia.

⁷ On Philistus' work, see FGrH 556 as well as Bearzot 2002; Lendle 1992, 206–11; Pearson 1987, 19–30; and Zoepffel 1965, 1–73. Philistus seems to have produced his history in two parts, and Jacoby was of the opinion that the first part, from which the fragment quoted here derives, appeared sometime around 380. If true, this would strengthen the case for dating Hippias' *Anagraphe* to c. 400. For further discussion of this passage, see Section 2.3.

would have been chronologically meaningless. Philistus began working on his history sometime after 386, carried it down to the year 363/2, and died in 356.

The appearance of the first Olympic victor list can thus be located in a fairly narrow time span of approximately 400–360. Hippias was active during the earlier part of this period. His *akme*⁸ fell in the second half of the fifth century, and he died at some point in the early fourth century. He was a well-known sophist and so figures in numerous Platonic dialogues, which are the key sources of information about his career.⁹ He appears in the *Protagoras*, which is set shortly before the beginning of the Peloponnesian War (337c–338b). In the *Hippias Major* he is characterized as being significantly younger than Protagoras, who died at an advanced age in 420 (282d–e).¹⁰ In the *Apology* Socrates describes Hippias as currently traveling and teaching, which, if accurate, would extend Hippias' activities into the fourth century (19e). Isocrates is said in some sources to have married Hippias' daughter Plathane when he was an old man, another claim that would indicate that Hippias was active well into the fourth century ([Plutarch] *Moralia* 839b).¹¹

The overlap between the date of the first Olympic victor list and Hippias' career lends credence to Plutarch's statement that Hippias produced the first Olympic victor list. Hippias was already in his prime in the second half of the fifth century, so it is quite likely that he completed the *Anagraphe* not long after 400.¹² Even without the evidence from Plutarch, Hippias' biographical details would have suggested that

⁸ Much of our knowledge about Greek and Roman authors comes from ancient biographical sources that supply a date for when the author in question was at his peak (*akme*). This was typically taken to be when the author was 40 years old. See Mosshammer 1979, 119–24.

⁹ On Hippias' life, see Björnbo 1913; Freeman 1966, 381–91; and Guthrie 1962–81, 3: 280–85. Philostratus relied heavily on the Platonic dialogues for the information about Hippias he provides in his *Lives of the Sophists*. The information on Hippias' dates found in literary sources is supported by epigraphic evidence from Olympia. See Luraghi 1994, 146–8.

¹⁰ On the date and authenticity of the *Hippias Major*, see Woodruff 1982, 93–105.

¹¹ Dušanec argues that Hippias died during the Corinthian War or shortly thereafter during a coup against an oligarchic Elean government that had been installed by Sparta after the Spartan–Elean war (Dušanec 1991).

¹² Jacoby suggested a date of c. 400 for Hippias' *Olympionikai*, but he did not provide detailed supporting argumentation (Jacoby 1923–58, 3b1: 222 and 3b2: 145 n. 11).

he was responsible for the first Olympic victor list. Hippias was of Elean extraction and a man of distinction who regularly served Elis in an official capacity. He must, therefore, have been aware of and had access to whatever relevant records were available. He traveled extensively, both as an itinerant teacher and as a diplomat (see below), so he had ample opportunity to locate information about Olympic victors that was available in *poleis* other than Elis.

Hippias was also notably active at Olympia.¹³ He regularly made public appearances at the Olympic Games during which he offered to speak “on whatever subject anyone may choose from those I have prepared for display, and to answer whatever question anyone may wish to ask” (*Hippias Minor* 363c–d). In the *Hippias Minor* he is said to have brought to Olympia epics, tragedies, dithyrambs, and various prose writings that he had composed (368c–d). When the residents of Messene in Sicily erected statues at Olympia of the members of a boys’ chorus that died at sea, Hippias wrote elegiac verses that were inscribed on the statue bases (Pausanias 5.2.5.4). As we might expect, he also wrote about Elis (scholiast Pindar *Nemean VII* 53) and Lycurgus (Plutarch *Lycurgus* 23.1) and may also have written an *Olympikos* for delivery at Olympia.¹⁴

Finally, projects that involved compiling large amounts of information seem to have been one of Hippias’ specialties. He produced a work known as the *Synagoge* that was a collection of short quotations from a wide range of authors, organized thematically, on subjects ranging from metaphysics to famous women.¹⁵ He also compiled a catalog of place names, the *Ethnon Onomasiai* (scholiast to Apollonius Rhodius III 1179). The *Olympionikon Anagraphe* can be comfortably compared to both the *Synagoge* and the *Ethnon Onomasiai*.

There can be little doubt, then, that Hippias was the first to produce an Olympic victor list and that he did so c. 400. Although we possess but a single testimonium about his *Olympionikai*, a good deal about its contents can be deduced from the context in which it was written and from its likely use by later authors.

¹³ See the collection of fragments at Diels and Kranz 1951–2, 2: 326–34.

¹⁴ On Hippias’ *Olympikos*, see Schütrumpf 1972, 28.

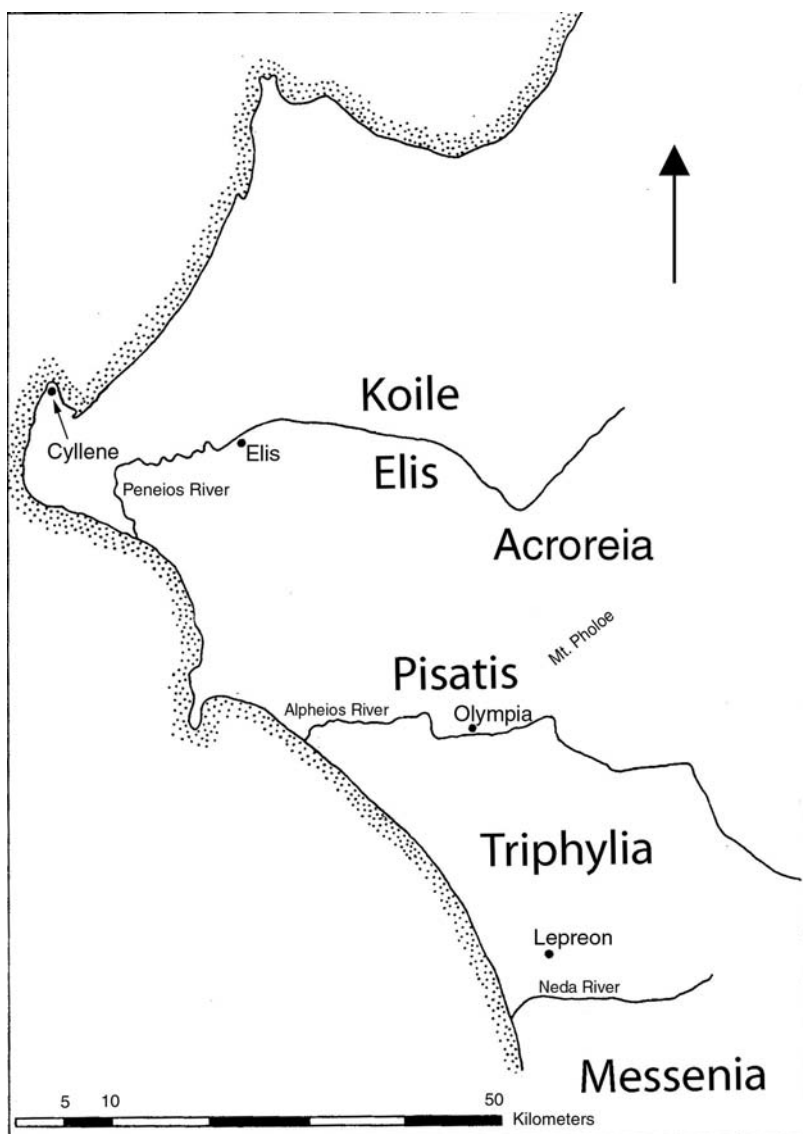
¹⁵ Patzer 1986.

2.2. HIPPIAS' *OLYMPIONIKAI*: CONTEXT

The situation in which Elis found itself in the late fifth century helps explain why Hippias produced an *Olympionikai*. In the last quarter of the fifth century, Elis engaged in a prolonged and dangerous struggle with Sparta that could have resulted in the termination of Elean control over Olympia. A certain amount of geographical and historical background information is necessary in order to understand this struggle. Elis was the name for both a region in the northwestern Peloponnese and the main *polis* in that region.¹⁶ The region of Elis contained three different river valleys running east–west, the Peneios in the north, the Alpheios to the south, and the Neda farther south on the border with Messenia (see map in Fig. 1). These valleys were separated by ten to twenty miles of marshy terrain cut by ravines, which made communication between them difficult. The Peneios valley was known to the ancient Greeks as Hollow (*Koile*) Elis. The inhabitants of Hollow Elis developed a political identity as members of a single *polis* at an early date, with its center in the city that also bore the name Elis. The hilly area to the southeast of the Peneios valley, the foothills of Mt. Pholoe, was known as Acroreia. The territory situated along the central part of the Alpheios valley, which included Olympia, was called Pisatis. There were a number of settlements in Pisatis that formed part of a unified state, but there does not seem to have been a city called Pisa. The area running south from the Alpheios to the Neda was called Triphylia. The most important settlement in Triphylia was the *polis* of Lepreon.¹⁷

¹⁶ Xenophon (*Hellenica* 3.2.23, 6.2.31, 7.4.17) calls the urban area Elis and the region Eleia. The two designations are too similar and thus too liable to confusion to be used here.

¹⁷ Triphylia, unlike Hollow Elis and Pisatis, does not seem to have been politically unified prior to the early fourth century (Inglis 1998, 104–9 and Nielsen 1997). For a detailed description of the physical geography of the region of Elis, see Inglis 1998, 1–19. The evidence pertaining to Elis, its expansion, and its relationship with Sparta is complex and to some extent mutually contradictory. The best recent discussions are those found in Roy 1999 and 2004. See also Roy 1997a, Roy 1997b, Roy 1998, Roy 2002a, and Roy 2002b and the bibliography cited therein. The key ancient sources include Diodorus 14.17.4–12, 14.34.1–2; Pausanias 3.8.3–6, 6.2.2–3; Thucydides 5.31.1–6, 5.34.1, 5.43.3, 5.44.2, 5.46.5–47.12, 5.49.1–50.4, 5.62.1–2; and Xenophon *Hellenica* 3.2.21–31.



1. Map of Elis

The *polis* of Elis tried from an early date to exert control over the areas to the south of the Peneios.¹⁸ Religious activity at Olympia began in the late eleventh or early tenth century, and for a considerable period the sanctuary was virtually certainly under Pisatan control;¹⁹ the geography of Elis was such as to divide the region into several discrete parts, which in turn made it difficult to unify.²⁰ Although the sources for Elean history are too lacunose and contradictory to permit an exact reconstruction of the relationship between Elis, Pisatis, and Olympia in the tenth through sixth centuries, the general outlines are fairly clear.²¹ After a lengthy struggle, Pisatis was incorporated into the Elean state sometime around 570.²² This gave the Eleans control over

¹⁸ Christoph Ulf has pointed out (personal communication) that the existence of some sort of *ethnos* of the Eleans contributed to the gradual creation of a political unit embracing all of the region of Elis.

¹⁹ On early activity at the site of Olympia, see Eder 2001a and Morgan 1990, 26–105. The residents of Hollow Elis were still attempting to gain control over Pisatis in the sixth century, and it is hardly credible that Olympia was dominated by Hollow Elis from the outset. Moreover, as Gehrke (2003) points out, there was no Elean identity as such before the eighth century.

²⁰ See Inglis 1998, 1–19; Swoboda 1905, 2369–73; and Taita 2001a.

²¹ There have been numerous attempts to construct a complete history of the region of Elis from the earliest periods. The difficulty is that the sources are almost exclusively late and contain competing versions of events that favor either the Pisatans or the Eleans. As one might expect, it has proven impossible to achieve anything resembling a scholarly consensus as to what happened when. It seems likely that the inhabitants of Hollow Elis in the early Iron Age were recent arrivals from Aetolia who had taken part in the Dorian migration. The migrants who settled in Hollow Elis probably worked to expand their control southward and eastward, which brought them into conflict with the Pisatans. Pisatis fell under Elean control in the early sixth century. The history of the relationship between Hollow Elis, Pisatis, and Olympia in the period between the time of the Dorian migration and the early sixth century remains murky. Two of the more elaborate attempts to write the history of Elis and Olympia can be found in Gardiner 1925, 40–107 and Viedebantt 1930.

²² Niese (Niese 1910), followed by Inglis (Inglis 1998, 46–69), Gehrke (Gehrke 2003), Nafissi (Nafissi 2003), and more tentatively by Möller (Möller 2004a), sees the conflict between Hollow Elis and Pisatis as a late construct that had its start in the brief period in the fourth century when Pisatis operated as a client state of the Arcadian Confederacy. This interpretation has not been widely accepted. A key piece of evidence that has been cited to show that Niese went astray is Pausanias' description of the chest of Cypselos at Olympia. Pausanias states that one panel of the chest showed Pisos (the eponym of Pisatis) participating in the funeral games of Pelias (5.17.9). The chest is typically accepted as a genuine art work of the Archaic period (Splitter 2000, 26–7 and *passim* and Snodgrass 2001), which makes Niese's position untenable.

Olympia.²³ Elean expansion continued during the late sixth and fifth centuries. Herodotus mentions Elean military activity in Triphylia in the middle of the fifth century (4.148), and a number of communities in Acroneia and Triphylia, including Lepreon, became dependent members of an Elean military alliance prior to the Peloponnesian War.²⁴

Elis, which had been a faithful ally of Sparta from an early date, came into open conflict with Sparta in the last quarter of the fifth century. The immediate cause of this conflict was the dispatch of a Spartan garrison to Lepreon in the summer of 421, in response to a complaint made by the Lepreotes to the Spartans that the Eleans were acting unjustly toward them (Thucydides 5.31). The Lepreote appeal proved to be a convenient occasion for Sparta to act upon a long-developing

Moreover, Xenophon (*Hellenica* 3.2.31) makes it clear that sometime around 400 the Spartans believed that the Pisatans had a legitimate claim to Olympia. This is impossible to reconcile with the idea that the struggle between Elis and Pisatis to control Olympia was invented after Pisatis became a client state of the Arcadian Confederacy in 365. The attempts by Niese and Nafissi to argue that Xenophon's statement about Pisatan claims was anachronistic and was founded on his knowledge of the situation after 365 are entirely unconvincing. Xenophon spent more than a decade in the early fourth century living in the immediate vicinity of Olympia. It is extremely unlikely that he could have been confused about the status of Pisatis before 365, and he had no reason to participate in a process of conscious creation of Pisatan identity in the 360s.

²³ The Eleans may have exercised some sort of control over Olympia intermittently prior to 570.

²⁴ On the Elean military alliance, see Siewert 1994. Elis was synoecized in 471/0, but the effects of this act remain unclear. (See the work by Roy cited in n. 17 of this chapter.) Hansen and Fischer-Hansen 1994, 86–9, following a suggestion of Uwe Walter 1993, 119, argue that Olympia was a political center for Elis until the synoecism. There are, however, serious problems with this idea, which are nicely treated in Morgan 2003, 75–6. (See also Siewert 2000 and Siewert 2001 for epigraphic evidence showing that the city of Elis was functioning as an administrative center in the first half of the sixth century.) Taita (Taita 1999), following Kahrstedt 1927 and Siewert 1991b, suggests that Olympia was governed by an amphictyony (see n. 41 of Chapter 3 for a definition of this term) prior to the fifth century. (See now also Eder 2001b.) Inglis argues for the existence of a loosely organized regional *ethnos* centered at Olympia prior to the synoecism of Elis (Inglis 1998, 49–65). Neither position has been widely accepted. If there was in fact an amphictyony at Olympia, it is very likely that initially Pisatis, and then Elis played a leading role in running that organization and that the two communities struggled to control both Olympia and the amphictyony. This possibility is raised by Dyer (1908), among others.

hostility to Elis. During the sixth and fifth centuries Elis evolved from a narrow oligarchy to a democracy, and Elean expansion made it by far the largest state in the Peloponnese other than Sparta. The Spartans had a deep-seated distrust of democratic governments and were strongly opposed to the expansion of other Peloponnesian states.²⁵ The signing of the Peace of Nicias shortly before the Lepreote appeal helped make it possible for the Spartans to intervene in the hope of curbing Elean territorial ambitions. The Eleans responded by concluding a treaty with Argos, Athens, and Mantinea that put them squarely in the anti-Spartan camp. They also accused the Spartans of violating the Olympic truce in the course of sending the garrison to Lepreon and imposed a heavy fine. The Spartans refused to pay on the grounds that the truce had not yet been declared in Sparta when the troops destined for the garrison set out. The Eleans then excluded the Spartans from the Olympics of 420. When Lichas, a prominent Spartan statesman, entered his chariot in these Olympics under the name of the Boeotian people and crowned the charioteer when his team won (in order to make his ownership of the winning horses clear), the Eleans had him flogged. It remains unclear whether the Spartans and Eleans effected a *rapprochement* that permitted the Spartans to participate in the Olympics of 416. One way or the other, the situation did not improve, as the Eleans refused to allow King Agis of Sparta to come to Olympia to sacrifice for victory in the war against Athens, probably in 414 or 413.²⁶

The Spartans, no doubt because they were fully occupied with Athens, did not bring their weight to bear on Elis until 401. At that point, they sent an embassy to Elis demanding that the Eleans free

²⁵ The Spartans' opposition to large, democratic states in the Peloponnese is most immediately evident from their intervention in Mantinea after the signing of the King's Peace in 387/6, when Mantinea was forcibly desynoeized and its democratic government replaced with an oligarchy. See Xenophon *Hellenica* 5.2.1–7. Falkner argues that Sparta intervened in Lepreon to secure a counterpoise to the Athenian base at Pylos and that, in the years immediately after the end of the Peloponnesian War, the Spartans wanted control over the Elean coastline in order to ensure easy access to Magna Graecia (Falkner 1996 and 1999). These considerations supplement but do not supplant the factors highlighted here.

²⁶ On the Spartan exclusion from Olympia, see Hornblower 2000.

their dependent allies and pay their share of the costs of the war against Athens. Upon rejection of their demands, the Spartans launched three separate campaigns between 401 and 399/8 that ultimately forced the Eleans to capitulate.²⁷ The Eleans were compelled to give up control of Lepreon and Triphylia and to tear down the fortifications in the port of Cyllene.

The Spartans, although far from conciliatory in the aftermath of their victory, did restrain themselves in one important way: they did not take control of Olympia away from the Eleans. In his account of these events, Xenophon writes:

οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι . . . τοῦ μέντοι προεστάναι τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου ἱεροῦ, καίπερ οὐκ ἀρχαίου Ἡλείοις ὄντος, οὐκ ἀπήλασαν αὐτούς, νομίζοντες τοὺς ἀντιπιοιούμενους χωρίτας εἶναι καὶ οὐχ ἱκανοὺς προεστάναι. (*Hellenica* 3.2.31)

The Lacedaemonians . . . did not, however, remove them from the presidency of the sanctuary of Olympian Zeus, even though it did not belong to the Eleans in ancient times, as they thought the rival claimants to be rustics and not capable of holding the presidency.

Xenophon does not identify these “rustics,” but they can only have been the Pisatans.

The Eleans must have been aware that to enter into open conflict with Sparta was to risk retaliation that could include the termination of their control over Olympia. The Eleans were in fact dispossessed of Olympia not long after the Spartan–Elean war, when the forces of the newly formed Arcadian Confederacy invaded Elis. The Arcadians created a client state in Pisatis, which operated independently from Elis between 365 and 362. The Arcadians and Pisatans seized Olympia and, in the face of armed opposition from the Eleans, ran the 104th Olympiad.²⁸ There was good reason, therefore, for the Eleans in

²⁷ The chronology for the Spartan–Elean war supplied here is taken from Unz 1986. The campaigns have been variously placed in the years between 402 and 398. For an exhaustive analysis, see Schepens 2004.

²⁸ On Pisatis as an Arcadian client state, see the sources cited in n. 17 of this chapter as well as Crowther 2003b; Inglis 1998, 96–118; Roy 1971; and Ruggeri 2004, 178–205. The key ancient sources are Xenophon *Hellenica* 7.4.28–35 and Diodorus Siculus 15.78.1–3.

Hippias' time to be concerned about their relationship with Olympia and with Sparta.

Hippias produced the first Olympic victor list just at the time when Elean control of Olympia was potentially threatened by Sparta and, almost certainly, precisely because of this fact. He had every reason to be aware of Elis' problems with Sparta because he served with some regularity as an official envoy for Elis. In the *Hippias Major* Socrates asks Hippias why he has not been in Athens for an extended period. Hippias replies, "I have not had leisure, Socrates. For Elis, whenever it needs to conduct any business with one of the *poleis*, always comes to me first among the citizens, and chooses me as envoy, considering me to be the most capable judge and messenger of the pronouncements that are made by each of the *poleis*. I, therefore, have often represented her in other cities, but most often, and on the most numerous and important matters, in Lacedaemon" (281a–b).

As the Elean envoy to Sparta, Hippias could hardly have been unaware of the possible ramifications of Elis' conflict with Sparta. The loss of Olympia would have been a devastating blow to Elis' standing in the Greek world, and Hippias had every possible incentive to do what he could to prevent this from happening. It is quite likely that one of the steps he took was to produce his *Olympionikon Anagraphe*.

2.3. HIPPIAS' *OLYMPIONKAI*: CONTENT

Not a single fragment of Hippias' *Olympionikon Anagraphe* survives, so its contents must be reconstructed on the basis of later sources. We will begin with the historical information included in the *Anagraphe* and then consider the victor catalog. The crux of the historical account in Hippias' *Olympionikai* was Lycurgus' activity at Olympia.²⁹

²⁹ The most thorough, but still brief, examination of the contents of Hippias' *Olympionikai* can be found in Jacoby 1923–58, 3b1: 221–8. See also Bilik 1998/9; Bultrighini 1990, 199–215; den Boer 1954, 42–54; Jacoby 1923–58, 1: 477–8; Jüthner 1909, 67–9; Narcy 1996; Untersteiner 1954–62, 3: 79–81; and Wisniewski 1959. Various attempts have been made to reconstruct Hippias' work by assuming that he was either friendly or hostile to Sparta and then looking for appropriate passages in later authors that might derive from his *Olympionikai*. The problem is that there is no direct evidence for Hippias'

There are four significant extant ancient accounts of that activity (by Eusebius, Pausanias, Phlegon, and Strabo). These accounts all agree that games were held at Olympia intermittently from an early period, under the aegis of figures such as Heracles and Pelops. There was also general agreement that the unbroken series of Olympiads that continued through the Roman period began when the Olympic truce was founded, and the Games reorganized, by King Iphitos of Elis and Lycurgus, the Spartan lawgiver. The basic story is succinctly recounted by Phlegon:

It seems proper to me to discuss the reason on account of which the Olympic Games came to be founded. The reason is as follows. After Peisos and Pelops, and then Heracles, who first instituted the festival and the contests at Olympia, the Peloponnesians neglected the observance of them for a certain time, until the period beginning with Iphitos.³⁰ Twenty-eight Olympiads are reckoned from Iphitos to Coroibos of Elis. Because they neglected the contest, unrest threatened the Peloponnese. (2) Lycurgus of Lacedaemonia (son of Prytanis, son of Eurypion, son of Soos, son of Procles, son of Aristodemos, son of Aristomachos, son of Cleodaios, son of Hyllos, son of Heracles and Deianeira) and Iphitos of Elis (son of Haimon, but according to some son of Praxonidos,

attitude toward Sparta. In addition, Brunschwig has persuasively argued that Hippias, both as sophist and as diplomat, functioned as a mediator who helped reconcile ideas or parties in conflict (Brunschwig 1984). In the discussion that follows, the contents of Hippias' *Olympionikai* are reconstructed primarily by assuming that this work responded to the Elean-Spartan conflict.

³⁰ As transmitted this sentence is not easily translated. Phlegon is clearly saying that the Olympics were held by Heracles and then were not celebrated again until the time of Iphitos. The problem comes with the phrase εἰς ὃν ἀπὸ Ἰφίτου ὀλυμπιάδες ὀκτώ πρὸς ταῖς εἴκοσι καταριθμοῦνται εἰς Κόροιβον τὸν Ἠλείου. Phlegon might be trying to say that the period between Heracles and Iphitos was twenty-eight Olympiads in duration. There are, however, two problems with this reading of the passage. First, this reading requires that the verb καταριθμοῦνται govern twin uses of the preposition εἰς, which would generate a rather odd sentence ("to the time from Iphitos twenty-eight Olympiads are reckoned to Coroibos of Elis"). Second, a variety of ancient sources placed twenty-eight Olympiads between Iphitos and Coroibos, as outlined in Section 2.8. It seems better to read the first εἰς with the preceding ἐκλείπόντων, to add a comma after Ἰφίτου, and to read the phrase ὀλυμπιάδες ὀκτώ πρὸς ταῖς εἴκοσι καταριθμοῦνται εἰς Κόροιβον τὸν Ἠλείου parenthetically, construing ἀπὸ Ἰφίτου with both εἰς ὃν and καταριθμοῦνται. Jacoby was almost certainly correct to suspect that the text as transmitted is incomplete (1923–1958, 2d: 839). In the interests of clarity I have broken the single Greek sentence up into three separate English sentences and transformed the first genitive absolute into a conjugated English verb.

one of the Heracleidai), and Cleosthenes, son of Cleonicos, of Pisatis, wishing to restore the people to harmony and peace, took it in mind both to revive the Olympic festival in accordance with the ancient customs and to hold the athletic contests. (3) They indeed sent to Delphi, in order to inquire of the god as to whether he gave his consent for them to do these things. The god said it would be better for them to do these things. He ordered them to announce a truce for those *poleis* wishing to take part in the contest. (4) After these things were announced by messengers throughout Greece, a discus was inscribed for the *Hellandikai*, in accordance with which they were bound to conduct the Olympics. (5) When the Peloponnesians expressed annoyance rather than approval for the contest, pestilence appeared and brought ruin to them and a blight on their crops. Sending Lycurgus and his associates once more, they asked how to put an end to and to cure the pestilence. (6) The Pythia prophesized as follows:

Honored elders and best of all men, dwelling in Pelops' citadel, which is renowned in every land, you ask from me an oracle from the god, an oracle which I would be of a mind to deliver. Zeus is angry with you on account of the rites which he decreed, because you dishonor the Olympic festival of all-ruling Zeus. Peisos first founded and arranged the Olympics in honor of Zeus, and after him Pelops, when he trod the land of Greece, next set up a festival and prizes for the dead Oinomaïos. Third after these the son of Amphytrion, Heracles, held the festival and contests for his dead maternal uncle, Pelops, a descendant of Tantalos. You utterly neglect these contests and rites. Growing angry in his heart at this, he has called forth evil famine and pestilence against you, which it is possible to stop by restoring once again the festival for him.

(7) They reported the things that they heard to the Peloponnesians. But the Peloponnesians, not trusting the oracle, sent them back again by common consent in order to inquire of the god in more detail about the oracles. The Pythia said these things:

O inhabitants of the Peloponnese, going to the altar,
sacrifice and do whatever the seers might say.

(8) After they had received this oracle the Peloponnesians entrusted to the Eleans the supervision of the Olympic Games and the announcement of the truce to the *poleis*. (9) Afterward, when the Eleans wished to lend aid to the Lacedaemonians when they were laying siege to Helos, they sent to Delphi and received an oracle. The Pythia prophesized

as follows:

Ministers of the Eleans, strictly keeping to ancestral law,
defend your fatherland, but hold off from war.
Be leaders for the Greeks in a friendship of common justice,
whenever the genial penteteric³¹ year arrives.

After they had received this oracle they refrained from war, and took care for the Olympics. (10) No one was crowned for five Olympiads. In the 6th Olympiad it seemed best to inquire of the oracle as to whether they should put wreaths on the victors, and they sent King Iphitos to the sanctuary of the god. The god said these things:

Iphitos, do not put the fruit of the apple tree on victory,
but wrap around the fruitful wild olive,
which is now covered by the light webs of the spider.

(11) Upon arriving at Olympia and finding that one of the many olive trees in the sanctuary was covered in cobwebs, Iphitos built an enclosure around it, and the crown for victors was given from this tree. Daicles of Messenia was the first to be crowned, he who won the *stadion* in the 7th Olympiad. (FGrH 257 F1; see Appendix 5.7 for the Greek text)

Very similar versions can be found in Eusebius (ll. 9–37 in Appendix 4.1) and Pausanias (5.1.3–4.9, 5.7.6–8.11).

The relatively late date of these sources is not a matter of concern because the connection between Iphitos and Lycurgus is already evident in the work of Aristotle, whose comments on this subject are reported in Plutarch's biography of Lycurgus:

Concerning Lycurgus the lawgiver, it is generally speaking possible to say nothing that is not subject to dispute. The accounts at any rate diverge in regard to his birth and travels and death and especially in regard to his work with the laws and the constitution. Least of all do the accounts agree as to when he lived. For some say that he flourished in the time of Iphitos and that they founded the Olympic truce together. Aristotle the philosopher is one

³¹ The word penteteric, which comes directly from ancient Greek, designates something that happens every five years. Ancient Greeks usually counted inclusively, which meant that they understood there to be five (rather than four) years between iterations of the Olympics.

such, offering as proof the discus at Olympia on which the inscribed name of Lycurgus is preserved.³² (1.1)

This must be the discus mentioned by Phlegon. It, or a copy, survived into the second century CE, as Pausanias mentions seeing it during his visit to the Temple of Hera at Olympia:

There are also here other dedications, both a couch not large in size, most of which is decorated with ivory, and the discus of Iphitos . . . The discus of Iphitos is inscribed with the truce, which the Eleans announce for the Olympics, not written in a straight line, but the letters run around the discus in a circular fashion. (5.20.1)

There has been considerable scholarly discussion as to whether Aristotle was the first to use this discus as a source for the history of the Olympics or whether Hippias had done so before him.³³ The latter possibility is by far the more likely. Hippias frequented Olympia and carried out a research project on Olympic victors and the Olympic Games. He can hardly have been unaware of the existence of a discus at Olympia that had the terms of the Olympic truce and the names of Iphitos and Lycurgus inscribed upon it. This discus is unlikely to have been inscribed after Hippias' time. Aristotle was too perspicacious to be taken in by a recent forgery, particularly because he almost certainly personally visited Olympia at least once and thus had the opportunity

³² A passage from Heraclides Lembus' collection of excerpts from the summaries of the constitutions of various *poleis* compiled under Aristotle's direction seems to draw on the same source:

Lycurgus, finding much disorder in his homeland, and Charillos ruling tyrannically, changed things for the common good and established the truce. (F10 Dilt)

³³ On the discus of Iphitos, see Bultrighini 1990, 211–29 and Chrimes 1971, 319–27 and the bibliography cited therein. Bultrighini (1990, 203) and Nafissi (2001, 310 n. 25) both argue that Hippias could not have connected Lycurgus to the Olympic truce because Hippias described Lycurgus as *polemikotatos* (very warlike, FGrH 6 F7). However, the relevant fragment provides no sense of the context in which Hippias described Lycurgus as very warlike. It is entirely possible that it referred to military campaigns undertaken by the Spartans under Lycurgus' leadership in support of the Eleans. Untersteiner (1954–62, 3: 86–8) believed that it referred to Lycurgus' reforms of the Spartan army. One way or the other, this fragment provides no particularly compelling reason to believe that Hippias did not associate Lycurgus with the Olympic truce.

to inspect it himself.³⁴ This is not to say that the discus was a genuine relic of the activities of Iphitos and Lycurgus. It can be dated with some confidence to the sixth century, for reasons discussed in Section 2.5.³⁵

If, as appears likely, Hippias made use of the discus of Iphitos, it becomes a near certainty that the claim that Lycurgus and Iphitos were responsible for reorganizing the Olympics and founding the Olympic truce, which features prominently in a number of sources beginning with Aristotle, also appeared in Hippias' *Anagraphē*.³⁶ The utility of such a claim is obvious. When Hippias was producing his *Olympionikai*, there was good reason to think that the Spartans were going to terminate Elean control over Olympia. The account in Phlegon shows that part of the story about Lycurgus' and Iphitos' reorganization of the Olympics was that the Eleans were entrusted with the stewardship of the Games and of the Olympic truce. Lycurgus was revered in Sparta as the founding father of the Spartan state, and it would have been a distinct embarrassment for the Spartans to reverse one of his actions.

Hippias may also have claimed that Elis had been declared sacred and inviolable by agreement of the Heracleidai, the ancestors of the

³⁴ On the evidence for Aristotle's visit to Olympia, see n. 94 of Chapter 3.

³⁵ On the veracity of the story about the refoundation of the Olympics by Lycurgus and Iphitos, see Section 2.5. It is impossible to know when this story first began circulating. Jacoby argues that this story was already extant in the early sixth century (Jacoby 1923–58, 3b2: 143 n. 1 and 145 n. 12). Stein sees it as Hippias' invention (Stein 1882, 4). Meyer argues that since Ephorus states that Iphitos refounded the Olympics, without mentioning Lycurgus (*apud* Strabo 8.3.33; see below for the text), the connection between Lycurgus and Iphitos must postdate Hippias (Meyer 1892, 1: 240–41). There is in fact some reason to think that Ephorus dated Lycurgus to the ninth century (Koiv 2003, 370–72), which would mean that Ephorus believed that Iphitos founded the Olympics on his own. This does not, however, mean that Hippias was of the same opinion. Pausanias saw a statue group of Truce crowning Iphitos in the Temple of Zeus at Olympia, but its date cannot be established with any certainty (5.10.10, 5.26.2). See Musti et al. 1982–2000, 5: 346–7 *contra* Hitzig and Blümner 1896–1910, 2.1: 443–5. The date when the Olympic truce was instituted is unknown. See Baltrusch 1994, 117–22; Lämmer 1982/83; and Rougemont 1973 and the bibliography cited therein. A sixth-century date for the discus of Iphitos would fatally undercut Stein's and Meyer's positions.

³⁶ Some scholars have argued that Aristotle believed Iphitos refounded the Olympics on his own, with Lycurgus helping only in regard to the Olympic truce. This argument, however, is untenable. See Appendix 7 for a full discussion of the relevant evidence.

Spartan kings.³⁷ This version of the early history of Olympia is found in the work of Strabo, who draws directly on Ephorus. Strabo describes how Aetolos, an early ruler of Elis, was driven into exile and ended up in what became Aetolia. One of Aetolos' descendants, Oxylos, subsequently aided Heracles' sons in their conquest of the Peloponnese, in recompense for which he was given permission to take control of his ancestral homeland. Oxylos collected an army of Aetolians and conquered Elis. The Eleans subsequently became a sacred people, and Iphitos founded the Olympics:

Ephorus says that Aetolos, having been driven out of Elis and into Aetolia by Salmoneus, the king of both the Epeians and Pisatans, named the territory after himself and brought the *poleis* there together into a single urban center. Aetolos' descendant Oxylos was friendly with the Heracleidai associated with Temenos and served as their guide during their return to the Peloponnese and portioned out for them the parts of the territory that were hostile to them . . . In return he received as a token of gratitude the right to return to Elis, since it was his ancestral land. He gathered an army from Aetolia and attacked the Epeians who were occupying Elis. . . . The Aetolians drove out the Epeians and took possession of the land. They also took over superintendence of the sanctuary at Olympia . . . Because of the friendship of Oxylos with the Heracleidai, it was readily sworn under oath by all that Elis would be sacred to Zeus and that whoever invaded this country under arms would be accursed and that in the same way accursed would be anyone who did not defend Elis to the extent of their powers. . . . And Iphitos celebrated the Olympic Games, the Eleans now being a sacred people. (8.3.33)

Strabo then relates how Pheidon of Argos later seized control of the Olympics, as a result of which the Eleans were compelled to take up the practice of arms. The Spartans came to their aid against Pheidon,

³⁷ Jacoby 1923–58, 3b2: 145 n. 12 and Wade-Gery 1945, 23 n. 2 (among others). The ancient accounts of the early history of Olympia and the Olympic Games were influenced in complex and varying ways by pro-Elean and pro-Pisatan biases. The discussion provided here focuses on Hippias' version and is not intended as a full conspectus of all of the ancient sources on the early Olympics. It is clear that with the possible exception of Ephorus (see n. 35 in this chapter) most ancient authors, almost certainly including Hippias, believed that Lycurgus and Iphitos collaborated in refounding the Olympic Games and establishing the Olympic truce. This makes it possible to use later sources to reconstruct some features of Hippias' *Olympionikai* in general terms. The divergences among those later sources in matters of detail make it impossible to use them to generate a sense of the fine points of Hippias' account.

who had shattered Spartan hegemony over the Peloponnese, and the two states were successful:

And in particular the Eleans helped the Lacedaemonians destroy Pheidon, and the Lacedaemonians helped the Eleans bring both Pisatis and Triphylia under their control. (8.3.33 = *FGrH* 70 F115)

This account is little more than an *apologia* for Elean territorial pretensions.³⁸ Ephorus was active in the first half of the fourth century, so this version of Elis' history was in circulation not long after Hippias wrote his *Anagraphe*. The prominent role assigned to Spartan cooperation in Elean conquest of the areas to the south of Hollow Elis makes perfect sense against the background of the Spartan–Elean conflict of the late fifth century. It is very likely, therefore, that this version of Elean history either had its origins in or was heavily emphasized at precisely the time Hippias was serving as the Elean representative to Sparta and writing his *Olympionikai*.³⁹

The conclusion that Ephorus looked to Hippias' *Olympionikai* as a source for Elean history lies near at hand, particularly because the earliest local histories of Elis were not written until the Hellenistic period, so the number of places to which Ephorus could have turned for information was limited.⁴⁰ If Ephorus' account does indeed draw

³⁸ The Spartans may have helped the Eleans establish control over Triphylia in order to create a secure northern border for Messenia. Elean activity in Triphylia presumably did not significantly pre-date the Elean conquest of Pisatis in the early sixth century, which would place possible Spartan–Elean cooperation in Triphylia in the period when Elis joined the Peloponnesian League. There is archaeological evidence in the form of publicly dedicated bronze vessels and stone *proxenoi* seats that might be taken to show that Sparta enjoyed a special position at Olympia in the sixth century. For this evidence, see Hönle 1972, 143–6 and Siewert 1991b. The prominence of Elean seers at Sparta and the existence of a “colony” of Eleans there may also be relevant. On this subject, see Taita 2001b. Mallwitz makes the highly speculative suggestion that the use of Laconian-style roof tiles on the Temple of Hera (built c. 600) reflects Spartan influence at Olympia (Mallwitz 1999).

³⁹ Bilik seeks to prove that Hippias invented the idea of Elean sacred neutrality (Bilik 1998/9), but the evidence for this is very tenuous. Hippias no doubt found the idea of Elean neutrality to be convenient, but it could easily have preexisted him. For an analysis of the political content of the various ancient stories about the foundation of the Olympics, see Ulf 1997a. Ulf does not, however, consider any possible connections between these stories and the Spartan–Elean war.

⁴⁰ On local histories of Elis, see Section 3.1. As Guido Schepens has pointed out, Ephorus drew heavily on extant historiographic work (Schepens 1977). Schepens also argues that

directly on Hippias' *Anagraphe*, the latter gave a version of events in which both the Heracleidai, the ancestors of the Spartan kings, and Lycurgus, the founding father of the Spartan state, were invoked in support of Elean claims to Olympia. It is worth noting in this regard that Plutarch mentions Hippias' observations on Lycurgus' skill as a military commander (*Lycurgus* 23.1). One cannot help but wonder if Hippias associated Lycurgus with the campaigns the Spartans ostensibly undertook in support of the Eleans.

The historical account of Olympia provided by Hippias may well have extended down to his own time and described the Elean–Spartan war. Accounts of this war are found in Diodorus Siculus (14.17.4–12, 34.1–2), Pausanias (3.8.3–6), and Xenophon (*Hellenica* 3.2.21–31). Diodorus made use of Ephorus in this section of his work, and Ronald Bilik has argued that Ephorus based his account on Hippias' *Olympionikai*.⁴¹ There are five relevant considerations. First, Diodorus/Ephorus describes Elis as sacred territory, and we have already seen that Ephorus probably took this from Hippias. Second, Diodorus/Ephorus' account contains details not found in Pausanias and Xenophon, details that speak to a precise knowledge of Elean topography. Third, Diodorus/Ephorus simply states that Agis wanted to sacrifice “to the god,” whereas Xenophon specifies the god as Zeus. This may indicate that Ephorus found his information in a source that dealt specifically with Olympia and thus had no need to name the god. Fourth, the version of events given by Diodorus/Ephorus puts the Spartans in a rather poor light, emphasizing their bad intentions and the excessive demands they made upon the Eleans as a pretext for waging war (14.17.5–6). Fifth, if Ephorus did indeed draw upon an earlier written source for the Elean–Spartan war, that source must have been written after the war was fought but before Ephorus wrote his

Ephorus had a particular interest in primary source material collected by other authors. Hippias' *Olympionikai* would likely have been of considerable interest in this regard.

⁴¹ Bilik 1998/9. Bilik responds to the prevailing opinion before the appearance of his article that Diodorus/Ephorus drew on the Oxyrhynchus historian. Schepens (2004, 64–5) has argued that Ephorus drew heavily on the Oxyrhynchus Historian for his account of the Sparta–Elis war and that Ephorus added in details taken from Hippias and Xenophon. Diodorus provides more information about earlier periods of Elean history at 8.1–3, presumably here again drawing on Ephorus. See Section 4.5 for further discussion of Diodorus' methods.

history. This would place the author of the source in the first half of the fourth century, just when Hippias was writing his *Olympionikai*.⁴²

Hippias' *Olympionikai* almost certainly also included information on the dates when events were added to the Olympic program. The use of *stadion* winners as eponyms was directly tied to the tradition that the only event held at the first thirteen Olympiads was the *stadion*. In addition, later *Olympionikai* show that catalogs of Olympic victors were structured around the order in which events were added to the Olympic program. Information about the expansion of the Olympic program was, therefore, a critical part of an Olympic victor list, and it is likely that Hippias included such information in his *Olympionikai*. In other *Olympionikon anagraphai* this information seems to have been presented separately from the victor catalog, and this may well have been the case in Hippias' *Anagraphe*.⁴³

The only other evidence for the contents of Hippias' *Anagraphe* (leaving aside the victor catalog, which is treated below) consists of the comparanda provided by other *Olympionikon anagraphai*.⁴⁴ The fact that Hippias' work was the first of its kind makes it impossible to know if one can safely retroject conclusions about the contents of subsequent *Olympionikai*. Later *Olympionikon anagraphai* included information about the history of athletics, of Olympia, of the Olympic Games, and of the events in the Olympic program as well as stories about famous athletes, lists of athletes who won multiple Olympic victories, summaries of discontinued events in the Olympic program, accounts of the order in which events were contested at Olympia, and notes on contest rules. Some or all of this information may have been found in Hippias' *Olympionikai*, but there is no way to be certain.

⁴² Bilik brings forward some other considerations that are too speculative to merit mention here, such as the possibility that Isocrates, who may have been Ephorus' teacher, may have married Hippias' daughter.

⁴³ For further discussion of the structure of victor catalogs, see Section 3.5.

⁴⁴ Meyer claimed that the story about Lycurgus and Iphitos consulting the Delphic oracle that is found in Phlegon and Eusebius goes back to Hippias' *Olympionikai* (Meyer 1892, 1: 241). Jacoby argued that the information about the number of *Hellandikai* found in some later sources also derives from Hippias' work (Jacoby 1923–58, 3b1: 221). Bultrighini (Bultrighini 1990, 230–31) suggests, that Pausanias' information about anolympiads (see Section 2.5) comes from Hippias. There is, unfortunately, no evidence to support any of these suggestions.

This brings us to Hippias' victor catalog, which seems to have begun with the Olympiad organized by Iphitos and Lycurgus and to have placed that Olympiad in the year corresponding to 776.⁴⁵ Hieronymus of Rhodes, working in the third century, synchronized the poet Terpander with Lycurgus and noted that:⁴⁶

Λυκοῦργον τὸν νομοθέτην . . . ὃς ὑπὸ πάντων συμφώνως ἱστορεῖται μετὰ Ἰφίτου τοῦ Ἡλείου τὴν πρώτην ἀριθμηθεῖσαν τῶν Ὀλυμπίων θέσιν διαθεῖναι.

Lycurgus the lawgiver . . . is recorded by all, without dissent, as having arranged, together with Iphitos, the Elean, the establishment of what is numbered as the first Olympic Games. (Wehrli F33, trans. P. J. Shaw *Discrepancies in Olympiad Dating*)

Insofar as Hippias produced the first catalog of Olympic victors, the phrase “recorded by all, without dissent” should be taken to include

⁴⁵ It is likely that, prior to the compilation of the Olympic victor list, the Iphitos–Lycurgus Olympics was but one iteration of the Games among many. As we shall see, Hippias probably first established a starting point for the list of Olympic victors and then distributed the victors in the space thus defined. The tradition of multiple, intermittent iterations of the Olympics meant that there were a variety of starting points from which to choose. It was, for example, perfectly possible for Hippias to have begun his list with the Olympics over which Heracles the son of Alcmena ostensibly presided. Pindar (*Olympian* X) supplied the names of the victors in this Olympiad, and there was no reason that Hippias could not have cobbled together a list of victors to fill the space between Heracles' time and his own. Hippias probably passed over Heracles' Olympics because they were something of a problem for an Elean author. The story ran that Heracles held games in Pisatis after he sacked Elis for failure to pay wages owed to him, hardly a good starting point for a victor list intended to reinforce Elean claims to Olympia. (The story is told succinctly at Pausanias 5.1.7–3.3.) The Lycurgus–Iphitos Olympics, on the other hand, had no such taint and had the significant advantage of assigning the Spartans a prominent role in constituting the Olympics as they were in Hippias' time.

⁴⁶ Hieronymus adds to the problems associated with the date of Lycurgus (on which see the bibliography cited in n. 88 of this chapter) because he places him in the time of Terpander, who was listed as the first victor in Hellanicus' catalog of victors in the Carneia at Sparta (*FGrH* 4 F85). Terpander's Carneia victory was traditionally dated to 676 (Sosibius *FGrH* 595 F3), which puts Lycurgus in the seventh century. There is an obvious conflict between Lycurgus as the founder of the Olympic truce in the early eighth century and Lycurgus as a contemporary of Terpander in the early seventh. The extant fragments do not make it possible to reconstruct the date Hieronymus assigned to Lycurgus, but the most obvious scenario is that he, like many others, believed in at least two different Lycurgi. On this subject, see Section 2.8.

his work, which was little more than a century old when Hieronymus was active.

Further evidence for the starting point of Hippias' victor catalog can be found in Aristotle's *Olympionikai*. The passages from Plutarch and Hieronymus cited above show that Aristotle linked Lycurgus and Iphitos and that when Hieronymus was writing the first numbered Olympiad was universally associated with the Lycurgus Olympics. A fragment of Aristotle's *Olympionikai* (FHG F263) shows that he dated an Olympic victory won by the grandfather of the philosopher Empedocles to the 71st Olympiad (496). Empedocles can be independently dated to the middle of the fifth century,⁴⁷ so Aristotle must have put Olympiad 1 somewhere in the first half of the eighth century. Later chronographers used 776 as the basic Olympic epoch, which means that it is safe to assume that Aristotle's victor catalog began with the Lycurgus Olympics and that he dated that Olympiad to 776.⁴⁸

If Aristotle's catalog began with the Lycurgus Olympics and the year 776, the same can probably be said of Hippias'. The preceding discussion has shown that there is excellent reason to think that Hippias' victor catalog began with the Lycurgus Olympics. This important overlap between Hippias' and Aristotle's victor catalogs is unlikely to be coincidental. Aristotle made heavy use of Hippias' *Synagoge*, so he was doubtless aware of his other writings.⁴⁹ Further, Hippias' *Olympionikai* would have been an indispensable resource to Aristotle when he began work on his own version of the Olympic victor list, and he must have had a copy of Hippias' victor catalog. If Aristotle adopted the starting point for his victor catalog from Hippias, the most likely scenario is that he also followed Hippias in regard to the year to which the first Olympiad was assigned.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ See n. 27 of Chapter 3.

⁴⁸ See Section 3.2 for further discussion.

⁴⁹ Patzer 1986.

⁵⁰ Max Nelson has recently expressed doubt that Hippias produced a list of Olympic victors and takes the position that it was Aristotle who fixed the date of 776 for the first Olympics (Nelson 2007). He points to the fact that the only evidence for Hippias' *Olympionikon Anagraphe* is a passing reference in Plutarch. He also emphasizes that Strabo (8.3.33), citing Ephorus, states that Iphitos celebrated the Olympics and does not indicate that this was the first in a continuous series of games. This might mean that when Ephorus

The fact that Hippias' list of eponymous *stadion* victors was already being used to date events by the time Aristotle produced his *Olympionikai* is likely to have been an important consideration. For Aristotle to suggest a date for the Lycurgus Olympics different from that proposed by Hippias, he would have had to have added or subtracted *stadion* victors from Hippias' list. (Each *stadion* victor represented an Olympiad. Redating Lycurgus would have involved postulating a different number of Olympiads between Lycurgus and any later point in time and hence a different number of *stadion* victors.) This would have created a situation in which the same *stadion* victor was placed into different Olympiads by Hippias on one hand and Aristotle on the other, which in turn would have made the references to eponymous *stadion* victors in earlier sources very confusing. Alternatively, Aristotle could simply have taken Hippias' catalog as his starting point and extended it down to his own time. Although the evidence does not permit any certainty, this is the most likely scenario, which points to the conclusions that Hippias' victor catalog began with the Lycurgus Olympics and that Hippias dated the Lycurgus Olympics to 776.

The individual Olympiads in Hippias' catalog were probably identified solely on the basis of eponymous *stadion* victors. We have already seen that Hippias produced the first cumulative catalog of Olympic victors, that he worked at a time when lists built around eponyms, not around numerals, were the norm, and that Olympic *stadion* victors were being used as eponyms not long after Hippias' time. We can, therefore, be nearly certain that *stadion* victors functioned as eponyms in Hippias' *Anagraphe*. The earliest appearance of a numbered Olympiad is found in the fragments of Aristotle's *Olympionikai*.⁵¹ The sole possible exception that merits serious discussion is found in a

wrote in the first half of the fourth century there was no comprehensive list of Olympic victors in circulation, that the Iphitos Olympics was only one early Olympiad among many, and that it was left to Aristotle to establish the Iphitos Olympics as the first in a continuous series of games and to date that Olympiad to 776. Nelson's position is based on a notably critical interpretation of the relevant evidence, perhaps overly critical.

⁵¹ See Sections 3.2 and 3.4.

fragment of Philistus of Syracuse, which we have already had occasion to discuss. The fragment comes from the *Ethnica* of Stephanus Byzantius (sixth century CE):⁵²

Δύμη, πόλις Ἀχαιῶς, ἐσχάτη πρὸς δύσιν, ὅθεν καὶ Καλλιμάχος ἐν ἐπιγράμμασιν·

Εἰς Δύμην ἀπιόντα τὴν Ἀχαιϊκὴν.

Καὶ Δύμη ἡ χώρα πάλαι ἐκαλεῖτο, ἡ δὲ πόλις Στρατός. Ὑστερον δὲ καὶ ἡ πόλις καὶ ἡ χώρα Δύμη ἐκλήθησαν. Λέγεται καὶ πληθυντικῶς, ὡς Ἀπολλόδωρος. [----] Ὁ πολίτης Δυμαῖος· Ἐφορος κδ. “Παραγενομένης δὲ τῆς στρατιᾶς εἰς τὴν Δύμην, πρῶτον μὲν οἱ Δυμαῖοι καταπλαγέντες . . .” καὶ Πausanias ζ’. “Οἰβώτα ἀνδρὶ Δυμαίῳ σταδίου μὲν ἀνελομένῳ νίκην.” Καὶ Φίλιστος Σικελικῶν α’. “Ἐπὶ τῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος, καθ’ ἣν ὁ Οἰβώτας [ὁ Δυμαῖος] ἐνίκη στάδιον.” (s.v. Δύμη (*FGrH* 556 F2), text as given in *FHG* (1.186) F6)⁵³

Dyme, Achaean *polis*, on the western border, about which Callimachus writes in his *Epigrams*: To Dyme, departing Achaea.

And the region was long ago called Dyme, but the *polis* was called Stratos. But later both the *polis* and the region were called Dyme. The name is plural, as Apollodorus [---]. The word for a citizen of Dyme is Dymaios. Ephorus, in the twenty-fourth book, writes, “When the army approached Dyme, the Dymaians first having struck down . . .” And Pausanias, in his seventh book, “for Oibotas, a Dymaian who won the *stadion*.” And Philistus in the first book of his *Sikelikai*, “In the Olympiad, in which Oibotas [the Dymaian] won the *stadion*.”

This is the only known occurrence of the phrase “ἐπὶ τῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος, καθ’ ἣν” (“in the Olympiad, in which”), but the same phrase with a numeral between τῆς and Ὀλυμπιάδος is common. In addition, one of the manuscripts of the *Ethnica* reads “ἐπὶ τῆς Ὀλυμπ. Η’ Οἰβώτας ἐν. στάδ.” (“in the eighth Olympiad Oibotas (won) the *stadion*”). As both the Eusebian victor list and Pausanias (7.17.13–14) have Oibotas

⁵² See n. 6 of this chapter on the appearance of a numbered Olympiad in Xenophon’s *Hellenica*. See Appendix 6 for the appearance of numbered Olympiads in the work of Hippys of Rhegium and of Xanthus of Lydia, both of whom can be (but do not necessarily need to be) dated to the middle of the fifth century. In all three cases, the numbered Olympiads seem to be later interpolations.

⁵³ Jacoby supplies only a small part of the Philistus fragment. The entire text is given by Müller.

as the *stadion* victor in the sixth Olympiad, the text was emended by Jacoby to read “ἐπὶ ἑκτῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος.”

There are, however, three reasons why this emendation is problematic. First, although the phrase ἐπὶ τῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος without an associated numeral is unique, it is both grammatically sound and what one might expect in a historical work written in the brief period of time between the appearance of Hippias’ Olympic victor list organized around eponyms and of Aristotle’s list organized around numbered Olympiads. Second, the manuscripts of Stephanus’ *Ethnica* are riddled with textual errors that have never been the subject of careful study.⁵⁴ The manuscripts are all late (end of the fifteenth century CE). The newest edition of the *Ethnica* was produced by August Meineke in 1849 and is far from satisfactory.⁵⁵ Meineke used only three of the eighteen extant manuscripts and missed one manuscript family entirely. Third, it is easy to see how a later copyist, accustomed to seeing a numeral between τῆς and Ὀλυμπιάδος, might have changed καθ’ ἣν to ἡ. The text as received cannot, as a result, be emended with any confidence, which makes it likely that Philistus did not use a numbered Olympiad. This in turn indicates that when Philistus wrote in the first half of the fourth century Olympiads were identified solely on the basis of eponymous *stadion* victors, a practice that must reflect the structure of the only catalog of Olympic victors extant at that time, that in Hippias’ *Anagraphe*.

Hippias is likely to have provided the names of victors in all events, not just *stadion* victors. The victor catalogs in the only other two known *Olympionikon anagraphai* included the names of winners in all events, and there is no reason to think that Hippias worked differently. This must, however, remain nothing more than a conjecture.

Before moving forward, it may be useful to summarize what has been a complicated discussion of the contents of Hippias’ *Olympionikai*. Hippias produced a work called *Olympionikon Anagraphe* that included information about the Olympic Games and a catalog of Olympic victors. He seems to have credited Iphitos and Lycurgus with refounding the Olympics and with establishing the Olympic truce. Hippias may

⁵⁴ On the manuscripts of the *Ethnica*, see Diller 1938.

⁵⁵ Meineke 1849.

have gone one step further and claimed that Elis had been declared sacred territory by agreement of the Heracleidai, and it is possible that he included an account of the Elean–Spartan war of c. 400. Hippias probably also provided information on the order in which events were added to the Olympic program. Hippias' catalog of Olympic victors used *stadion* winners as eponyms and began with the Olympiad organized by Iphitos and Lycurgus. We can be fairly certain that Hippias dated this Olympiad to the year corresponding to 776.

Hippias' *Anagraphe* is a good example of what Hans-Joachim Gehrke has labeled "intentional history." Gehrke argues that the Greeks, like most cultures, created pasts for themselves by retrojecting present realities and in so doing intertwined myth and history, past and present. This process served a number of ends, the most important of which was "to provide a basis for questions of right and legal claims. . . . In a case of legal claims, e.g. to a piece of land, references to one's original assets, such as the appeal to autochthony, were important. In both cases it was advisable to go as far back into the past as possible. For this reason myth, or what we would call the 'purely' mythical part of intentional history, acquired especial significance."⁵⁶

Gehrke's description of intentional history bears a striking resemblance to Hippias' *Anagraphe*, which combined myth and history and which linked past and present by means of a continuous list of Olympic victors.⁵⁷ Another feature of intentional history that resonates strongly

⁵⁶ Gehrke 2001, 304. See also Gehrke 1994. John Dillery has recently argued that there was a distinct branch of Greek local history, which he calls "sacred history," that "focused on the past viewed through regional cult" (505) and that drew on temple archives (Dillery 2005). He sees sacred history as a subcategory of intentional history that served to "proclaim the region's importance in a larger, changing world" (*ibid.*). Hippias' *Olympionikai* does not fit neatly under the heading of sacred history because of its political content, but there are interesting similarities.

⁵⁷ Various attempts have been made to account for Hippias' *Anagraphe*. Den Boer argues that Hippias "wished to draft a chronological system based on Olympiads" (den Boer 1954, 49). It is, however, not clear why Hippias, if his primary intent was to construct a new system of reckoning time, would have produced a work that included a substantial body of information about the history of Olympia and the Olympic Games. Sinn reads the *Anagraphe* as an attempt to legitimize Elean control over Olympia (Sinn 2000, 4–5). He does not, however, take the Spartan–Elean war into account. Jacoby takes the position that Hippias was motivated by patriotism (Jacoby 1923–58, 3b1: 222–4). Peiser ties the *Anagraphe* to a competitive ethos among the entities controlling the sites of the various Panhellenic games, which ostensibly motivated Hippias to seek to establish the

with Hippias' *Anagraphe* is its legitimizing function. Indeed, Hippias' treatise helped reinforce Elean claims to Olympia in a number of different ways. The victor catalog established the existence of an unbroken succession of Olympiads, almost all of which were ostensibly administered by the Eleans, stretching back to the time of Iphitos and Lycurgus. The claim that Lycurgus participated in reorganizing the Olympics in cooperation with an Elean and that the Games were then entrusted to the stewardship of the Eleans made it difficult for the Spartans of Hippias' time to do exactly the opposite and take Olympia away from the Eleans. The claims that Lycurgus and Iphitos were also responsible for the construction of the Olympic truce and that the Eleans were from the outset responsible for its implementation undercut Spartan complaints about Elean misuse of the truce in the Lepreon affair. The claim that Elis had been declared sacred and inviolable by the Heracleidae, whom the Spartans took to be their ancestors, made the Spartan invasion of Elis appear to be an act of impiety.

2.4. AN ARCHIVAL SOURCE FOR HIPPIAS' CATALOG OF OLYMPIC VICTORS? PART ONE: BACKGROUND

There can be little doubt that Hippias relied heavily on orally transmitted stories when crafting the historical components of his *Olympionikai*, for the simple reason that there were few written sources to be consulted.⁵⁸ The situation with the victor catalog is, however, more complex. Hippias clearly produced the first such catalog, but the nature

greater antiquity of the Olympics (Peiser 1990). Golden makes the case that Hippias sought to articulate a picture of the early Olympics that privileged a particular viewpoint on the relative worth of hippic and gymnastic victories (Golden 1998, 37–45). Jacoby is clearly correct in a general sense, and Peiser's and Golden's views add noteworthy nuance to the position defended here. Interest in the Olympics and Olympic victors no doubt played some role, but the importance of this factor ought not be exaggerated. There was a rich oral and written tradition about the foundation and early history of the Olympics, and the exploits of the more famous athletes were commemorated in the form of highly visible monuments. Moreover, cumulative lists of victors in and of themselves do not seem to have held a great attraction. The first list of Pythian victors was compiled over 200 years after the amphictyons reorganized the contests at Delphi (see Section 3.4), and complete catalogs of victors in the Isthmian and Nemean Games were never assembled (see Section 2.5).

⁵⁸ See Section 3.1.

of the sources he used when doing so is not immediately clear. Scholars have vigorously debated this question for nearly three centuries, and over the course of time two distinct points of view have emerged. One view is that Hippias drew on archival records that provided him a complete and accurate listing of Olympic victors going back to 776. The other view is that Hippias had no such records at his disposal, and instead drew upon a diverse array of sources such as lists of victors in individual Olympiads, epigrams on victor statues, and oral traditions. As we will see, the second view is virtually certainly correct.

Modern-day scholars were aware from an early date of the existence of Olympic victor lists due to numerous references to such lists in ancient sources.⁵⁹ In the early seventeenth century CE, Joseph Scaliger helped bring to light the only extant, complete list of Olympic victors, that preserved in Eusebius' *Chronographia*.⁶⁰ For approximately a century the accuracy of this list was unquestioned. The first scholar to express doubts about its reliability was Isaac Newton, who, in *The Chronology of the Antient Kingdoms, Amended* (1728), argued that the chronologies of the ancient civilizations of the Mediterranean were untrustworthy because national pride created a tendency to exaggerate their antiquity.⁶¹ He was particularly critical of the system of reckoning by generations and of assigning 33.3 years or 40 years per generation, as he felt that 18–20 years per generation was a more accurate basis of calculation. Using historical records and astronomical and calendrical information and allotting 20 years per generation, he suggested a revised chronology for ancient Greece. He dated the Fall of Troy to 965 and Lycurgus' *akme* to 676. He concluded on this basis that the date of 776 for the first Olympics and the chronology inherent in the Olympic victor list were inaccurate.

Newton's revised chronology was widely accepted in England and appears in the work of most of the prominent English ancient historians of the eighteenth century, including Gibbon and Mitford. Over the course of time, however, the ancient sources reasserted themselves and

⁵⁹ The early history of the modern scholarship on the Olympic victor list (up through Mahaffy's 1881 article) is reviewed in detail in Peiser 1990 and Peiser 1993, 106–76. The discussion found here closely follows that of Peiser.

⁶⁰ See Section 4.4.

⁶¹ Newton 1779–85, 5: 3–291.

Newton's arguments were largely forgotten. When Henry Clinton published his three-volume study of ancient Greek chronology, the *Fasti Hellenici*, in 1834, he accepted the accuracy of the Olympic victor list and of the date of 776. This bit of scholarly amnesia is apparent in George Grote's brief statement on this subject, from his famous *History of Greece* that appeared between 1846 and 1857:

The Olympic games, more conspicuous than the Pythian as well as considerably older, are farther remarkable on the score of chronology, because they supplied historical computers with the oldest backward record of continuous time. It was in the year 776 B.C. that the Eleians inscribed the name of their countryman Koroebus as victor in the competition of runners, and that they began the practice of inscribing in like manner, in each Olympic or fifth recurring year, the name of the runner who won the prize.⁶²

Schliemann's excavations at Troy and Mycenae and Evans' at Knossos in the latter part of the nineteenth century helped restore the credibility of the ancient Greek sources because they seemed to prove that those sources were reliable guides to the history of early Greece. The end result was that the scholars who wrote the foundational works of ancient history in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, most of whom were German and thus were less familiar with English skepticism about ancient chronologies, shared Grote's faith in the accuracy of the Olympic victor list.

The English skeptical tradition did not, however, die out entirely, and a sharp, but ultimately inconclusive, exchange of views on the Olympic victor list took place in the years after 1881. This exchange was ignited by the publication of an article by J. P. Mahaffy that revived and extended earlier arguments against the accuracy of the Olympic victor list.⁶³ Any doubt about the accuracy of the Olympic victor list had significant ramifications for the accepted chronologies of ancient Greek history, and Mahaffy's article sparked a debate that continued intermittently through the 1920s. No consensus was ever reached, but the staunch defense of the accuracy of the Olympic victor list written by August Brinkmann in 1915 found fairly wide acceptance.⁶⁴

⁶² Grote 1846–57, 2: 318.

⁶³ Mahaffy 1881.

⁶⁴ Brinkmann 1915.

The time is ripe for a reexamination of the entire question, not least because the evidence for and views on many issues that bear directly on any assessment of the accuracy of the Olympic victor list have evolved significantly in the past century. A full doxographic treatment of the arguments presented by each scholar who has written on this subject would be tediously repetitive.⁶⁵ Furthermore, most of the arguments that have been made in the relevant scholarship are irretrievably inconclusive. (These arguments are reviewed in Appendix 9.) There are, however, two telling points that merit close attention, the absence of evidence for the existence of documentary records in eighth-century Greece and chronological inconsistencies in the ancient tradition on early happenings at Olympia.

2.5. AN ARCHIVAL SOURCE FOR HIPPIAS' CATALOG OF OLYMPIC VICTORS? PART TWO: DOCUMENTARY RECORDS IN EIGHTH-CENTURY GREECE

Scholars interested in the Olympic victor list recognized from the outset that Hippias could not have compiled an accurate register without having at his disposal a complete set of records of Olympic victors. This issue did not, however, receive much scholarly attention in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries because at that time it was assumed virtually without question that many Greek communities began keeping written records in the early eighth century. Eduard Meyer, for example, in his *Geschichte des Altertums* wrote that "The

⁶⁵ A thorough examination of the scholarly literature beginning with Mahaffy can be found in Bilik 2000. Bilik provides an annotated list of twenty-two relevant pieces of scholarship. They are (in chronological order) Mahaffy 1881; Busolt 1893–1904, 1: 585–7; Körte 1904; Beloch 1912–27, 1.2: 148–54; Brinkmann 1915; Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1922, 481–90; Kahrstedt 1927; Beloch 1929; Lenschau 1936; Callmer 1943, 56–9; Brouwers 1952; den Boer 1954, 42–54; Jacoby 1923–58, 3b1: 221–8; Kiechle 1959, 9–14; Mosshammer 1979, 91–7; Mouratidis 1985; Heidrich 1987; Mallwitz 1988; Lee 1988; Peiser 1990; Sinn 1991; and Wacker 1998. Bilik concludes that no consensus is apparent in this collection of work and that more research is needed. The following contributions should be added to the list supplied by Bilik: Ziehen 1915; Wade-Gery 1923–9a; Ziehen 1937–9, 2527–9; Hester 1941; Huxley 1962, 28–30; Nilsson 1962, 47; Herrmann 1973; Mouratidis 1982, 154–64; Fehling 1985, 67–77, 104–24 esp. 109 n. 249; Golden 1998, 40–45, 63–5; Sinn 2000, 4–6; Mann 2001, 59–62; and Hall 2002, 241–6.

oldest pure historical information consists of the registers of annual magistrates, victors in athletic contests, family trees, etc. They began in the eighth century; the beginning of the Olympic victor list in 776, the ephor list in 755/4, the Attic archon list in 682/1 supply the first precisely fixed dates in Greek history.”⁶⁶

The belief that Eleans kept careful records of Olympic victors beginning in 776 was founded upon four separate grounds: a series of passages in Pausanias that seemed to show that a catalog of Olympic victors existed before Hippias; the discus mentioned by Aristotle, Pausanias, and Phlegon on which the Olympic truce was inscribed; the maintenance of historical chronicles beginning at a relatively early date by officials in the Near Eastern kingdoms and at Rome (which suggested that Greek communities did the same); and the transmission or mention in literary and epigraphic sources of lists of eponyms that began in the eighth century. We will examine each of these in turn. To anticipate the conclusion reached below, the keeping of written records of Olympic victors before the middle of the seventh century (at the earliest) is highly improbable. This in turn means that the early parts of the Olympic victor list had no firm documentary basis.⁶⁷

Pausanias refers to an inscribed victor catalog at Olympia and cites “Elean records” as a source of information, both of which have been taken as evidence for the existence before Hippias’ time of a catalog of Olympic victors based on Elean archives. The victor catalog at Olympia, however, was not inscribed until the early third century and the references to “Elean records” do not offer proof of the existence of an Elean archive in the eighth century.

In the course of his description of Olympia, Pausanias mentions a statue of Lastratidas and then supplies some information about his family:

There stands also the statue of Lastratidas, an Elean boy, who carried off the crown for wrestling. He also won a victory at the Nemean Games in the boys’ age group, and another as one of the *ageneioi*. Paraballon, the father of

⁶⁶ Meyer 1884–1902, 2: 5.

⁶⁷ There is very little recent scholarship that explores the possible existence of documentary records in eighth-century Greece, though the authenticity of the earlier parts of the Athenian archon list continues to be debated (see below).

Lastratidas, won a victory in the *diaulos*, and he left behind to those coming after him an object of ambition, listing in the gymnasium at Olympia the names of those having won at the Olympic Games (τῶν νικησάντων Ὀλυμπίᾳσι τὰ ὀνόματα ἀναγράφας ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ τῷ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ). (6.6.3)

The participle ἀναγράφας leaves no doubt that Paraballon had a catalog of Olympic victors inscribed in the gymnasium.⁶⁸ The problem comes in regard to the date when this inscription was cut. There are no extant remains of the inscription, and the passage from Pausanias is the only information we possess about Lastratidas and Paraballon.⁶⁹ One *terminus post quem* is provided by Lastratidas' victory in the Nemean Games, which did not begin until the second quarter of the sixth century. Another is provided by the fact that Paraballon's inscription was located in, possibly on the walls of, the gymnasium at Olympia. Prior to the German excavations at Olympia that began in 1875, there was no reason to believe that the gymnasium was not built well before

⁶⁸ A germane parallel to the Paraballon inscription was discovered at Delphi when the *xystos* of the gymnasium there was fully excavated for the first time between 1985 and 1994. Those excavations revealed that the back wall of the *xystos* (the covered track that was a standard feature of gymnasia, including that at Olympia) contained painted inscriptions that recorded individual victories at the Pythian Games. The following example is representative of the dozen or so preserved inscriptions:

Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ.
[Μ]έγα{ι}ς Πύθιος Ἀπόλων. Τόπος
... Ἀδολίου Θεσπια[ί]ως παιδὸς δολι-
[χ]αδρόμου πυθιονεῖκου ὑπὸ προστάτην
[Ε]ὐτυχᾶν Ταναγρέα καὶ Μήνειον Εἰσί-
δωρον. Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ. (Queyrel #9)

To good fortune. Great is Apollo Pythios. Place of . . . Adolios of Thespiiai, Pythian victor in the boys' *dolichos* under the presidency of Eutychas of Tanagra and Meneios Isidoros. To good fortune.

The inscriptions date to the Roman imperial period. So-called *topos* inscriptions are known from spaces in gymnasia of the Hellenistic and Roman period that served as *de facto* classrooms. Students marked their places with their names. The recently discovered inscriptions at Delphi seem to be a combination of a standard victory and a *topos* inscription suitable for a gymnasium, though it is clear that the boys in question were not reserving space but commemorating a victory. On these inscriptions, see Queyrel 2001.

⁶⁹ The fact that nothing of Paraballon's inscription survives is unsurprising considering that it stood in an area of the site that was part of an early Christian settlement and that has been heavily damaged. Moreover, much of the gymnasium remains unexcavated.

Hippias wrote his *Olympionikai*.⁷⁰ As it turns out, the gymnasium was built in three phases beginning in the first half of the third century. Paraballon's *diaulos* victory and the cutting of the victor inscription at Olympia are now commonly dated to the early third century.⁷¹ Paraballon may have been responding to the erection of an inscription at Delphi in the 320s that provided a catalog of Pythian victors.⁷²

Pausanias also mentions the statue of another Olympic victor who was responsible for the inscription of a victor catalog at Olympia:

Euanoridas of Elis won the boys' wrestling at Olympia and at the Nemean Games. When he became an *Hellandikes* he too recorded the names of those who had won at Olympia (ἔγραψε καὶ οὗτος τὰ ὀνόματα ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ τῶν νενικηκότων). (6.8.1)

Polybius includes a Euanoridas in a short list of prominent Eleans taken prisoner in a battle fought in 217 (5.94.6), and this name is plausibly restored in a very fragmentary inscription from Olympia dating to the third century (*IvO* 299).⁷³ *Hellandikai* must have been men of some distinction in Elis, and so the three references probably pertain to the same person. The inscribed victor list at Olympia begun by Paraballon needed to be updated occasionally, and it is likely that this task was carried out on a voluntary basis by *Hellandikai* such as Euanoridas.⁷⁴

⁷⁰ See, for example, Gilbert 1875, 1–3.

⁷¹ For the scholarship on Paraballon's inscription, see Hitzig and Blümner 1896–1910, 2.2: 559, 573 and Musti et al. 1982–2000, 6: 215–16. On Paraballon's date, see Ebert 1997a, 251 n. 38; Moretti 1957, #536; and Zoumbaki 2005, 290–1. On the gymnasium at Olympia, see Wacker 1996, 15–78 and *passim*. It is likely that the inscription was cut specifically to go with the new gymnasium. It is theoretically possible that the inscription was cut onto moveable *stelai* before the erection of the gymnasium. There is, however, no evidence that this was the case, and the *stelai* would in any case have to postdate Paraballon's victory, which cannot be placed any earlier than the sixth century. Paraballon's inscription does not, therefore, offer any evidence for the maintenance of victor records in Olympia in the eighth or seventh centuries.

⁷² See Section 3.4.

⁷³ On Euanoridas, see Moretti 1957, #570 and Zoumbaki 2005, 164–6.

⁷⁴ Jacoby 1923–58, 3b1: 225–8. It is possible that Paraballon's work later circulated in book form. A Hellenistic library excavated in what was ancient Tauromenium in Sicily had the names of authors painted on its columns. One heavily damaged line end reads [----] ὦν Ἡλείος. Manganaro, who published the inscriptions from the library, suggested that this line referred to Paraballon of Elis (Manganaro 1974). This is a highly speculative reading given the wide range of Greek personal names that end in ὦν and the relatively

It is thus clear that there was indeed an inscribed victor catalog at Olympia, but it did not come into existence until the third century.

Pausanias uses the phrase “the Elean records of Olympic victors” (τὰ Ἡλείων ἐς τοὺς ὀλυμπιονίκας γράμματα) or a slight variation thereon five times (3.21.1, 5.21.8–9, 6.2.2–3, 6.13.9–11, 10.36.9). This phrase marks instances where the record of Olympic victors Pausanias encountered at Olympia, probably in the form of the inscription in the gymnasium, diverged from *Olympionikai* in general circulation. The divergence sprang from the fact that the Eleans refused to acknowledge certain Olympiads as legitimate and omitted them from their records.⁷⁵

Pausanias notes the existence of these “anolympiads” on more than one occasion:

The Pisatans brought disaster on themselves because of their hatred of the Eleans and because of their eagerness to preside over the Olympic Games instead of the Eleans. They at any rate brought in Pheidon of Argos, the most overbearing of the tyrants in Greece, at the 8th Olympiad and ran the contests together with Pheidon. In the 34th Olympiad the Pisatans and their king Pantaleon the son of Omphalion assembled an army from among those living in the area and ran the Olympic Games instead of the Eleans. The Eleans call these Olympiads, and in addition to them the 104th, which was run by the Arcadians, anolympiads, and they do not include them in the register of Olympiads (ταύτας τὰς ὀλυμπιάδας καὶ ἐπ’ αὐταῖς τὴν τετάρτην τε καὶ

limited number of known Elean authors. For more information on the building in which this inscription was found, see now Blanck 1997.

⁷⁵ There has been considerable discussion of what Pausanias meant by τὰ Ἡλείων ἐς τοὺς ὀλυμπιονίκας γράμματα. The general consensus is that the phrase refers to an Olympic victor list of some kind. The most significant early treatment is that of Jüthner, who believed that Pausanias was referring to the historical information found in Olympic victor lists (Jüthner 1909, 109–10). The most recent treatment is that of Nafissi, who concludes that Pausanias was referring to some part of an Olympic victor list (Nafissi 2001, 304 n. 7). Nafissi points out that Pausanias seems to use the term *grammata* to refer to documentary records, not literary sources. The position outlined here follows that adopted by a number of scholars, including Gilbert (Gilbert 1875, 2–3) and Musti (Musti et al. 1982–2000, 5: 201, 315). The phrase “Elean records” has also been taken to refer to an Elean archive (Lenschau 1936, 402), to the victor lists set up for individual iterations of the Olympics (Weniger 1921/2, 55–6), or to a written history of early Elis (Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1931–2, 2: 91 n. 1). For a summary of the relevant scholarship, see Musti et al. 1982–2000, 5: 201.

ἐκατοστήν, τεθείσαν δὲ ὑπὸ Ἀρκάδων, ἀνολυμπιάδα<ς> οἱ Ἡλεῖοι καλοῦν-
τες οὐ σφᾶς ἐν καταλόγῳ τῶν Ὀλυμπιάδων γράφουσιν).⁷⁶ (6.22.2–3)

Near the statue of Lysander are the statues of both an Ephesian boxer who defeated the boys who were his opponents—his name was Athenaios—and Sostratos of Sicyon, who won a victory in the men's *pankration*. . . . He won a combined twelve victories at the Nemean and Isthmian Games, two at the Pythian Games, and three at the Olympics. The Eleans do not include the 104th Olympiad, the first Olympiad in which Sostratos won, in their register because they did not run the Games, but the Pisatans and Arcadians in their place (τὴν τετάρτην δὲ Ὀλυμπιάδα ἐπὶ ταῖς ἑκατόν—πρώτην γὰρ δὴ ἐνίκησεν ὁ Σώστρατος ταύτην—οὐκ ἀναγράφουσιν οἱ Ἡλεῖοι, διότι μὴ αὐτοὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἀλλὰ Πισαῖοι καὶ Ἀρκάδες ἔθυσαν ἀντ' αὐτῶν). (6.4.1–2)

Across from the gymnasium in which the baths have been constructed by them (the inhabitants of Anticyra), there is another gymnasium, an ancient one. There stands in this gymnasium a bronze statue. The inscription on it says that the pancratiast Xenodamos of Anticyra carried off a victory in the men's contests at Olympia. If the inscription is true, it would seem that Xenodamos took the wild olive in the 211th Olympiad. This Olympiad is the only one of all omitted from the records of the Eleans (αὕτη δὲ ἐν τοῖς Ἡλείων γράμμασι παρεῖται μόνη πασῶν ἢ Ὀλυμπιάς). (10.36.9)

In describing the statue of Xenodamos in Book 10, Pausanias contradicts himself in stating that the 211th Olympiad was the only one omitted from Elean records. This is presumably because he had forgotten about the other anolympiads by the time he got around to writing Book 10.⁷⁷

⁷⁶ The absence of the Pheidon Olympics in Elean records is also noted by Strabo (8.3.33), who writes that the Eleans “did not register this iteration of the Games” (οὐ μὴν τοὺς γε Ἡλείους ἀναγράφαι τὴν θέσιν ταύτην). Gilbert took the phrase ἐν καταλόγῳ τῶν Ὀλυμπιάδων to refer to something resembling an Olympiad chronicle written on papyrus, as opposed to τὰ Ἡλείων ἐς τοὺς Ὀλυμπιονίκας γράμματα, which he understood to refer to an inscribed list of victors' names (Gilbert 1875, 1–4). This differentiation is possible, but as the phrase found at 6.22.3 is unique, its precise import is difficult to establish. It may simply be stylistic variation on the part of Pausanias.

⁷⁷ Pausanias seems to have written each book sequentially, so that he produced Book 1 first, then Book 2, etc., though with a detailed plan of the whole work in mind from the start. On Pausanias' methods, see Habicht 1985, 1–27. Hitzig and Blümner argue that the Greeks, including Pausanias, saw the 211th Olympiad as qualitatively different from the other anolympiads and that there is as a result no contradiction between 10.36.9 and Pausanias' earlier statements (Hitzig and Blümner 1896–1910, 3.2: 829).

The Eleans omitted certain Olympiads from their official records because they preferred to ignore embarrassing moments in the history of the Olympics. The 211th Olympiad is illustrative. This was the Olympiad at which Nero “competed.” Nero died just a year after his Olympic triumphs, and given the various humiliations the Eleans suffered in humoring his whims, one can see why the Eleans were in a position and might have found it preferable to leave this Olympiad out of their records.⁷⁸

Another moment that the Eleans found problematic occurred when the Spartan Lichas entered his chariot team at Olympia during the time Spartans were banned from the competition. Lichas circumvented the ban by entering his team under the name of the Boeotian people, but when the team won he made it publicly clear that he was the true owner.⁷⁹ The Eleans responded not only by flogging Lichas, but also by refusing to acknowledge him in their records. Pausanias saw a statue that Lichas set up at Olympia to commemorate his victory, but notes that “the Elean records of Olympic victors (τὰ δὲ Ἠλείων ἐς τοὺς ὀλυμπιονίκας [καὶ] γράμματα) give as the name of the victor, not Lichas, but the Theban⁸⁰ people” (6.2.3).

The iterations of the Olympics that the Eleans refused to acknowledge were nonetheless recorded in *Olympionikai* in general circulation. This is evident from the fact that the Eusebian victor list contains entries for all the anolympiads identified by Pausanias, including the 211th (see Appendix 4.1 for the Greek text):

The games were not held (at the usual time) because Nero put them off until his visit. They were held two years late. Tryphon of Philadelphia won the *stadion*, Nero was crowned in the contests for heralds, tragic actors, singing to the *kithara*,⁸¹ and in the chariot races for colts, horses, and ten colts.

⁷⁸ The Eleans went so far as to erase Nero’s name from a dedicatory inscription (*IvO* 287). On Nero’s time at Olympia, see Scanlon 2002, 48–9 and the ancient sources cited therein.

⁷⁹ On Lichas’ victory, see Section 2.2.

⁸⁰ Thebes was the political center of Boeotia, and the former was sometimes used as a synecdoche for the latter.

⁸¹ The *kithara* was a seven-stringed instrument shaped something like a modern harp. The contests for tragic actors, singing to the *kithara*, and the chariot race for ten colts were all added to the Olympic program to please Nero.

After Olympiads became the basis of a widely used dating system, the Eleans could not ignore an Olympiad completely, since any unilateral renumbering would have created chaos. In addition, there were too many spectators at the Olympics for the names of the victors not to become known. The Eleans could, however, decline to display at Olympia the names of victors in anolympiads, which meant that the victor list at Olympia differed in places from that found in *Olympionikai* in general circulation.

Two further passages should be added to the preceding list of instances where Pausanias uses the phrase τὰ Ἡλείων ἐς τοὺς ὀλυμπιονίκας γράμματα to refer to the records of Olympic victors found at Olympia itself. At 5.21.8–9 he discusses two athletes convicted of taking bribes:

The statues next to those just cataloged are two in number, and were erected using the fines imposed on wrestlers. . . . There are also inscriptions on these statues. The first of them says that the Rhodians paid money to Olympian Zeus on account of the misdeed of the wrestler. The other says that the statue was made from the fines imposed on men who wrestled for bribes. Furthermore, with respect to these athletes, the guides of the Eleans say that Eudelos took a bribe from Philostratos in the 178th Olympiad and that Philostratos was Rhodian. I found that the Elean records of Olympic victors (τὰ Ἡλείων ἐς τοὺς ὀλυμπιονίκας γράμματα) do not match this story. For those records have Straton of Alexandria carrying off the victory in the wrestling and *pankration* on the same day in the 178th Olympiad.

It seems *a priori* unlikely that the guides at Olympia could have been unaware that an Olympic victor list, either that at Olympia itself or one in general circulation, did not include the name of Philostratos. The *Hellanodikai* must have awarded the victory in wrestling to someone (either one of the athletes or possibly to the god himself), and it could hardly have gone to the Rhodian athlete who was convicted of paying a bribe, no matter what the actual outcome. Pausanias may have been over-eager to find fault with his guides in this instance. One way or the other the Eusebian victor list names Straton as the victor in wrestling and *pankration* at the 178th Olympiad.

At 6.13.9–11 Pausanias describes a monument commemorating the hippic victories of Pheidolas of Corinth and his sons:

The mare of Pheidolas of Corinth, as the Corinthians relate, had the name of Aura. It so happened that at the beginning of the race she threw her rider. Nevertheless, she ran in good order and turned around the turning post. When she heard the trumpet, she picked up her pace and was the first to reach the *Hellanodikai*, realized that she had won, and stopped running. The Eleans proclaimed that the victory went to Pheidolas and permitted him to erect a statue of this mare. Victory in the horse race also fell to the sons of Pheidolas, and the horse is carved on a *stele*, and there is an inscription on it:

The swift Lycos with one victory at Isthmia and two here
crowned the house of the sons of Pheidolas.

Truth be told, the Elean records of Olympic victors (τὰ Ἡλείων ἐξ τοὺς ὀλυμπιονίκας) do not at any rate agree with this inscription. For there is a victory in the Elean records (ἐν τοῖς Ἡλείων γράμματᾱ) for the sons of Pheidolas in the 68th Olympiad and no other.

Pausanias may not have understood the intent of the inscription, because the two victories mentioned in the inscription likely consisted of one won by Pheidolas and one won by his sons.⁸² More importantly, both here and at 5.21.8–9 Pausanias' wording is somewhat ambiguous, but makes most sense if taken to mean the victor list inscribed at Olympia.

In one instance Pausanias seems to use the phrase τὰ Ἡλείων ἐξ τοὺς ὀλυμπιονίκας γράμματᾱ to refer to one of the many *Olympionikai* in general circulation rather than the victor list inscribed at Olympia. In his description of Lacedaemonia he mentions the tomb of the Olympic victor Ladas:

Proceeding twenty *stadia* from here the stream of the Eurotas is very close to the road, and there is a tomb for Ladas, who outstripped those of his time in swiftness of foot. Indeed, he was crowned at the Olympic Games having won in the *dolichos*. Falling ill immediately after his victory, I suppose, he was being carried home, and he died here, and his grave is above the highway. A man with the same name also won a victory at the Olympic Games, except not in the *dolichos* but in the *stadion*. The Elean records of Olympic victors indicate that he was an Achaean from Aigion (Ἀχαιὸν ἐξ Αἰγίου φησὶν εἶναι [καὶ] τὰ ἐξ τοὺς Ὀλυμπιονίκας Ἡλείων γράμματᾱ.) (3.21.1)

⁸² On this subject, see Moretti 1957, #147 and #152.

It is not obvious why Pausanias would have found it necessary to consult records at Olympia for this information. Ladas is listed as the *stadiion* victor in the entry for the 125th Olympiad in the Eusebian catalog, which shows that Pausanias could have checked his hometown in any *Olympionikai*. The explanation may lie in the fact that Pausanias' account of Olympia does not begin until Book 5. If Pausanias wrote sequentially, and it appears that he did, he had not yet composed his description of Olympia when he wrote about Ladas. He may, therefore, have used the circumlocution τὰ ἐς τοὺς Ὀλυμπιονίκας Ἡλείων γράμματα to refer to *Olympionikai* in general in Book 3 but then assigned it a more restricted meaning after he arrived at Olympia and found he needed a way to describe the records he found there. This would explain why the other uses of the phrase τὰ ἐς τοὺς Ὀλυμπιονίκας Ἡλείων γράμματα, all of which appear in Book 5 or later, seem to have the more restricted meaning.

The fact that Pausanias found some sort of records of Olympic victors at Olympia, most likely in the form of the victor list inscribed in the gymnasium, makes it clear that the Eleans did at some point start maintaining an official register of Olympic victors. One must, however, keep in mind that Pausanias visited Olympia in the second century CE. Neither the existence of official Elean records at that point nor Paraballon's undertaking to have a victor list inscribed in the gymnasium in the third century can be taken as proof of the existence of such records in the eighth century. It is true that Elean records noted anolympiads in the 8th and 34th Olympiads that were the result of Pisatan seizures of the sanctuary, but this does not mean that the Eleans kept running records going back to those Olympiads. In fact, we will see that there was deep-seated confusion in the ancient sources regarding the chronology of the struggle between Elis and Pisatis for control of Olympia. Pausanias thus does not supply any evidence for the existence of eighth-century records of Olympic victors.

Pausanias' description of Olympia is also relevant to the next piece of evidence to be considered, the discus at Olympia on which the Olympic truce and the names of Lycurgus and Iphitos were inscribed. As we have seen, the so-called discus of Iphitos was stored in the Temple of Hera in Pausanias' time. This discus, which has long since disappeared, has sometimes been taken to be a genuine artifact of the early

eighth century and hence evidence for record-keeping at Olympia during that period. What is now known about Greek inscriptions and about the history of Olympia make it nearly certain that the discus was in fact inscribed in the first half of the sixth century.⁸³ After a long hiatus that followed the collapse of Mycenaean civilization, the Greeks became literate again in the late ninth or early eighth century.⁸⁴ The large and growing collection of epigraphic evidence shows that Greeks recorded a limited range of information on durable surfaces until the middle of the seventh century. Early Greek inscriptions focus on private concerns, primarily ownership or artistic creation, relationship with a god, or remembrance after death. The earliest extant public documents (such as decrees and treaties) date to sometime around 650.⁸⁵ An eighth-century public inscription or two may be found at some point, but the basic pattern is now established beyond doubt. As L. H. Jeffery has pointed out, “nobody would assume that a class of inscription did not exist in one state because, despite extensive excavations, it has not been found there. But the case is different when, despite the amount of excavation now achieved in Greece, a class of inscription still remains unrepresented in any area . . .”⁸⁶

The Eleans, moreover, were in no way pioneers in regard to writing on durable surfaces. As Peter Siewert has noted, the excavations at Olympia have unearthed literally thousands of dedications dating to the eighth and seventh centuries, but not a single one bearing an inscription of any kind. The earliest inscriptions from Olympia date

⁸³ A sixth-century date for the discus is suggested in Musti et al. 1982–2000, 5: 199–200; Siewert 2002, 369 n. 28; Wilamowitz-Moellendorf 1922, 490; and Ziehen 1937–9, 2527 n. 3, but none of these authors treat the matter at length. Brouwers also suggests a sixth-century date for the discus, but some of his argumentation is questionable (Brouwers 1952).

⁸⁴ On the date of the reawakening of literacy in ancient Greece, see Isserlin 1983 and Jeffery and Johnston 1990, 1–42, 425–8.

⁸⁵ Until recently most scholars took it as an article of faith that extensive, written law codes existed in many Greek communities in the seventh century. Karl Joachim Hölkeskamp has shown that seventh-century written laws were single enactments of limited scope (Hölkeskamp 1992 and Hölkeskamp 1999, 273–80). This contributes to an emerging consensus that Greece remained an essentially oral society for a long period of time after the introduction of writing. On orality in ancient Greece, see Thomas 1989 and Thomas 1992.

⁸⁶ Jeffery and Johnston 1990, 58–63, 430 at 59.

to c. 600, but the dialect and letter forms show that they were the work of visitors from other areas, not Eleans. The earliest inscriptions from Olympia with an Elean provenience are a series of religious decrees that date to the middle of the sixth century.⁸⁷ It is, therefore, very unlikely that the Eleans inscribed the Olympic truce on a discus in 776.

What is known about the contents of the inscription on the discus in no way contributes to the belief that it was inscribed in 776. Both Lycurgus and Iphitos remain shadowy figures. It is likely, though not certain, that there is a kernel of historical truth behind the legends attached to these two men, but even the ancient Greeks admitted that separating fact from fiction was nearly impossible. Plutarch's biography of Lycurgus begins with the statement that "concerning Lycurgus the lawgiver, it is generally speaking possible to say nothing that is not subject to dispute." Even the most basic information, such as when Lycurgus lived, was unclear, so that he could be placed in the eleventh, ninth, eighth, or seventh century.⁸⁸ The sources for Iphitos were equally problematic.⁸⁹ Lycurgus' and Iphitos' activity at Olympia was dated by some ancient authors to 776 and to the early ninth century by others. Some authors resorted to postulating multiple Lycurgi and Iphittoi in order to make sense of the mass of conflicting traditions.⁹⁰ There is, therefore, no particular reason to put faith in the story that Lycurgus and Iphitos established the Olympic truce in 776.

As we have seen, the earliest public inscriptions in Greece date to the mid-seventh century. A date somewhere around 650 thus represents the upper limit for the inscribed discus. A *terminus ante quem* is provided by Hippias' use of the discus in writing his *Olympionikai*. This puts the discus somewhere between 650 and 400. The history of the struggle between the residents of Hollow Elis and of Pisatis for control over Olympia may suggest a more precise date. The Eleans seem to have

⁸⁷ Siewert 1992, cf. Jeffery and Johnston 1990, 216–21; Siewert 1991a; and Taeuber 1991. The earliest inscriptions from the city of Elis itself date to the first half of the sixth century. See Siewert 2000.

⁸⁸ On the various dates assigned to Lycurgus, see Mosshammer 1979, 173–91 and Shaw 2003, 47–73.

⁸⁹ Kroll 1916, 2027.

⁹⁰ See Section 2.8.

established permanent control over Olympia in the first half of the sixth century. The organization of athletic festivals on a Panhellenic scale was becoming a serious matter just at that time, and when the Eleans took over Olympia they would have had good reason to pay attention to the mechanics of announcing the Olympic truce.⁹¹ Jeffery offered the likely suggestion that when the Eleans sent out heralds to announce the Olympic truce, each herald carried an inscribed discus as a badge of office.⁹² Discuses that named Iphitos of Elis as one of the authors of the truce would have been an obvious way of legitimizing Elean control over Olympia. In addition, the alliance between Sparta and Elis seems to have come into being at about this time.⁹³ Elis may well have placed a good deal of reliance on the protection offered by its alliance with Sparta, and the association of Iphitos and Lycurgus would have had the beneficial effect of making the existence of that alliance clear to the authorities in the states visited by the heralds. One might also recall in this regard that the earliest known Elean inscriptions date to the first half of the sixth century.

The inscription of the Olympic truce on a discus can thus be most plausibly placed in the first half of the sixth century. One way or the other, a date before 650 is very unlikely. The discus described by Pausanias cannot, therefore, be used as proof for the existence of written records dating to the eighth century pertaining to the Olympics.

This brings us to the next two (closely related) bases for the belief in the existence of such records: the maintenance of historical chronicles from an early date in the Near Eastern kingdoms and at Rome and the transmission or mention in the literary sources of lists of eponyms that began in the eighth century. Discussion of this material requires a rapid introduction to the scholarship on Greek eponym lists. Some eponym lists included short historical notices, and many scholars once believed

⁹¹ The first half of the sixth century was a period when the sanctuary at Olympia underwent a major round of renovations and when there was a significant increase in the scale of resources expended on athletic festivals in ancient Greece (see Section 2.7). On the truce, see the sources cited in n. 35 of this chapter.

⁹² Jeffery and Johnston 1990, 217–18. Toepffer makes the interesting suggestion that there were originally slightly different versions of the discus, one for each signatory to the truce, with each version giving the name only of the signatory in question (Toepffer 1897, 359).

⁹³ On Elis and the Peloponnesian League, see Hammond 1982–2005, 356–7.

that these annotated lists existed from an early date and were the basis of local histories that Greeks began to write in the fifth century. They were, therefore, called “preliterary chronicles.”

The scholarship on eponym lists and preliterary chronicles has been shaped by the arguments presented by Wilamowitz and Jacoby. Wilamowitz became interested in this subject as part of his work on the *Athenaion Politeia* and was the most vocal advocate for the importance of records of this sort. He believed that religious officials at Athens, the *exegetai*, began keeping a preliterary chronicle in the middle of the eighth century and that that chronicle subsequently became the basis of all local histories of Athens.⁹⁴ Jacoby argued that eponym lists began to be kept for the first time in the seventh century and that annotated eponym lists did not come into existence until after the first local histories were written.⁹⁵ Although Wilamowitz and Jacoby concentrated their attention on Athens, they both recognized

⁹⁴ Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1893, 1: 260–90 and Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1898. The primary treatment of the issues other than that found in Wilamowitz’s prolific scholarship is that of Laqueur (Laqueur 1927). Laqueur, however, balked at an eighth-century date for the maintenance of eponym lists and preliterary chronicles and suggested the sixth century instead. There was some difference of opinion as to whether officials kept these records as part of their duties (Laqueur) or for their own benefit (Wilamowitz), a distinction that is unimportant here.

⁹⁵ Jacoby 1949, 1–70, 176–88, 201. (Jacoby originally believed that magistrates maintained historical records including the names of eponymous officials starting as early as the eighth century (Jacoby 1909, 109–11) but later came to doubt the authenticity of the early parts of eponym lists (Jacoby 1949, 353 n. 3). (On the development of Jacoby’s thinking on ancient chronology, see Möller 2006.) W. K. Pritchett has recently placed great emphasis on the importance of religious officials, specifically *hieromnemes*, in Athens and elsewhere as preservers of information about the past via both oral traditions and written records (Pritchett 1996, 36–9). There is, however, no evidence that these officials maintained records of magistrates’ names or similar information in the Archaic or Classical periods. Their primary function seems to have been recording, either in memory or in writing, laws and judicial decisions. For more on *hieromnemes*, see Appendix 11. Pritchett is in effect reviving Wilamowitz’s claims about the *exegetai* but attaching them to different officials.

As we will see, Wilamowitz’s and Pritchett’s arguments do not stand up to scrutiny. However, this is not to say that religious officials played no role in transmitting information about the past. As Carolyn Higbie has recently pointed out, it was common practice to dedicate supposed relics of the heroic age (Higbie 2003, 243–88). (Pausanias, for instance, saw what was ostensibly the hide of the Calydonian boar in the Temple of Athena Alea at Tegea (8.47.2).) The officials in charge of these sanctuaries no doubt steeped themselves in local tales, and so were seen as valuable sources of information by Herodotus (see, for example, 2.53–7) and his successors. This does not, however,

that their opinions on preliterate chronicles were applicable to all of ancient Greece, including Olympia.⁹⁶ If preliterate chronicles were kept in the eighth century, the Eleans could easily have maintained a running list of Olympic victors beginning in 776. If the names of eponyms were first recorded in the seventh century, an eighth-century date for the earliest Elean records of Olympic victors was out of the question.

The available evidence strongly favors Jacoby. The ancient literary sources do not contain any direct statements about the date when eponym lists began to be kept. The only potentially relevant passage comes from Dionysius of Halicarnassus' *De Thucydide*, which treats Thucydides' predecessors:

Before beginning my account of Thucydides I wish to say a few things about other writers, both those who preceded him and his contemporaries . . . The old writers were many and came from many places . . . (a list of names follows) . . . These writers had a similar plan with respect to subject matter, and did not differ greatly from one another in ability. Some recorded Greek history, others that of non-Greeks, not joining their inquiries together into a continuous whole, but separating them by peoples and cities and bringing them out individually, with one and the same object in view, to make everyone in common aware of the traditions preserved locally among peoples and *poleis* or written records preserved in sacred or secular archives (εἴ τ' ἐν ἱεροῖς εἴ τ' ἐν βεβήλοις ἀποκείμενοι γραφαί), just as they received them, without adding or subtracting anything. Among these sources were to be found a certain number of myths, believed from time immemorial, and dramatic tales of upset fortunes, which seem quite foolish to people of our day. (5.1–3, trans. Robert Fowler, "Herodotus and His Contemporaries," adapted)

Dionysius' *graphai* have been equated with preliterate chronicles. Even if one accepts this equation, Dionysius simply states that Thucydides' predecessors, whom he dates to the end of the sixth century at the

mean that these officials kept careful and continuous historical records, either written or memorized.

⁹⁶ See Wilamowitz-Moellendorf 1893, 1: 280 and the quotation from Jacoby cited at the end of Section 2.6.

earliest, made use of preexisting records.⁹⁷ He has nothing to say about the age of the *graphai*.

Another passage that has been cited to prove the existence of official records from an early date is equally unhelpful. In his discussion of the identity of the Athenian commander in the First Sacred War, Plutarch writes:

For having been persuaded by him (Solon), the amphictyons went to war, as both many others and Aristotle attest, in his *Register of Pythian Victors*, in which he ascribes the resolution to Solon. Nonetheless, he was not appointed commander for this war, as Euanthes of Samos says, according to Hermippus. In the records at Delphi (ἐν τε τοῖς τῶν Δελφῶν ὑπομνήμασιν), Alcmaion, not Solon, is recorded as commander of the Athenians. (*Solon* 11.1–2)

Some scholars have concluded that Plutarch meant to say that Aristotle consulted records at Delphi that listed the names of the commanders in the First Sacred War.⁹⁸ Given that Aristotle produced a list of victors at the Pythian Games, it is reasonable to conclude that he consulted records of some kind at Delphi, and it is possible that those records included the cited information about Alcmaion. One must, however, keep in mind that Aristotle's register of Pythian victors included historical information on the founding of the Pythian Games and that some of this work was inscribed at Delphi (see Section 3.4). The records at Delphi to which Plutarch refers could easily, therefore, have been Aristotle's work. All this goes to say that it is by no means certain that Plutarch's comments refer to records at Delphi

⁹⁷ Jacoby believed in a very neat picture of historiographical development, in which Hecataeus began the tradition of writing geography and ethnography, Herodotus began the tradition of writing synthetic history, and Hellanicus began the tradition of writing local history and chronography (Jacoby 1909). Jacoby solved the problem presented by the passage from Dionysius cited above by arguing that Dionysius (following Theophrastus) assigned dates on a purely stylistic basis and thus presented a flawed chronology (Jacoby 1949, 178 and n. 13). More recent scholarship has questioned the neat pattern of development suggested by Jacoby, so that it is no longer accepted without question that Hellanicus wrote the first local history. See Fowler 1996, Marincola 1999, and Toye 1995. The potential slight updating of some historians that results from a less critical reading of Dionysius is intriguing but not relevant to the existence of preliterary chronicles in the eighth century.

⁹⁸ See, for example, Jacoby 1949, 180.

dating to the sixth century. Even if one decides to interpret this passage in such a way, the early sixth century was a period of fundamental change at Delphi, and it is quite possible that running records of activity at the sanctuary began at this point. No matter how one chooses to read this passage, it does not speak to the maintenance of records at Delphi any earlier than the sixth century. Jacoby himself believed that there was no cumulative list of Pythian victors before the time of Aristotle and Callisthenes and cautioned against overestimating the quantity and quality of documentary records preserved at Delphi.⁹⁹

The epigraphic evidence supports a date of the sixth rather than the eighth century for the earliest eponym lists. *Miletus* 1.3 122, the earliest extant inscription that contains an annotated eponym list, dates to the fourth century.¹⁰⁰ Because this postdates the earliest literary local histories, one hesitates to describe it as a preliterate chronicle. The earliest epigraphic evidence for anything resembling an eponym list dates to the sixth century, and even that evidence is meager. It consists of two fragmentary lists of names from Sparta dating to the second half of the sixth century and a list of nine names from the acropolis of Argos dating to 575–550. In all three cases the significance of the

⁹⁹ Jacoby 1923–58, 3b1: 214–16. In a different passage, this from the *Moralia*, Plutarch writes:

But the commander at Thermopylai was not Leontidas but Anaxandros, as Aristophanes indicates on the basis of the records of archons (ἐκ τῶν κατ' ἄρχοντας ὑπομνημάτων). (867a)

Aristophanes was a Boeotian historian who worked during the fourth century. The source for his information about Anaxandros was quite possibly a list of Boeotian magistrates, but the information in question pertains to the fifth century. This passage does not, therefore, offer any evidence for the existence of official records in the eighth century. On Aristophanes' work, see *FGH* 379.

¹⁰⁰ *Miletus* 1.3 122 contains a continuous list of eponymous religious officials from 525/4 to 260/59. (A series of closely related inscriptions (123–8) give lists for later years.) The lettering of the inscription shows that all the entries from 525/4 to 335/4 were cut at a single time, so that 335/4 is the presumed date for the erection of the inscription. This takes the inscription well out of the Archaic period, but it does speak to the existence in fourth-century Miletus of sources of some kind for eponymous officials of the sixth century. The nature of those sources is unknown, but they could well have been official records. The later parts of the list contain a limited number of brief notes on events such as Alexander's invasion of Asia Minor in 334/3. On this inscription, see Chanotis 1988, 196 and Jacoby 1949, 180–81. A somewhat similar inscription, which supplied the names of priestesses of Hera at Argos and notes about the history of music, was erected in Sicyon in the fourth century. See Appendix 16.

names is unclear.¹⁰¹ None of this precludes the existence of now lost inscriptions or records kept on papyri,¹⁰² but there is a distinct lack of positive evidence for Wilamowitz's eighth-century date for either preliterary chronicles or eponym lists.

In the absence of such evidence, the argument for the maintenance of eponym lists beginning in the eighth century rests on two supports: analogy with the Near Eastern kingdoms and Rome and the transmission or mention in the literary sources of eponym lists that began in the eighth century. Wilamowitz and those of like mind placed a great deal of emphasis on historical chronicles maintained in some Near Eastern kingdoms from a very early period and on the *annales maximi* in Rome as comparanda for Greek eponym lists and preliterary chronicles.¹⁰³ The political structure and history of the Near Eastern kingdoms, however, is so divergent from that of Greek *poleis* in the Archaic and Classical periods as to render direct analogies very dubious.¹⁰⁴ It is possible that Greeks took the idea of compiling eponym lists and

¹⁰¹ The epigraphic evidence for early eponym lists is assembled in Jeffery and Johnston 1990, 58–61. See also Chaniotis 1988, 183–219; Guarducci 1967–78, 2:328–47; and Jacoby 1949, 357 n. 26. For a list of inscriptions recording the names of eponymous priests, see Sokolowski 1969, 238. An inscription from Thasos (IG XII 8.273–6) gives a list of magistrates that begins sometime in the middle of the sixth century (or perhaps earlier), but this inscription seems to have been cut sometime around 360. On this inscription, see Salviat 1979. It is important to differentiate between the appearance of the name of a single magistrate or of the names of a single board of magistrates and a running magistrate list. The former is not evidence for the latter, and only the latter is relevant to a discussion of the Olympic victor list.

¹⁰² Charles Hedrick points out that there is no positive evidence that “chronographic lists were preserved and maintained by any Greek state at any time in any form except as public inscriptions” (Hedrick 2002, 17).

¹⁰³ On the importance of the Roman analogy to Wilamowitz, see Momigliano 1975, 1: 23–5.

¹⁰⁴ The analogy between Near Eastern chronicles and Greek historiography has been revived in new form due to the work of Jack Goody, who argues that the effects of literacy are largely identical in different cultures. This suggests that the lists and chronicles generated in Near Eastern kingdoms should have close counterparts in Greece. As we will see, it is quite possible that by the fifth century Greek writers were aware of and to some extent influenced by Near Eastern lists and chronicles. One cannot, however, simply assume that Greeks started keeping lists of eponyms and writing chronicles as soon as they became literate, without some supporting evidence. As Lucio Bertelli points out in a recent article on the origins of Greek historical writing, such evidence is entirely lacking (Bertelli 2001). Moreover, Rosalind Thomas has shown that the effects of literacy are largely culturally specific (Thomas 1992, 15–28 and *passim*). The

chronicles from Near Eastern kingdoms such as Persia (see below), but this could have happened at any point in time.¹⁰⁵ In regard to Rome, it seems likely that continuous recording into the *annales maximi* began with the foundation of the Republic in the late sixth century.¹⁰⁶ Neither the Near Eastern kingdoms nor Rome, then, offers any reliable evidence for the maintenance of a list of Olympic victors in the eighth century. This leaves the eponym lists.¹⁰⁷

Other than the Olympic victor list, there are four known eponym lists that extended back beyond the sixth century: Hellanicus' lists of priestesses of Hera at Argos and victors at the Carneia festival at Sparta, the list of eponymous Athenian archons, and the list of eponymous Spartan ephors. We will examine each of these lists in turn, and, for the sake of comparison, we will also look at lists of victors at *periodos* games other than the Olympics. We will see that substantial fractions of the earlier parts of at least some eponym lists were nothing more than fabrications, that the earliest possible date at which records of eponyms were kept is the first half of the seventh century and that even that date is subject to dispute, that records of eponyms were kept only when there was a compelling need to do so, and that complete catalogs of victors in the other *periodos* games were not assembled until the fourth century or were never assembled at all.

literature on Goody's ideas is vast. The best starting places are Goody and Watt 1962/3 and Goody 1977. For an overview of Goody's arguments, see Hartog 1989.

¹⁰⁵ For a good introduction to eponym lists and chronicle writing in the Near East, see chapter 1 of R. W. Burgess' and Michael Kulikowski's forthcoming *Mosaics of Time: The Origins and Development of the Latin Chronicle Tradition from the First Century BC to the Sixth Century AD*.

¹⁰⁶ The scholarship on the *annales maximi* is extensive and complex. A good introduction can be found in Frier 1999, v–xix, which references important recent bibliography.

¹⁰⁷ King lists, such as that for Sparta, are not relevant here. However one chooses to reconstruct the political history of post-Mycenaean Greece, lines of royal succession in most places in Greece were broken at a relatively early date. The most important king list in Greece, the Spartan king list, does not seem to have been written down until c. 500 at the earliest (see Section 2.8). The number of individuals in the Spartan king list was far more limited than the number of individuals in lists of annual or penteteric eponyms, and so the list could be easily transmitted orally. King lists, therefore, have little bearing on the question of when eponym lists began to be maintained. On the fundamental difference between eponym lists and king lists, see Jacoby 1949, 357 n. 26. From the fifth century on, lists of kings for places such as Athens and Sicyon were constructed to serve as chronological referents. On the Athenian king list, see below. On the Sicyonian king list, see Section 5.4.

Hellanicus of Lesbos played a key role in the development of Greek historical writing. He was active through much of the fifth century and wrote prolifically. His corpus included five mythographic works that brought together earlier tales into a coherent and chronologically consistent whole, ethnographic treatises on Greece and much of the eastern Mediterranean, the first local history of Athens, and lists of the priestesses of Hera at Argos and of victors at the Carneia festival at Sparta.¹⁰⁸

The list of the priestesses of Hera at Argos appeared as part of a work called *Hiereiai tes Heras ai en Argei* (*Priestesses of Hera at Argos*).¹⁰⁹ Hellanicus specified the number of years each priestess held office and for each year thus defined noted events that took place in various parts of Greece. In his analysis of the dozen or so extant fragments, Pearson shows that the *Hiereiai* occupied three books and that “the first book dealt entirely with mythical times . . . the second bridged the gap between mythical and historical times . . . whilst the third dealt with historical times, including some part of the Peloponnesian War.”¹¹⁰ We have already seen that Thucydides dated the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War to the forty-eighth year of the priestessship of Chrysis (2.2.1). The same priestess appears in Thucydides’ account for the summer of 423:

And the temple of Hera at Argos burnt down during the same summer, when Chrysis the priestess placed a lighted torch near the garlands and fell asleep afterward, so that it escaped her notice when all the garlands caught fire and burned. Chrysis, fearing the Argives, immediately fled during the night to Phlius. The Argives, in accordance with the relevant law, appointed another

¹⁰⁸ For a summary of the current issues in the scholarship on Hellanicus, see Schreiner 1997, 10–17. On Hellanicus’ life and work, see Fowler 1996; Fritz 1967, 1: 476–522; Jacoby 1913; Pearson 1942, 1–26; and Smart 1986.

¹⁰⁹ On the *Hiereiai*, see the bibliography cited in the previous note as well as Ambaglio 1980, 38–57; Jacoby 1923–58, 1: 454–8; Möller 2001; and Pearson 1939, 225–31. For the fragments, see *FGH* 4 F74–83, 101, 115, 116, 152, 199. Toye seeks to prove that the *Hiereiai* was a loosely connected series of foundation stories without any firm chronological structure (Toye 1995). This requires a very strained reading of the extant fragments and a rigidly literal reading of Dionysius’ comments on Thucydides’ predecessors. Toye’s interpretation of the *Hiereiai* has not been well received. See, for instance, Fowler 1996, 75 n. 2 and Möller 2001, 248.

¹¹⁰ Pearson 1939, 231.

priestess, Phaeinis by name. Chrysis had held the office for eight years of this war and half of the ninth, when she fled. (4.133.2–3)

Thucydides clearly had access to a source that gave him detailed information about the priestesses and as he explicitly states that he was familiar with Hellanicus' history of Athens (1.97.2), there can be little doubt that this source was the *Hiereiai*.¹¹¹

The impression of precision conveyed by Thucydides' references to the priestesses might lead one to conclude that Hellanicus had access to documentary sources, and this may well have been true for some parts of his list. One of the surviving fragments of the *Hiereiai*, however, shows that at least some parts of the list were fabricated. In his *Antiquitates Romanae*, Dionysius of Halicarnassus describes the migration of the Sicels from Italy to Sicily. His main source for this migration was Hellanicus, as is evident from the end of the relevant passage:

In this fashion the Sikel people left Italy, as Hellanicus of Lesbos says, in the third generation before the Trojan War, in the twenty-sixth year of the priestess-ship of Alcyone at Argos. (1.22.3 (*FGrH* 4 F79b))

This passage makes it clear that Hellanicus' list of priestesses began well before the Trojan War.

For reasons too obvious to require elucidation here, Hellanicus cannot have had documentary sources for some parts of his priestess list.¹¹² Nothing definite can be said about the raw material at Hellanicus' disposal. It has traditionally been assumed that preexisting eponym lists inspired the creation of chronicles based on those lists, which would in turn imply that Hellanicus found at Argos some sort of list of priestesses.¹¹³ A different perspective has recently emerged,

¹¹¹ Jacoby 1923–58, 3b Suppl. 1: 9–10 and n. 72 and Ambaglio 1980, 39–42. A number of scholars have taken the position that Thucydides constructed his chronological system in conscious opposition to that of Hellanicus. On this point, see Smart 1986 and Joyce 1999, n. 8.

¹¹² Pausanias states that statues of women who served as priestesses of Hera at Argos were erected in front of the temple (2.17.3), but this custom cannot have begun much before the sixth century.

¹¹³ Laqueur 1927, 1083–4 and Niese 1888, 90. See also Ambaglio 1980, 40–41. Niese was actually responding to Preller, who believed that Hellanicus simply copied a detailed preliterate chronicle kept by officials at the Temple of Hera (Preller 1864, 51–65). In

based on Oswyn Murray's argument that Herodotus was influenced by knowledge of Near Eastern royal chronicles transmitted to him by Greeks working in the Persian bureaucracy.¹¹⁴ Astrid Möller has applied Murray's idea to Hellanicus and proposed that he too was influenced by the Near Eastern "documentary model" and so assembled a list of priestesses.¹¹⁵ Regardless of whether or not Hellanicus had access to a preexisting register of some sort, the earlier parts of the priestess list clearly had no firm grounding.¹¹⁶ There was, no doubt, some mention of early priestesses in local tales, with which Hellanicus must have become familiar when writing his mythographic works. (Alcyone was a well-known figure in myth, the granddaughter of Perseus and Pelops ([Apollodorus] *Bibliotheca* 2.4.5).) Hellanicus seems to have completed these works, which included an *Argolica*, prior to undertaking the *Hiereiai*.¹¹⁷ Whatever material he used, Hellanicus was

De Thucydide (5), Dionysius of Halicarnassus includes Hellanicus in a list of Thucydides' predecessors and claims that those predecessors were particularly interested in the collection and publication of old records.

¹¹⁴ Murray 2001. Murray points to three passages in particular (3.89–97, 5.52–3, 7.61–98) that he believes reflect Near Eastern influence. His ideas on this subject are based in part on the work of David Lewis, who treated Herodotus' possible contacts with Greeks in Persian service (Lewis 1985 and 1987). Laqueur in some ways anticipated Murray and Lewis in arguing that Greeks settled in Asia Minor maintained historical chronicles earlier than most mainland *poleis* because of their proximity to Near Eastern cultures (Laqueur 1927, 1091). For further discussion and bibliography relevant to possible Near Eastern influences on Greek eponym lists and chronicles, see the forthcoming work of Burgess and Kulikowski cited in n. 105 of this chapter.

¹¹⁵ Möller 2001. Möller thinks that Hellanicus might have chosen to use priestesses of Hera because they had extended periods of office like the kings whose reigns were the structuring principle of Near Eastern chronicles. For other (relatively) recent scholarship that emphasizes the influence of Near Eastern lists and chronicles on Greek historiography, see Gozzoli 1970/71 and Troiani 1983.

¹¹⁶ Pritchett argues that religious officials at Argos provided Hellanicus with a memorized list of priestesses (Pritchett 1996, 36–7). Even Pritchett, however, acknowledges that "these 'sacred-remembrancers' did not hesitate to glorify the history of their cult and add prestige by incorporating mythical figures. . . . The hieromnamones provided Hellanikos with a list, doubtless genuine for historical times, but fictitious for the legendary period" (36–7).

¹¹⁷ The mention of the generation in which Hellanicus placed the Sicel migration shows that he employed the standard approach taken by Greek chronographers in dealing with early periods and reckoned time according to generations using figures from inherited tales. On Hellanicus' use of mythological material in constructing the earlier parts of his priestess list, see Möller 2003.

probably responsible for specifying the number of years each priestess held the office.

Some sense of what Hellanicus' list may have looked like can be had from an inscription from Halicarnassus dating to the first century (SIG³ 1020). The preserved sections record the names of the priests of the cult of Poseidon and Apollo. The text reads as follows:

Jof Aristocles, ordered that there be copied from the ancient *stele* that stands next to the statues of Poseidon Isthmios the list of those who have been from the foundation of the city hereditary priests in the temple of Poseidon which was dedicated to Poseidon and Apollo by those who led the colony from Troizen.

These are the names of the priests of Poseidon on it (trans. John Forsdyke *Greece before Homer*):

Telamon son of Poseidon	12 years	Anthippos son of Androsthene	50
Antidios son of Telamon	27	Poleites son of Androsthene	5
Hyperes son of Telamon	9	Euaion son of Poleites	28
Halcyoneus son of Telamon	12	Poleites son of Euaion but son of	
Telamon son of Antidios	22	Apollonides by adoption	27
Hyrieus son Antidios	8		
Anthas son of Halyconeus	19		
Nesiotes son of Hyrieus	29		
Hipparchos son of Aithaleus	7		
Halcyoneus son of Anthas	17		
Polycritos son of Nesiotes	25		
Phyleus son of Hipparchos	19		
Andron son of Phyleus	25		
Althephos son of Hieron	14		
Posidonios son of Aristeas	21		
Androsthene son of Andron	23		
Hipparchos son of Phyleus	4		
Demetrios son of	9		
Dioscourides			
Philistos son of Demetrios	17		
Euandros son of Andron	22		
Demophilos son of	7		
Theodoros			
Eucrates son of Cratinos	16		
[- - -]	50		

The prescript seems to indicate that the list continued down to the time of the inscription, which would mean that it was quite long.

The list is surprisingly complex and detailed. The succession does not run smoothly from father to son and the number of years assigned to each priest is highly variable. This might lead one to accept it as accurate were it not for the fact that the first priest is the offspring of Poseidon, placing the earliest figures in the list squarely in the heroic period. At some point there must have been reliable records of who held the priesthood for how long, but the preserved part of this list is pure fabrication.¹¹⁸

Hellanicus' list of priestesses of Hera at Argos shows that due caution must be exercised when dealing with Greek eponym lists. Some parts of some of those lists were based on solid documentary sources. Some parts of some of those lists were compiled using information, albeit incomplete and without attendant chronological indicators, taken from written records and oral traditions. Some parts of some of those lists were fabricated. As it is virtually always impossible to identify with any certainty the nature of the sources that lay behind the sections of Greek eponym lists pertaining to the years before c. 500, the early parts of those lists require careful handling. It is important to avoid being seduced by the inherent precision in these lists, which is sometimes illusory.

Very little can be said about Hellanicus' list of victors in the Carneia festival at Sparta because there are only two extant fragments. It seems to have consisted of a victor catalog along with notices pertaining to the history of music.¹¹⁹ Hellanicus listed Terpander as the first victor at the Carneia and synchronized him with King Midas of Lydia, which indicates that his catalog began in the seventh century. Athenaeus, who cites Hellanicus for the information that Terpander was the first Carneian victor, also states that Sosibius, a Hellenistic chronographer,

¹¹⁸ On this inscription, see Chaniotis 1988, 201, 213–14. Some sense for how such lists came into being can be had from an inscription from Rhodes dating to the first century that contains a decree requiring the recording of the names of priests of Helios and the number of years each held office (*SIG*³ 723). On this decree, see Sokolowski 1969, 237–8.

¹¹⁹ On Hellanicus' list of Carneian victors, see Ambaglio 1980, 38–57 and den Boer 1954, 39–41, as well as the sources cited in n. 108 of this chapter. Den Boer views it as a historical chronicle inspired by the fame of Lesbian singers and the result of Hellanicus' attachment to his hometown. Jacoby takes it as musical history. For the fragments, see *FGH* 4 F85–6.

dated the foundation of the Carneia to the 26th Olympiad (635e–f (*FGrH* 595 F3)). This implies that Terpander's victory was dated to 676. Hellanicus was probably the first to publish a list of Carneian victors, but there is no evidence that sheds light on the nature of the sources he used.

The next eponym list to be considered is the Athenian archon list. The tradition recorded in the Aristotelian *Athenaion Politeia* enshrined the belief that Athens was originally ruled by kings, then by archons who held office for life, then by archons who held office for ten years, and finally by annual archons. The names of Athenian kings and archons are preserved in a variety of literary and epigraphic sources. The most complete chronology for the kings and the early archons is found in the work of Eusebius.¹²⁰ He places the first Athenian king, Cecrops, in 1556, the first life-archon, Medon, in 1068, the first decennial archon, Charops, in 753, and the first annual archon, Creon, in 683.¹²¹ Different ancient authors provided variant dates for the kings and earlier archons, but Eusebius' version gives an adequate sense of the general time scale involved.

Hellanicus played an important role in the creation of the earlier parts of this chronology. Late in life he wrote the first local history of Athens, the *Atthis*, which began with the reign of King Ogygos, ostensibly the first ruler of Athens, and which reached down to Hellanicus' own time.¹²² In the earlier sections of the work, Hellanicus used Athenian kings as chronological referents. In the later sections of his work, Hellanicus dated at least some events by Athenian archons, and may have organized some of his account on an annalistic basis.¹²³ In order to produce a coherent list of kings and archons stretching

¹²⁰ For general background on the use of the Athenian archon list as a time-reckoning system, see Ginzel 1906–14, 2:350–60 and Samuel 1972, 195–237.

¹²¹ The Eusebian dates for Athenian kings and archons come from the *Chronographia*, 85.29–89.2 Karst and *Chronikoi Kanones* 41g, 68.1–4, 93.12–21 Helm.

¹²² On Hellanicus' *Atthis*, see the work cited in n. 108 of this chapter as well as Jacoby 1923–58, 3b Suppl. 1: 1–22; Jacoby 1949, 88–99, 172; and Pearson 1939, 209–25. For the fragments, see *FGrH* 4 F38–49, 163–72 and *FGrH* 323a F1–29. On the genesis of the Attic king list, see Jacoby 1902b.

¹²³ The question of whether or not Hellanicus organized his *Atthis* annalistically has been vigorously debated without any clear resolution. Jacoby believed that he did, and this viewpoint continues to carry weight. There have also been persistent attempts to disprove Jacoby's arguments. Some of the more recent such attempts can be found in

back to Ogygos, Hellanicus took the raw material provided by myths and fashioned a continuous chronology. Hellanicus' list of kings and archons exercised considerable influence over later writers.

There can be no doubt that some parts of the list of kings and magistrates that was circulated and accepted in fifth-century Athens had no documentary basis. The key issue is to try to identify the point when records of magistrates' names began to be kept. Wilamowitz believed that Athenians began maintaining a continuous record of archons around 750.¹²⁴ He went on little more than speculation and analogy with other eponym lists in suggesting this date and did not live to see the publication of the single most important piece of evidence that bears on this issue, an inscribed list of eponymous archons that was erected in the Athenian agora in the last quarter of the fifth century.¹²⁵ This inscription provides a bare list of names without patronymics, demotics,¹²⁶ or other supplementary information. The four extant fragments give the names of roughly a dozen archons, the earliest of whom held office in the early sixth century. It is not possible to reconstruct the original size of the stone on which the inscription was cut or to establish the starting point of the archon list it contained with any certainty. It has, however, been plausibly argued that the only obvious starting point for a list earlier than Solon (whose archonship came after the earliest names in the list) would be the first annual archon, Creon, whose magistracy is typically dated to 683/2.¹²⁷

Joyce 1999; Lenardon 1981; and Pritchett 1996, 42–7. For a recent defense of Jacoby's position, see Smart 1986.

¹²⁴ Wilamowitz argued, on rather flimsy grounds, that the Alcmeonidai made an attempt to overthrow the reigning Medontid family c. 750 and that this stimulated the keeping of records. See the bibliography cited in n. 94 of this chapter.

¹²⁵ A convenient publication of the Athenian archon inscription can be found in Lewis and Meiggs 1969, 9–12. The first fragment was published in Meritt 1939, #21, 59–65. The publication of the other three fragments came considerably later and can be found in Bradeen 1963.

¹²⁶ A demotic indicated the section of the Athenian state (the deme) in which a person exercised his local political rights.

¹²⁷ For a good overview of the issues relevant to the Athenian archon list, see Sickinger 1999, 47–51. Sickinger cites the pertinent bibliography, to which should be added Pébarthe 2005. The related (and equally complex) question of when the Athenians began maintaining a public archive cannot be addressed here. On this question, see Sickinger 1999, 62–113 and the bibliography cited therein.

The question of whether this inscription was simply the publication of records that had been maintained since the early seventh century or whether it represents the first compilation of the archon list has been vigorously debated. The documentary basis of the list has been energetically defended by a series of specialists in Athenian epigraphy, most notably W. K. Pritchett, James Sickinger, and Stephen Tracy, whereas the most prominent skeptics have been chronographers and historians such as Alan Samuel and Molly Miller. Well over a half-century of scholarly discussion has not produced a consensus, and no attempt to reach a definitive conclusion will be made here. It is sufficient for our purposes to review the basic arguments that have been presented on both sides, in order to establish the extent to which the Athenian archon list can serve as an effective comparandum for the Olympic victor list.

The scholars in the skeptical camp typically argue that a continuous list of Athenian archons was not maintained until sometime between the mid-sixth and early fifth century and that the earlier parts of the list were constructed from a variety of nondocumentary sources shortly before it was put on display in the Athenian agora. They make four basic points. First, Herodotus uses only one archon date, for the Battle of Salamis (8.51), which might be taken as a sign that he did not have a list of archons at his disposal. Second, archon names do not regularly appear in the prescripts of inscribed Athenian decrees until after 421, just a few years after the archon list was erected in the agora. Third, there seems to have been some uncertainty in Athens about the dates of the Peisistratid tyranny and of Solon's legislative activities, both of which should have been clear had a continuous list of archons been maintained. Fourth, there is no evidence for the maintenance of continuous records of eponymous magistrates in any other Greek community prior to the late sixth century.

Those scholars who believe in the documentary basis of the Athenian archon list argue that a continuous list was maintained from the magistracy of the first annual archon, Creon, in 683/2 and that the inscription that was erected around 425 simply made the relevant records more easily accessible. They make eight basic points. First, Herodotus displayed little interest in precise chronology and wrote for

a Panhellenic audience, so the absence of Athenian archon dates in his work is meaningless.¹²⁸ Second, the Athenian government could not have functioned without a reliable dating system. This is reflected in the fact that archon names were used for dating purposes starting at the latest around 500.¹²⁹ Third, some of Solon's legislation differentiated between actions that occurred before and after his archonship, which implies that the date of his archonship was knowable with some precision. Fourth, the publication in the fourth century of a list of victors in the dramatic contests in Athens that began in the sixth century demonstrates that detailed records were maintained for long periods before they were collected and published.¹³⁰ Fifth, the archons from the seventh and sixth centuries show no preponderance of names belonging to prominent families of the fifth century, which is what one would expect if the archon list was first compiled at that time. Sixth, if the list was first compiled in the fifth century, it would have begun with a more epochal date than 683/2 or a more famous figure than Creon, who is otherwise unknown. Seventh, there are two gaps in the list marked *anarchia* and two years are assigned to Damasias, both irregularities that one would not expect in an artificially assembled list.

¹²⁸ The idea that Herodotus was not concerned with chronology, which goes back to Meyer (Meyer 1892, 1: 151–209), has been largely superseded by the much more positive assessment found in Strasburger 1956. (See now also Bichler 2004, Burkert 1995, and Cobet 2002.) Strasburger showed that Herodotus had strong chronological interests, that he referred to Near Eastern king lists for chronographic purposes, and that he used the Battle of Salamis as an epoch and dated it by means of the regnal year of Xerxes and the Athenian archon. Strasburger concluded that the general absence of precise dates for events in Greek history prior to the Persian Wars in the *Histories* indicates that the relevant information simply did not exist. It is, however, impossible to know whether this means that the Athenian archon list was compiled for the first time after Herodotus wrote the *Histories*. Even if such a list existed, it would have been useless for Herodotus' purposes unless the names in the list could be synchronized with specific historical events. Salamis was sufficiently famous so that it could be easily connected with an archon independent of a running archon list.

¹²⁹ The issues pertaining to how Athenians went about dating decrees before c. 425 are complicated by the fact that, in addition to eponymous archons, the names of secretaries were used for this purpose. On this subject, see Pritchett 1996, 1–11 and Sickinger 1999, 83–92.

¹³⁰ On the didascalical records, see Sickinger 1999, 41–7. On the extant remains of these records, see Pickard-Cambridge 1968, 71–4, 101–25.

Eighth, the existence of written laws in seventh-century Athens shows that Athenians kept formal records from an early date.¹³¹

Regardless of how one chooses to assess the relative merits of the arguments presented above, there are two important points that appear to be beyond dispute. First, even the most optimistic assessment of Athenian record-keeping leads to the conclusion that there was no documentary basis for the sections of the Athenian archon list pre-dating 683/2. Second, if records of Athenian archons were indeed maintained beginning in 683/2, this was because there was a compelling reason to do so. As Sickinger puts it in his recent defense of the authenticity of the archon list, "to assume . . . that a list of archons existed and was maintained from the seventh and sixth centuries also assumes that a need for such a list was felt in those centuries . . ." ¹³² If the Athenians did indeed feel the need for an archon list before 425, this was presumably due to the importance of archons in political enactments and time-reckoning. Both of these points vitiate any attempt to use the Athenian archon list to support an argument in favor of a documentary basis for the early parts of the Olympic victor list. It is improbable that officials overseeing an athletic contest of no more than local importance in a remote corner of the Peloponnese began keeping records of victors close to a century before the earliest possible date when magistrates in charge of one of the largest *poleis* in Greece felt obliged to maintain records of eponymous archons. In addition, there was no compelling need, or even any obvious reason, for the officials in charge of an athletic contest of local importance to invest the time and energy necessary to create and preserve a continuous record of victors. The Athenian archon list cannot, therefore, offer any proof for the maintenance of a list of Olympic victors beginning in 776.

This brings us to the Spartan ephor list.¹³³ By the second half of the fifth century, the name of one of the five annually appointed ephors

¹³¹ It may also be significant that the inscribed archon list lacks patronymics. This may indicate that a more complete set of records was abbreviated when inscribed (Jacoby 1949, 171–6). On the process of abbreviation in the course of publication, see Boffo 1995 and West 1989.

¹³² Sickinger 1999, 49.

¹³³ The best treatment of the many questions surrounding the Spartan ephorate can be found in Richer 1998. For the ephor list in particular see pp. 67–74, on which the discussion found here is based.

was used to identify individual years. Some modern scholars, such as Meyer, claim with great confidence that the Spartans maintained a list of ephors beginning in 755/4, but the evidence for this claim is tenuous. The first problem is that it is far from clear when the ephorate began at Sparta. There are only three directly relevant statements in the ancient sources. Different manuscripts of Eusebius' *Chronikoi Kanones* give dates of 758, 757, and 754 for the beginning of the ephorate. Plutarch writes that the first ephor was Elatos and that he took office during the reign of King Theopompos, 130 years after Lycurgus (*Lycurgus* 7.1). Diogenes Laertius supplies more detail:

Chilon the Lacedaemonian, the son of Damagetos, . . . became ephor in the 56th Olympiad (556–553 BCE), during the archonship of Euthydemus, according to Sosicrates, but Pamphila says the 6th (756–753 BCE) and that he was the first ephor. (1.68)

The date of the 56th Olympiad almost certainly comes from Apollodorus.¹³⁴ Jacoby suggested a plausible way to reconcile the statements in Plutarch and Diogenes Laertius.¹³⁵ He argued that Apollodorus assigned a date of 885/4 to Lycurgus' activity as a lawgiver,¹³⁶ which in turn suggests a date of 755/4 for the first ephor (130 years after Lycurgus). The year 755/4 falls in the 6th Olympiad. Pamphila erroneously associated Chilon, by far the best known individual ephor, with the beginning of the ephorate, instead of the 56th Olympiad, where he belonged.

Once the date of 755/4 for the beginning of the ephorate was established to the satisfaction of scholars such as Meyer, there was a tendency to assume that the Spartans must have maintained a list of eponymous ephors starting from that date. There is, however, no evidence to support this assumption. The ancient sources supply the names of only three ephors from before the fifth century, Elatos, Chilon, and Asteropeus, the last a shadowy figure whose historicity has been the subject of some debate. Greek historians writing on Sparta typically dated events using Olympiads or Spartan kings, and there are but a handful

¹³⁴ Jacoby 1902a, 138–42, 406. On Pamphila, see Müller 1878–85, 3: 520–22 and Cagnazzi 1997, 31–102. On Sosicrates, see *FGrH* 461.

¹³⁵ Jacoby 1902a, 138–9. See also Cagnazzi 1997, 55–61.

¹³⁶ See Section 2.8.

of relevant inscriptions, none from before the fifth century, that include the names of Spartan ephors. If a complete ephor list was available, ancient authors seem to have ignored it, which would be difficult to explain.

There is, moreover, evidence that strongly suggests that authors of the Classical and Hellenistic periods did not have access to an ephor list stretching back to the time of Theopompos (whose reign is typically dated to the eighth century). Whereas a number of ancient authors such as Plutarch ascribe the ephorate to the initiative of Theopompos, others, most notably Herodotus, portray it as Lycurgus' invention. In his recent review of the relevant ancient sources, Nicolas Richer has shown that the attribution to Lycurgus was originally the norm, but that a political pamphlet written by the exiled Spartan King Pausanias in the early fourth century brought about a change so that the ephorate was later associated with Theopompos. Richer points out that the link between the ephorate and Theopompos almost certainly indicates that there was no ephor list running back into the eighth century. Theopompos was closely associated with the First Messenian War, and ancient chronographers working primarily in the Hellenistic period suggested a wide variety of dates for both Theopompos and the First Messenian War. This is hard to reconcile with the idea that a complete list of ephors was available, because the attribution of the ephorate to Theopompos made it possible to establish his date precisely, by working back through the ephor list. Yet the variant dates assigned to Theopompos seem to have been derived from different versions of the Spartan king list, without any reference to a list of ephors.

Richer reaches the conclusion that the Spartan ephor list began with Chilon in 556/5 and rejects the idea that this list ran back into the eighth century. This would account for the confused statement of Pamphila quoted by Diogenes Laertius, because Elatos would have been remembered as the first ephor but Chilon was the first name to appear in the ephor list. There is no evidentiary basis for a discussion of the sources upon which the Spartan ephor list was based, that is, whether it was a publication of existing records or a compilation of some sort, but it is possible to generate an idea of when it was put into circulation for the first time. In the second half of the fifth

century Charon of Lampsacus produced a work with the title *Prytaneis ton Lakedaimonion* (*Chief Magistrates of the Lacedaemonians*), which was probably a historical chronicle organized annalistically using regnal years of Spartan kings and, in the later parts of the work, ephors to identify individual years.¹³⁷ At Sparta itself, the earliest uses of an ephor as part of a time-reckoning system are found in four inscriptions dating to the second half of the fifth century.¹³⁸ One of these four was set up sometime around 440 by Damonon of Sparta and provides a lengthy list of the hippic and gymnic victories won by Damonon and his son Enymacratidas (*IG V 1 213*). The text runs for forty-two lines and mentions dozens of victories. The victories in the first twenty-nine lines are listed in an order based on a division between hippic and gymnic contests and between the achievements of Damonon and Enymacratidas. After line 29, however, the text is organized annalistically using eponymous ephors to identify individual years. This part of the list enumerates different victories from those cataloged in lines 1–29, so there are two different structural principles at work. Jeffery suggested that the abrupt change in the middle of the text reflects the beginning of the use of ephor dates in Sparta, which would fit well with the dates of the other relevant inscriptions and of Charon's *Prytaneis*.¹³⁹

The Spartan ephor list thus cannot be used as a comparandum in an attempt to establish the existence of an Elean list of Olympic victors maintained continuously from the eighth century. Although there seems to have been a general belief at least from the early Hellenistic period that the ephorate went back to 755/4, the ephor list that circulated in the ancient world almost certainly began with Chilon in 556/5.

¹³⁷ The sources for Charon's work are such as to leave some room for doubt that he produced a list of Spartan kings and ephors. It is possible that Charon's *Prytaneis* had nothing to do with Sparta. Westermann pointed out that there were never *prytaneis* in Sparta and emended the title, which is preserved only in the Suda, to *Prytaneis ton Lampsakon*. On this question, see most recently Fowler 1996, 67. On Charon's work, see (in addition to Fowler) Jacoby 1949, 68 and n. 113 and Möller 2001. For the fragments, see *FGrH* 262.

¹³⁸ For a list of the fifth-century inscriptions from Sparta with ephor dates, see Samuel 1972, 238–41.

¹³⁹ Jeffery and Johnston 1990, 60, 196–7, 201 #52.

This brings us at last to catalogs of victors in other *periodos* games. The complex assemblage of evidence for the Pythian victor list will be examined in detail in Section 3.4. It is sufficient for the moment to note that the list of victors at the Pythian Games began with the reorganization of the festival in 586 and was not compiled until Aristotle and Callisthenes published their *Pythionikon Anagraphe* in the 330s.

Complete catalogs of victors in the Isthmian and Nemean Games were never compiled. Comments in Pausanias and Didymus, the first-century grammarian, make it clear that official though incomplete records existed at Corinth and Argos and were circulated in book form, but that full catalogs of Isthmian and Nemean victors were not available. Pausanias explicitly states that Tisander son of Cleocritus won four Olympic and four Pythian victories in boxing, but that he could not find out how Tisander fared at Isthmia and Nemea because “neither the Corinthians nor the Argives had at that time begun keeping complete records of the victors at the Nemean and Isthmian Games” (6.13.8).¹⁴⁰ Didymus notes in his commentary on Pindar’s *Nemean VIII* that he could find neither of the Nemean victors commemorated in the ode, Megas and Deinias, in the register of Nemean victors.¹⁴¹ The dates of Tisander’s career remain vague, but he is typically placed in the sixth century, whereas Megas and Deinias’ victories must date to the first half of the fifth century.¹⁴²

¹⁴⁰ [καὶ] Κορινθίοις δὲ οὐκ ἦν πω τῆνικαῦτα οὐδὲ Ἀργείοις ἐς ἅπαντας ὑπομνήματα τοὺς Νέμεια <καὶ Ἰσθμία νικήσαν>τας. On the translation of this passage, see Hitzig and Blümner 1896–1910, 2.2: 596.

¹⁴¹ Didymus’ comments are found in inscr. a to *Nemean VIII*:

Some say that both Deinias himself and his father were victors in the *stadion*, understanding Pindar to say this when writing about the double *stadia* of Deinias and his father. This raises the problem, as Didymus says, that neither of them is recorded in the list of Nemean victors (τὸ μηδέτερον αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς Νεμεονίκαις ἀναγεγράφθαι).

Nemeonikais can mean either victors in the Nemean Games (this is the definition given in the *LSJ*) or Pindar’s odes for Nemean victors. Neither of these meanings will work here (Deinias and Megas are explicitly mentioned in the ode), so the term must mean “list of Nemean victors,” particularly when read with ἀναγεγράφθαι. The description of Deinias and Megas in ll. 16–17 and 44 of the ode leaves little doubt that both Deinias and Megas won Nemean victories.

¹⁴² On Tisander, see Moretti 1957, #94. There is little solid evidence for a precise date of *Nemean VIII*, but Pindar’s literary career spanned the years 498–46 and his *epinikia* were written for contemporary victory celebrations. On the date of *Nemean VIII*, see

The perhaps surprising conclusion that there were no complete lists of Isthmian or Nemean victors is reinforced by a scholion to Pindar *Nemean VII*:

Πρῶτος ὁ Σωγένης Αἰγινητῶν ἐνίκησε παῖς ὦν πεντάθλῳ κατὰ τὴν τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτην Νεμεάδα. ἐτέθη δὲ ὁ πένταθλος πρῶτον κατὰ τὴν τρισκαίδεκάτην Νεμεάδα. (inscr.)

Sogenes first among the Aeginetans won the pentathlon as a boy at the 14th Nemead. The pentathlon was first instituted in the 13th Nemead.

A scholion from a different manuscript (Laurentianus 32, 52) of *Nemean VII* has κδ' (24) in place of ιδ' (14) while repeating ιγ' (13).¹⁴³ In both cases the Nemead number for Sogenes' victory appears at first glance to be problematic. The Nemean Games were founded in 573 and held every two years.¹⁴⁴ If the list of Nemean victors consulted by the scholiast was numbered from the first celebration of the Games, Sogenes' victory would date to 547 or 527. Yet Pindar wrote his earliest ode (*Pythian X*) in 498, and there is no evidence for Pindar writing odes for victories won before he was born. The only other available information about the date of Sogenes' victory is contained within the ode itself, and is sufficiently vague as to produce suggested dates ranging from 493 to 467.¹⁴⁵ Suitable emendations to the scholia have been proposed along with these suggested dates, with some consideration for paleographic probabilities but without any clear textual grounding.¹⁴⁶ Assuming that both scholiasts are wrong, however, is far from the most economical hypothesis possible. The seeming paradox involved in placing Sogenes' victory in the 14th or 24th Nemead vanishes if the catalog of victors consulted by the scholiast did not run back to 573, but began at some point in the second half of the sixth or

Farnell 1930–32, 2: 303–4. On the dates of Pindar's life and work, see Segal 1980–1985b, 226–35.

¹⁴³ There are only two extant versions of the Sogenes scholion. See Drachmann 1903–27, 3: 116.

¹⁴⁴ On the history of the Nemean Games, see Miller 2004, 105–11 and Richardson 1982–2005.

¹⁴⁵ On the date of *Nemean VII*, see Fogelmark 1972, 41–8 and Most 1985.

¹⁴⁶ For previously suggested emendations to the scholion on Sogenes, see Boeckh 1811–21, 2.2: 416; Gaspar 1900, 39–42; and Wilamowitz-Moellendorf 1908, 344–5.

early fifth century.¹⁴⁷ Although this may seem odd, some ancient editors of the Olympic victor lists believed that fourteen or twenty-eight Olympiads were held before the Olympiad designated as Olympiad 1, in which Coroibos won the *stadion* and registers of Olympic victors began to be kept.¹⁴⁸ Control over the Nemean Games was disputed between Cleonai and Argos, and it may well have been the case that the designation of Nemead 1 was influenced by changes in the *polis* in charge of organizing the Games.

There is no evidence whatsoever for a numeration of the Isthmiads. There is, in fact, some evidence that they were never treated in this fashion. One of the scholia to Pindar's *Olympian XII*, an ode celebrating the victories of Ergoteles, contains the following note:

Ὀλυμπιάδα μὲν ἐνίκησεν οὔρ' καὶ τὴν ἐξῆς οὔθ', Πυθιάδα δὲ κέ καὶ Ἰσθμια ὁμοίως. (inscr. a)

He won at the 77th Olympiad and subsequently at the 79th. He also won at the 25th Pythiad and likewise at Isthmia.

The scholiast is careful to provide the numbers of the Olympiads and Pythiads at which Ergoteles won his victories and presumably would have provided an Isthmiad number as well if there had been one in his sources. As those sources seem to have been quite good, it is safe to conclude that no numbered catalog of Isthmiads was extant.¹⁴⁹

One final consideration offers insight into the nature of the catalogs of Nemean and Isthmian victors. Pausanias supplies compact, detailed

¹⁴⁷ The earliest likely date for the beginning of the list would be c. 541 (493 and twenty-four Nemeads) and the latest would be c. 495 (467 and fourteen Nemeads). The dates of 493 and 467 are based on the range of dates suggested for *Nemean VII*.

¹⁴⁸ See Section 2.8.

¹⁴⁹ The Isthmian victor list is also mentioned in the scholion to Pindar *Isthmian I* 11c and Plutarch *Agessilaos* 21.2–3. [Dio Chrysostom] (37.14) gives a full list of victors at the first Isthmian Games, which he places in the mythological period, but this is not evidence for the existence of a continuous list of Isthmian victors beginning with that iteration of the Games. On this point, see Appendix 6. Lists of victors at single iterations of the Isthmian Games, from the Roman period, survive on stone (see Section 2.7). On the Isthmian victor list, see Gebhard 2002, though note that Gebhard's statement that Aristotle compiled an Isthmian victor list is without any evidentiary grounding. Gebhard does an excellent job of showing that the traditional founding date for the Isthmian Games rests on insecure foundations. This clearly would not have been the case had there been a complete listing of Isthmian victors.

histories of the development of both the Olympic and Pythian Games (5.8.5–9.2, 10.7.2–8), including the Olympiad or Pythiad number in which individual events were added and the name of the first winner in each event. No such information for the Nemean and Isthmian Games is found anywhere in his work, although Pausanias describes his visits to Isthmia and Nemea (2.1.7–9, 2.15.2–3) and supplies scattered information about the development of the athletic contests held at these sites. For his accounts of the development of the Olympic and Pythian Games, Pausanias drew on the historical information about the festivals that was assembled in *Olympionikai* and *Pythionikai*.¹⁵⁰ The absence of corresponding accounts for the Nemean and Isthmian Games in Pausanias' account makes it likely that works on the victors in the Nemean and Isthmian Games did not contain any supplemental information.¹⁵¹ Taken together with Pausanias' statement at 6.13.8 and the evidence from the Pindaric scholia, this indicates that *Isthmionikai* and *Nemeanikai* were simple, incomplete catalogs.¹⁵²

¹⁵⁰ See Sections 3.4–3.6.

¹⁵¹ There is no direct evidence that might explain the reason for the absence of complete registers of Isthmian and Nemean victors, but it is possible to anticipate conclusions reached below in order to suggest a reasonable supposition. When Hippias set to work on his *Olympionikai* and Aristotle and Callisthenes on their *Pythionikai*, the primary material at their disposal consisted of individual victor monuments and victor lists from specific iterations of the Olympic and Pythian Games. This material had to be collected, organized, and properly sequenced before it could be made into a complete victor list. It would appear that no one undertook a similar research project at Isthmia or Nemea. At some point, probably in the fifth century, registers of Isthmian and Nemean victors were begun, but the requisite work to catalog previous victors was never done. This would fit well with the observation that the Isthmian and Nemean registers do not seem to have had historical material of the type that was attached to the lists of Olympic and Pythian victors.

¹⁵² It has been intermittently suggested (starting with Krause 1975 (1841), 195 n. 5) that the Isthmian victor lists contained the names of all competitors. This is almost certainly incorrect. The misapprehension springs from Plutarch's account of the Isthmian Games of 390. In that year the Isthmian Games were held twice, first by Corinthian exiles with the aid of Agesilaus and then by the anti-Spartan forces in the Corinthia at the time (Xenophon *Hellenica* 4.5.1–2). In his account of these events, Plutarch writes:

Afterwards, when Agesilaus had departed, the Isthmian Games were held again by the Argives, and some contestants won again, while others were recorded (ἀνεγράφον) as having been victorious the first time and vanquished the second. (*Agesilaus* 21.2)

Krause concluded on the basis of this passage that it was regular practice at Isthmia to record the names of all competitors. The situation in 390 was, however, clearly out of

It is now obvious that none of the four bases upon which the belief in the existence of records of Olympic victors maintained beginning in 776 was founded—passages in Pausanias referring to an inscribed victor catalog at Olympia and “Elean records,” the discus of Iphitos, the assumption that Greek communities kept historical chronicles from an early date, and eponym lists ostensibly stretching back into the eighth century—withstand close examination. This seriously undermines the belief that Hippias accessed a complete set of archival records when he was working on his Olympic victor list. There is also positive evidence, discussed in the following section, that the Eleans did not possess records of Olympic victors that went back to the eighth century.

2.6. AN ARCHIVAL SOURCE FOR HIPPIAS’ CATALOG OF OLYMPIC VICTORS? PART THREE: INCONSISTENCIES IN THE DATING OF EVENTS IN THE EARLY HISTORY OF OLYMPIA

There are four extant ancient accounts of the struggle between the Eleans and Pisatans for control of Olympia. These accounts present three divergent and irreconcilable chronologies. Each of these chronologies is based on a synchronization between the outbreak of the First and Second Messenian Wars on one hand and temporary seizures of Olympia by Pheidon of Argos or the Pisatans on the other. The existence of three variant chronologies based on the Messenian Wars shows that the Eleans did not have accurate records about the early history of Olympia, which in turn indicates that the Eleans did not keep a running victor list beginning in the eighth century. If there were extensive records pertaining to the early history of Olympia, those records would have supported a single, clear chronology. The treatment of these issues that follows draws directly on the recent work of Matt Koiv on the chronology of Pheidon.¹⁵³

the ordinary and thus not a firm basis from which to extrapolate. In addition, there are no extant victor lists from any games anywhere in the Greek world that record the names of all competitors.

¹⁵³ Koiv 2001. Koiv, however, assumes that the source of Strabo 8.3.30 is Apollodorus. This is a long-established position (see, for example, Wilamowitz-Moellendorf 1922, 486–7), but it is untenable. Jacoby shows that Apollodorus probably synchronized a Pisatan

The four ancient accounts of the conflict between Elis and Pisatis over Olympia come from the work of Strabo (8.3.30, 33), Pausanias (6.22.2–4), and Eusebius (ll. 98–100, 113–14 in Appendix 4.1). There are two different versions of events in Strabo, one at 8.3.30, the source of which is unknown, and one at 8.3.33 that is explicitly attributed to Ephorus (*FGrH* 70 F115). The text from 8.3.30 will be described here as Strabo's version, with the understanding that he drew on an earlier, unidentifiable source.¹⁵⁴ According to Ephorus, Pheidon styled himself a descendant of Heracles and claimed the right to preside over all the games founded by his ancestor, including the Olympics. When Pheidon seized Olympia, the Eleans allied themselves with the Spartans and defeated him. Ephorus relied on generational rather than Olympiad dates, and he states that Pheidon was tenth in line from Temenos, one of the Heracleidai. Ephorus dated the Return of the Heracleidai to the year corresponding to 1069 and seems to have counted inclusively and assigned three generations to a century. This would place Pheidon somewhere between 769 and 736.¹⁵⁵

Pausanias begins his account of the relationship between Pisatis and Elis by stating that the Pisatans brought disaster upon themselves because of their eagerness to seize control of the Olympic Games from the Eleans. In his version of events, the Pisatans sought Pheidon's help, and they together presided over the 8th Olympiad (748). Pausanias goes on to relate that the Pisatans subsequently seized control of Olympia in the 34th Olympiad (644) during the reign of the Pisatan tyrant Pantaleon. Strabo's version is that the Eleans ran the

seizure of Olympia with the outbreak of the Second Messenian War and dated both to the 30th Olympiad (1902a, 131, 405). The version of events given by Strabo at 8.3.30, however, presumes a single Pisatan seizure of Olympia in the 26th Olympiad. (See below for more on the source of 8.3.30.) The separation of 8.3.30 from Apollodorus means that the scenarios sketched in Koiv and in the discussion found here diverge slightly. Koiv's treatment is sufficiently complex to be potentially confusing to a reader not intimately familiar with the ancient sources. For a good review of the relevant material, see Inglis 1998, 46–69.

¹⁵⁴ All four accounts of the conflict between Elis and Pisatis over Olympia rest on earlier chronographic works, including that of Sosibius and Apollodorus. It is, however, very difficult to connect specific dates to specific sources. On this subject, see Forrest 1969; Jacoby 1902a, 75–97, 129–32; Koiv 2001; and Mosshammer 1979, 173–92.

¹⁵⁵ For Ephorus' date of 1069 for the Return of the Heracleidai, see *FGrH* 70 F223. On Ephorus' date for Pheidon, see Koiv 2001, 339–41.

TABLE 6. *Pisatan Seizures of Olympia*

Ephorus	Pausanias	Strabo	Eusebius
Pheidon seizes Olympia, ten generations after the Return of the Heracleidai (769–36)	Pisatans seize Olympia with the help of Pheidon, in the 8th Olympiad (748)	Pisatans seize Olympia in the 27th Olympiad (672) and run the Games until the final defeat of the Messenians (date unspecified)	Eleans busy with war against Dyme so Pisatans run the 28th Olympiad (668)
	Pisatans seize Olympia a second time, in the 34th Olympiad (644), under the leadership of Pantaleon of Pisa		Pisatans seize Olympia in the 30th Olympiad (660) and run the Games for the next twenty-two Olympiads

first twenty-six Olympiads and that the Pisatans revolted in the 27th (672) and ran the Olympics until the Spartans, after the final defeat of the Messenians, came to the aid of the Eleans and helped them retake Olympia. Eusebius reports that the Pisatans ran the 28th Olympiad (668) because the Eleans were busy fighting a war against Dyme and that the Pisatans revolted from Elis in the 30th Olympiad (660) and maintained control over Olympia for the next twenty-two Olympiads.

These accounts preserve three different versions of the course of events. They are summarized in Table 6.

Ephorus and Pausanias are largely in agreement, as both emphasize the role played by Pheidon and place him in the same time frame. Eusebius and Strabo, however, have nothing to say about Pheidon, and Ephorus/Pausanias, Strabo, and Eusebius provide three different sets of dates for Pisatan seizures of Olympia.

Various attempts have been made to reconcile these accounts. The most common approach is to assume that Pheidon was responsible for the Pisatan seizures of Olympia reported by Strabo and Eusebius.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁶ Andrewes 1949, 74–7 and Ure 1922, 154–83. See also the useful summary found in Koiv 2001, 329–32.

In this scenario, the defeat of Pheidon and the Pisatans is linked to the Second Messenian War, in which Pantaleon of Pisatis is said to have fought on the Messenian side (Strabo 8.4.10). The final defeat of the Messenians mentioned by Strabo is taken to be part of the same series of events that led to the defeat of Pheidon. A further connection is made to the Spartan defeat at the Battle of Hysiai, which Pausanias dates to the fourth year of the 27th Olympiad, and Hysiai becomes Pheidon's great victory and the catalyst for the helot revolt that resulted in the Second Messenian War.¹⁵⁷ This scenario requires that Pheidon be active in the seventh century, which is not compatible with the dates suggested by Pausanias and Ephorus. The solution to this problem is found in emending eight to twenty-eight in Pausanias, so that Pausanias agrees with Eusebius' date of the 28th Olympiad for the Pisatan control of Olympia. Ephorus' date is put to the side on the grounds that it became garbled in transmission or that genealogical reckoning is inaccurate.¹⁵⁸ This approach results in a date for Pheidon's activity of the third and fourth decades of the seventh century, a date that some scholars claim ultimately derives from documentary records maintained at Olympia.¹⁵⁹

This attempt to reconcile the various sources is untenable for three reasons.¹⁶⁰ First, Pausanias' date of the 8th Olympiad for Pheidon

¹⁵⁷ The Pheidonian interlude at Olympia has been linked to the construction of the Temple of Hera (based on the idea that Pheidon would have introduced the worship of the patron deity of Argos to Olympia). The current dating of the temple, to c. 600, precludes this possibility. Alfred Mallwitz has shown that Dorpfeld's belief that there were two earlier temples is unfounded (Mallwitz 1972, 84–93, 137–49). (Mallwitz is, however, not averse to linking, tentatively, the introduction of the Hera cult to Pheidon.) In addition, Aliko Moustaka has recently argued that the temple in question was not dedicated to Hera until the fifth century (Moustaka 2002).

¹⁵⁸ Some scholars have emended the numbers in Strabo's and Pausanias' accounts of the early history of Olympia in order to effect a reconciliation among the four relevant texts. For instance, Schwartz emends Strabo's 26th Olympiad to the 28th and Pausanias' 30th Olympiad to the 34th (Schwartz 1899, 431 n. 3 and 432 n. 3). Reuss tried to reconcile the divergent accounts by arguing that Strabo meant to say that the Eleans controlled the Games for twenty-five Olympiads beginning with the 9th Olympiad, so that the Pisatans regained control of Olympia in the 34th Olympiad (Reuss 1895).

¹⁵⁹ Hammond 1982–2005, 325.

¹⁶⁰ A long line of scholars have seen the variant accounts of the early history of Olympia as hopelessly contradictory. See, for instance, Wade-Gery 1923–29b and Ziehen 1937–9, 2532.

cannot plausibly be emended to the 28th. Pausanias identifies the last king of Argos as Meltas, son of Lacedes, tenth in line from Temenos' grandson Medon (2.19.2). Meltas' father Lacedes is probably identical with Pheidon's son Leocedes mentioned by Herodotus (6.127), which would mean that Meltas was Pheidon's grandson. If Pheidon's grandson was tenth from Temenos' grandson, then Pheidon was in Pausanias' view tenth from Temenos, just as Ephorus says.¹⁶¹ Ten generations from Ephorus' date of 1069 for the Return of the Heracleidai is compatible with the 8th Olympiad but not the 28th, so the numeral in Pausanias' account cannot be emended. Second, Ephorus placed the Second Messenian War two generations after the reign of King Theopompos of Sparta and Pheidon one generation after Theopompos at the latest (*FGrH* 70 F216), so it is not possible for Ephorus to have given an account that made Pheidon active at the end of the Second Messenian War. Third, Eusebius says that the Pisatans presided over the 28th Olympiad because the Eleans were busy fighting Dyme, not because Elis and Pisatis were at war.

The three different sets of dates found in Ephorus/Pausanias, Eusebius, and Strabo cannot be successfully reconciled because they are all based around synchronizations of Pheidonian or Pisatan seizures of Olympia with the First and Second Messenian Wars and reflect conflicting opinions in the ancient sources about the dates of those wars. The underlying idea was that the Eleans and Spartans were allies against the Pisatans and the Messenians. This is evident in the following passage from Eustathius' *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem*:

It is also related that the Pisatans oversaw the contest at the start, since they were allied with the Messenians against the Lacedaemonians. Later, the Lacedaemonians overthrew the Pisatans and gave control over the contest to the Eleans, who fought with them against the Messenians.¹⁶² (Vol. 3 p. 309.16–20)

¹⁶¹ Pheidon's dates have been the subject of long and still unresolved debate. Herodotus states that Pheidon's son competed for the hand of the daughter of Cleisthenes of Sicyon in the sixth century (6.127), whereas Ephorus, Pausanias, and the *Marmor Parium* place him in a much earlier period. See Koiv 2001 for a review of the ancient and modern sources. See also den Boer 1954, 55–64 and Wade-Gery 1923–29b, 761–2.

¹⁶² See also Strabo 8.3.30. On the alliances between Sparta and Elis on one hand and Pisatis and the Messenians on the other, see Kiechle 1959, 23–31 and Tausend 1992, 146–61.

When the Greeks developed formal systems of absolute chronology in the Classical and Hellenistic periods, they needed to assign a place in those systems to dozens of events and persons for whom they had nothing in the way of secure dates. Their solution was to find connections, some more plausible than others, between the event or person in question and another event or person that had already been assigned a date. There can be little doubt that this was how chronologies were generated for the Pisatan–Elean struggle over Olympia.

A glance at Table 6 shows that there are two clusters of dates for Pheidonian/Pisatan seizures of Olympia, an earlier cluster centering on the mid-eighth century and another centering on the second quarter of the seventh century. These clusters were built around variant dates for the outbreak of the First and Second Messenian Wars. The reason for the variation in the dates for the Messenian Wars was that those dates were based on Tyrtaeus' statements (1) that the First Messenian War lasted twenty years, (2) that King Theopompos of Sparta was responsible for the Spartan victory in the First Messenian War, and (3) that two generations separated the First and Second Messenian Wars (F5). Dates for the Messenian Wars were thus based on the position of Theopompos in the Spartan king list, which existed in multiple, divergent versions. This created confusion about the dates of the Messenian Wars and hence confusion about the dates of seizures of Olympia by Pheidon or the Pisatans.¹⁶³

The alignment of the Messenian Wars and Pisatan control over Olympia is most apparent in Pausanias and Eusebius, both of whom supply the requisite chronological information. According to Pausanias, the First Messenian War started in the second year of the 9th Olympiad (4.5.10) and ended in the first year of the 14th Olympiad (4.13.7) and hence lasted twenty years. Pausanias places the Pisatan revolt under Pantaleon of Pisatis in the 34th Olympiad. This is precisely eighty years, or two generations, after the end of the First Messenian War, which in turn indicates a synchronization between the Pisatan

¹⁶³ The issues pertaining to the dating of the Messenian Wars are extremely complex. Those issues are well treated by den Boer 1954, 5–93; Jacoby 1902a, 128–37; and Parker 1991. For a list of the ancient sources pertinent to the dating of the Messenian Wars, see Tigerstedt 1965–78, I: 342 n. 269.

seizure of Olympia and the outbreak of the Second Messenian War.¹⁶⁴ Pantaleon was known as a leading figure in the Second Messenian War (Strabo 8.4.10), as a Messenian ally, which fits nicely with the story of Elean–Spartan cooperation against Pisatis. Eusebius made heavy use of Apollodorus, who dated the end of the First Messenian War to the 10th Olympiad.¹⁶⁵ It should come as no surprise, then, that Eusebius dates the Pisatan seizure of Olympia to the 30th Olympiad, or again precisely eighty years after the end of the First Messenian War, presumably at the same time as the outbreak of the Second Messenian War.¹⁶⁶

It is worth noting that by the time Pausanias and Eusebius wrote, the variant dating traditions for the Messenian Wars had become hopelessly mixed together. Pausanias copied information from sources that contained divergent chronologies, so that his dates for the First and Second Messenian Wars and the interval between those wars cannot be made to agree.¹⁶⁷ Pausanias reports Tyrtaeus' statements about the passage of two generations between the Messenian wars, but dates the end of the First Messenian War to the 14th Olympiad and the beginning of the Second to the 23rd (4.15.1). He thus allotted forty years to two generations. In doing so he explicitly states that he has rejected an alternative interpretation and evidently settled on forty years because of what he found in the version of the Spartan king list that he consulted (4.15.1–3).

Eusebius places the start of the First Messenian War in the third year of the 8th Olympiad and states that the war lasted twenty years (89c Helm). He then proceeds to list the end of the war in his entry for the

¹⁶⁴ The Suda (s.v. Τυρταῖος) dates Tyrtaeus, who was closely associated with the Second Messenian War, to the 35th Olympiad. Pausanias believed that Tyrtaeus arrived in Sparta slightly after the outbreak of the Second Messenian War (4.15.1, 6), which indicates that he knew of a source that dated the beginning of hostilities to the 34th Olympiad.

¹⁶⁵ Jacoby 1902a, 128–37, 405.

¹⁶⁶ Schwartz 1899, 432–3.

¹⁶⁷ Pausanias' dates for the First Messenian War are widely believed to have been derived from Sosibius, though this cannot be definitively established. His dates for the Second Messenian War definitely do not come from Sosibius. See Jacoby 1902a, 128–32 and Parker 1991, 25 n. 2. Jacoby despaired of finding a definitive solution for the chronological confusion present in Pausanias' account of Olympia. Koiv concludes that the date for Pheidon's seizure of Olympia was based on a synchronization of Pheidon's activities with the end of the kingship in Corinth (Koiv 2001, 339).

second year of the 11th Olympiad (89i Helm), thus allotting ten years to the war. He clearly relied on a variety of sources not all of which were in agreement with one another.¹⁶⁸ Eusebius says that the Pisatans ran the 28th Olympiad because the Eleans were busy with a war against Dyme. Insofar as he placed the outbreak of the First Messenian War in the 8th Olympiad, we once again have an eighty-year interval between the First Messenian War and Pisatan control of Olympia. (This does not account for the twenty years typically allotted to the war itself, but Eusebius seems to have imported a confused chronology for the Messenian Wars into his work.) There can be little doubt that Eusebius has two separate, closely spaced entries pertaining to Pisatan control of the Olympics because he had variant dates for the outbreak of the First Messenian War. Eusebius' date of the 8th Olympiad for the beginning of the first Messenian War is also suggestive, because this is the date Pausanias supplies for Pheidon's seizure of Olympia with the help of the Pisatans. This means that Pausanias identifies two Pisatan seizures of Olympia and supplies dates for them that correspond to possible dates for the beginning of the First and Second Messenian Wars. This is unlikely to be coincidental.

Strabo does not supply dates for the Messenian Wars, but his placement of the Pisatan seizure of Olympia in the 27th Olympiad may be significant.¹⁶⁹ According to this version of events the Eleans ran the Olympics for twenty-six Olympiads before the Pisatans usurped control over the sanctuary. This is precisely the same interval as that between the first and second Pisatan seizures of Olympia in Pausanias' account. We have just seen that Pausanias probably synchronized the Pisatan seizures with the outbreaks of the First and Second Messenian

¹⁶⁸ Eusebius may have made a conscious effort to seek out variant dates for figures and events from pagan history in order to create an implicit contrast with the unitary chronology he provides for sacred history. On this point, see Burgess 2002, 17.

¹⁶⁹ Oskar Viedebant argued that Strabo's statement that the Eleans ran the Olympics for Olympiads 1–26 could be read with Eusebius' assertion that the Pisatans were in charge of the Olympics for a period that ended with the 52nd Olympiad (Viedebant 1930). Viedebant believed that this was the result of an artificial pattern according to which the Eleans ran Olympia for 100 years and then the Pisatans for 100 years. This entails an unwarranted combination of divergent chronographic traditions and is based on a misunderstanding of the significance of the 100-year intervals found in some ancient accounts of Olympia.

Wars. Strabo may have synchronized the first (Coroibos) Olympics with the outbreak of the First Messenian War and the Pisatan seizure of Olympia with the outbreak of the Second Messenian War and assigned the same interval between the wars as that found in Pausanias, while suggesting different absolute dates.¹⁷⁰ Aristotle's remarks at *Politics* 1270a1–8 could be taken to mean that he believed Lycurgus to have been active during the First Messenian War, which would fit nicely with a synchronization of the Coroibos Olympics and the outbreak of the First Messenian War.¹⁷¹ In addition, the version of the Spartan king list that Eusebius took from Diodorus places the Coroibos Olympics in the reign of King Theopompos, who was widely believed to be responsible for the Spartan victory in the First Messenian War. Finally, Ephorus is thought by some scholars to have synchronized the Coroibos Olympics and the outbreak of the First Messenian War.¹⁷²

The link between the Messenian Wars and the Olympic victor list is also apparent from the pattern of appearance and disappearance of Messenians in that list. The Eusebian Olympic victor list gives the following information for victors in the first sixteen Olympiads:

- 1st. Olympiad, in which Coroibos of Elis won the *stadion*.
- 2nd. Antimachos of Elis *stadion*.
- 3rd. Androclos of Messenia *stadion*.
- 4th. Polychares of Messenia *stadion*.
- 5th. Aischines of Elis *stadion*.
- 6th. Oibotas of Dyme *stadion*.
- 7th. Diocles of Messenia *stadion*.
- 8th. Anticles of Messenia *stadion*.
- 9th. Xenocles of Messenia *stadion*.

¹⁷⁰ It may not be coincidental that Isidore of Seville (*Chronicon* 34) dates Pheidon to 776. One might also note that Ephorus placed ten generations between the departure of Aetolos from Elis and the return to Elis of Aetolos' descendant Oxylos as a guide to the Heracleidai (*FGrH* 70 F122a). Ten generations is also the interval Ephorus placed between the Heracleidai and Pheidon, which creates a suspiciously neat chronological pattern.

¹⁷¹ Huxley 1973.

¹⁷² Jacoby 1902a, 130–33. Strabo cannot have drawn directly on Ephorus in writing 8.3.30 because the account at 8.3.30 conflicts with the account at 8.3.33 that is explicitly attributed to Ephorus. Nonetheless, Strabo probably used a source that derived in part from Ephorus. Some ancient traditions synchronized Pheidon with Lycurgus, so Strabo's source may well have also subscribed to Ephorus' belief in a Pheidonian seizure of Olympia sometime around the 8th Olympiad.

10th. Dotades of Messenia *stadion*.

11th. Leochares of Messenia *stadion*.

12th. Oxythemis of Coroneia *stadion*.

13th. Diocles of Corinth *stadion*.

14th. Desmon of Corinth *stadion*.

The *diaulos* was also added, and Hypenos of Elis won.

15th. Orsippus of Megara *stadion*.

The *dolichos* was added, and they ran nude. Acanthos of Laconia won.

16th. Pythagoras of Laconia *stadion*.

Messenians make up seven of the first eleven victors and then suddenly disappear and do not reappear for centuries thereafter, whereas the first Spartan *stadion* victor appears precisely twenty years after the last Messenian victor. Some scholars have seen the fit between the Olympic victor list and the tradition about the First Messenian War to be proof of the list's accuracy (for a detailed discussion of the arguments presented in support of this viewpoint, see Appendix 10). In view of the preceding discussion about the use of the Messenian Wars for dating events in the early history of Olympia, the fit between the list and the tradition about the First Messenian War should actually be seen as grounds for doubting the accuracy of this part of the Olympic victor list.¹⁷³ The fact that the twenty-year period between 736 and 716 begins with a Messenian victor and ends with a Spartan looks decidedly suspicious, though it is worth noting that the placement of Acanthos of Sparta in the 15th Olympiad represents a break in the neat twenty-year pattern.

The single most important conclusion that emerges from the preceding discussion is that the various ancient chronologies for the Elean–Pisatan struggle to control Olympia were based on synchronizations with the Messenian Wars. This leads to the almost inevitable conclusion that the Eleans did not possess good records for the early history of Olympia. All four of the relevant ancient accounts implicitly or explicitly portray the Eleans as the original organizers of the Olympics and the Pisatans as usurpers. These accounts thus

¹⁷³ Skeptical views of the reliability of the placement of Spartans and Messenians in the early parts of the Olympic victor list can be found in Körte 1904 and Burn 1935, though without much in the way of supporting argumentation.

presumably reflect the Elean version of events. Regardless of what else one might expect in early records pertaining to the Olympic Games, there would have had to have been some indication of when the Pisatans rather than the Eleans presided. Had such records existed, authors such as Hippias and Aristotle would have made use of them and the Pisatan interludes would not have been dated by means of synchronizations with variant chronologies for the Messenian Wars. As Koiv notes in his review of the ancient dates for Pheidon:

The existence of parallel chronologies demonstrates that there was no universally accepted chronology of the events of early Olympian history. Otherwise how could it be that in the chronological systems the Pisatan revolt (or revolts) were ascribed to different dates? Nor could there have been any uncertainty about the dating of the second Messenian war, obviously attached in some way to Olympian history, if the dates for the Olympian events had been known and universally accepted. All this should make us rather sceptical about the documentary basis of the chronology of early Olympian history . . .¹⁷⁴

The absence of records about the early history of Olympia is a strong indication that the Eleans did not maintain a register of Olympic victors beginning in 776. If the Eleans could not provide dates for those occasions on which the Pisatans ran the Olympics, it is difficult to believe that they could provide the names of victors from the eighth century. This conclusion echoes that reached by Jacoby in one of his many excurses on eponym lists:

We had better expressly state that in every Greek chronicle the list of eponymous officials is to a greater or lesser degree constructed: no list of officials of the mother country (and for that matter no list of victors) began to be kept before the seventh century . . .¹⁷⁵

2.7. HIPPIAS' SOURCES

It is now clear that Hippias' catalog of Olympic victors was not based on Elean records that were maintained beginning in the eighth century. Because we know that no catalog of Olympic victors existed before Hippias produced his *Olympionikai*, we can now say with a high degree

¹⁷⁴ Koiv 2001, 338.

¹⁷⁵ Jacoby 1949, 88. Jacoby became progressively more skeptical about the Olympic victor list over the course of time. See Jacoby 1949, 353 n. 3.

of confidence that Hippias did not simply publish the Olympic victor list; he also compiled it. The question then becomes the nature of the sources upon which Hippias drew. We will see that Hippias worked with written records, which reached back to the sixth century, and with oral traditions, which reached far back into the past, but which were incomplete and lacking in chronological specificity.

Olympic victories were significant achievements, and memories of such victories were maintained in the oral traditions of successful competitors' families. Hippias traveled extensively in his capacities of sophist and diplomat and had every opportunity to encounter members of the sort of prominent, long-established families that would have produced Olympic victors and preserved memories of their triumphs. Hippias no doubt gathered a significant amount of valuable information about Olympic victors by this means. That said, oral traditions had three significant limitations that need to be kept in mind.¹⁷⁶ First, families could in some instances place their ancestors roughly in time by counting generations, but oral traditions were notably lacking in chronological precision. There were a variety of reasons for this, not the least of which was that Greeks did not make regular use of systems of absolute chronology until the fifth century. In addition, there was a tendency for legendary origins and the recent past to run together, with the intermediate period dropping out. This process of "telescoping" made it nearly impossible to locate a person or event accurately in time.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁶ On the nature of oral traditions in ancient Greece, see Thomas 1989, 95–195. Thomas discusses the relevant issues in detail and cites and reviews the extensive earlier bibliography.

¹⁷⁷ On "telescoping," see Thomas 1989, 126, 130, 133–5, 138–44, 150–53, 157–8, 170, 185–8, 224–6, 235–6. Thomas concludes that "without written records or a 'bookish' and historical sense of chronology, chronological data are very unstable" (126). On the absence of precise chronology in Greek oral traditions, see also Finley 1987, 11–33. For a theoretical and cross-cultural perspective on chronology in oral traditions, see Henige 1974, 1–70 and *passim*. Henige argues that "when the historian asks chronological questions from oral tradition he is in most cases seeking information that these sources were never designed to provide. . . . All forms of oral tradition have their strengths and their weaknesses, but it is generally recognized that their greatest deficiency is an inability to establish and maintain an accurate assessment of the duration of the past they seek to recount" (1–2). On the difficulties of converting oral traditions in general and genealogical sequences in particular into accurate time-reckoning systems, see Vansina 1985.

The second problematic feature of oral traditions about Olympic victors was that families exaggerated the prowess of their forebears. Some sense for how this worked can be had from the Daochos monument at Delphi. Daochos, a member of an important Thessalian family, erected in the 330s two statue groups of the same design, at Pharsalos and at Delphi.¹⁷⁸ Each group consisted of nine statues of members of Daochos' family, including his ancestor Agias, a successful pancratiast who won multiple victories at the *periodos* games in the early fifth century. The inscription on the statue of Agias at Pharsalos claims five Pythian victories, as did the inscription on the statue at Delphi, when it was originally cut. The Delphi inscription, however, was recut shortly after it was erected, so that it claimed three rather than five victories for Agias. This change was almost certainly made because of the publication of the first complete catalog of Pythian victors in the 330s by Aristotle and Callisthenes.¹⁷⁹ That catalog was inscribed on *stelai* at Delphi, and a divergence between the Agias inscription and the victor catalog would have been awkward. The extent to which Aristotle and Callisthenes based their Pythian victor list on documentary sources remains unclear, but given the relatively late date of Agias' career they virtually certainly had a good idea of how many victories he actually won. Agias' family had evidently found it possible to exaggerate his successes prior to the publication of the victor catalog, and other families must have done the same.

The final problem with oral traditions was that they were by definition lacunose and subject to error. Modern studies have shown that oral traditions rarely preserve accurate memories of past events for more than three generations. Beyond that limit, "we can begin to see family tradition becoming dramatically inaccurate."¹⁸⁰ Close to

¹⁷⁸ On the Daochos monument, see Bommelaer 1991, 200–201 and Picard 1991, 91–8.

¹⁷⁹ Miller 1978. On the Pythian victor list, see Section 3.4.

¹⁸⁰ Thomas 1989, 127. Murray, following Vansina (Vansina 1973 (1961), xiv), argues that oral traditions can preserve accurate memories of the past for up to 200 years (Murray 2001). Even Murray, however, concludes that "Herodotus' information reaches back from 450 BC to the mid seventh century . . . The period before 650 BC is virtually unknown, a realm of conjecture and isolated stories which do not in fact correspond well to the realities of the late Dark Age" (19). Hippias, working a half century after Herodotus, can hardly have used oral traditions to assemble accurate records of Olympic victors from the eighth century. Koiv has recently argued that the memory of certain

four hundred years, something on the order of thirteen or fourteen generations, separated Hippias from the earliest figures that appeared in his victor catalog. The passage of time inevitably effaced memories of some Olympic victors, particularly those from earlier periods when the Games were a local affair and winning an Olympic victory was not a particularly memorable event. In addition, Hippias could not have spoken with every family in every Greek community that remembered an ancestor who had won at Olympia.

In sum, the information that Hippias derived from oral traditions could not be easily assembled into a neat, chronologically ordered listing of victors. He had to work around major gaps and deal with potential distortions. Even in cases where he acquired accurate information, he still had to find a way to start with a statement such as “my great-great-grandfather Aristonikos won an Olympic victory in the *pankration*” and then attach Aristonikos to a specific Olympiad. (For discussion of the very unlikely possibility that religious officials at Olympia memorized the Olympic victor list starting in the eighth century, see Appendix 11.)

Some of the imperfections in the oral tradition could be made good by means of written records. Although there was no archive in Elis brimming with documents pertaining to the Olympics, there was, by the time Hippias set to work, a considerable body of written records on which he could draw. It is possible that Hippias made use of some records on perishable materials such as leather or papyrus, but these records were almost by definition of minimal importance. The careful storage and regular recopying necessary to preserve records written on perishable materials were highly exceptional before the late Classical period, and so most if not all of the records that Hippias could have found on perishable materials would have pertained to recent Olympiads.¹⁸¹ Hippias’ major difficulties did not, however,

key events from the eighth century was preserved in oral traditions until written down in the fifth and fourth centuries (Koiv 2003, 9–34, 354–66, and *passim*). He is, however, overtly skeptical about the accuracy of the early parts of the Olympic victor list and doubts that oral tradition contained any accurate dates for the period before the sixth century.

¹⁸¹ On the development of archives in ancient Greece, see the bibliography cited in n. 127 of this chapter.

involve recent Olympiads, for which it must have been relatively simple to reconstruct victor lists. The major difficulties lay with earlier Olympiads, roughly speaking anything before the fifth century. For those Olympiads he had to rely on oral traditions and on records inscribed on durable materials such as stone and bronze.¹⁸²

Hippias' reliance on records inscribed on durable materials is a fortunate circumstance, because it makes it possible to develop a clear sense of the kind of records that were at his disposal. The vast majority of the inscriptions that Hippias might have examined have, of course, long since vanished. There is, however, no reason to think that Hippias had access to an entire class of records that have since disappeared without a trace. A careful examination of extant inscriptions that commemorate athletic victories can thus provide insight into the nature of the sources that Hippias used in compiling his catalog of Olympic victors. Those inscriptions can be divided into three basic categories: inscriptions celebrating the successes of an individual athlete (or a small group of related athletes), inscriptions listing all the victors at a particular iteration of a particular contest, and inscriptions listing the members of a group that won victories at major athletic festivals. There are several hundred extant inscriptions for individual victors, somewhere around a hundred lists of victors at particular iterations of particular festivals, and two lists of victors from particular groups. There is no reason to think that the different types of athletic victor inscriptions had markedly different depositional histories, so it is likely that the proportions in which they survive are roughly the proportions in which they were produced.

The most immediate testimony to an athlete's victory was also the most ephemeral. A herald, with the aid of a trumpeter, announced the beginning of each event and, after the event was over, the victor's name, patronymic, and home town.¹⁸³ In some cases a somewhat more permanent record was created in the form of a list of events and victors

¹⁸² There can be little doubt that Hippias was aware of the historical value of inscriptions, the use of which is already apparent in the work of Herodotus. For a good survey of the evidence for the use of inscriptions by historians in ancient Greece, see Higbie 1999.

¹⁸³ On the duties performed by heralds at Greek athletic festivals, see Crowther 2004, 183–202.

that was written on whitened boards (*leukomata*).¹⁸⁴ Cassius Dio tells the story of Aurelius Helix, who wanted to win both the wrestling and *pankration* at Olympia in the early third century CE. For reasons that Dio does not make clear, the Eleans did not wish Helix to accomplish this feat, so

οὐδὲ ἐκάλεσαν ἐς τὸ στάδιον παλαιστὴν οὐδένα, καίπερ ἐν τῷ λευκώματι καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἄθλημα προγράψαντες· (79.10)

They did not call any wrestler into the stadium, even though they had written this contest on the whitened board.

An inscription dated to the third century from Coresia on the island of Ceos shows that *leukomata* could also be used to record victors' names (IG XII 5 647). The inscription contains detailed regulations for a local religious festival that included sacrifices, a public meal, a torch race, and contests in archery, javelin-throwing, and catapult shooting. The regulations conclude with the following instructions (ll. 40–42):

ἀναγράφειν δὲ εἰς λευκώμα ἐξῆς τοὺς αἰὶ νικῶντας τὸν γρα<μ>ματέα· ἂν δὲ δόξει ὁ νόμος, ἀναγράφαι εἰς στήλην καὶ στήσαι εἰς τὸ τέμενος.

The secretary will always inscribe the names of victors in order on a whitened board. Let this law be inscribed on a *stele* and erected in the sanctuary.¹⁸⁵

The expense involved in cutting inscriptions meant that most victors' names, particularly those at contests of purely local importance, never made it into media more durable than *leukomata*.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁴ The best discussion of *leukomata* remains that found in Wilhelm 1909, 239–57, though see also Klaffenbach 1960, 5–25, 34 and 1966, 52–92. For briefer overviews, see Posner 1972, 97–102 and Rhodes 2001, 33–6. Wilhelm dates the beginning of the use of *leukomata* to the sixth century.

¹⁸⁵ Instructions comparable to those in IG XII 5 647 ll. 40–42 are epigraphically attested elsewhere in the Greek world. IG V 1 20, for example, contains a decree ordering *grammateis* at Sparta to record the names of victors in a local athletic contest (the name of the contest is not given).

¹⁸⁶ The inscription of public documents of any kind on stone was the exception rather than the rule. On this question, see Wilhelm 1909, 227–39. *Leukomata* may have been stored for limited periods, but they were a comparatively ephemeral medium. A number of ancient sources, such as the Aristotelian *Athēnaion Politeia* (47.2–5), show that whitened boards were in many if not all cases expected to be cleaned off and reused in short order. On the relatively impermanent nature of *leukomata*, see Davies 2003, 325 and Wilhelm 1909, 239–57.

The names of all the victors from a particular iteration of an athletic contest were, however, sometimes subsequently inscribed on stone or bronze. These inscriptions were typically erected at the contest site by the magistrates who had organized that iteration of the games. In some cases, this was prescribed by the regulations for the festival, whereas in other cases it seems to have been voluntarily undertaken by the magistrates themselves, presumably to enhance their reputations. A good example of the latter can be found in a series of victor list inscriptions for the Theseia in Athens that dates to the second century (*IG* II² 956–66). These inscriptions are slightly unusual in that each begins with a long honorary decree for the organizer of the contests for the year in question, all of whom had spent lavishly from their own pockets. Three inscriptions in this series are quite well preserved and specifically note that the organizer of that iteration of the games ἀνέθηκεν δὲ καὶ στήλην ἐν τῷ τοῦ Θησέως τεμένει εἰς ἣν ἀνέγραψε τοὺς νικήσαντας (“also erected the *stèle* in the sanctuary of Theseus on which he inscribed the names of the victors”) (956.16–17; 957.10–11; 958.14–15).¹⁸⁷

Some sense of the costs of cutting such inscriptions can be had from *SEG* 19.335. This is a lengthy inscription on Pentelic marble dated to 90–80. It contains a victor list for literary and musical contests at the Sarapeia in Tanagra and detailed financial accounts of the festival organizers and the commission in charge of managing the bequest used to fund the festival. Lines 69–71 specify the amount spent on the victor list:

ἄλωμα Διονυσίου ἀναγρα] | [φῆς τε] καὶ ἐνκολάψεως τῶν νενικηκότων
καὶ τῶν ἀπολογιῶν τ[ῶ]ν τε τοῦ [ἀγῶ] | [νος] καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς Μ

Payment to Dionysios for the transcription and engraving of the list of victors, the accounts of the festival and of the commission: 40 *drachmai*.¹⁸⁸

This is a not inconsiderable sum, though it presumably would have been somewhat less had the accounts of the commission not been included.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁷ On the Theseia inscriptions, see Bugh 1990 and Kennell 1999.

¹⁸⁸ On Greek coinage denominations, see Rutter 1983.

¹⁸⁹ The text of *SEG* 19.335 given here is the revised version found in Calvert and Roesch 1966, which should also be consulted for a full analysis of its contents. For a comparison, see Vollgraff 1901, in which can be found the text of an inscription dating to the first or second century and pertaining to the Basileia games in Lebedeia. The inscription

Such inscriptions were produced for centuries all over the Greek world, and a considerable number have come down to us. Table 7 is not exhaustive, but it includes all the relevant examples from non-Panhellenic games dating to the period before the fourth century and a sample of later material.

The format of these inscriptions is strikingly uniform in view of the wide range of times and places in which they were produced. The inscriptions begin with the name of the magistrate(s) responsible for organizing the contest in question, sometimes supplemented by the eponymous magistrate for the state at the time. This is followed by οἵδε ἐνίκων (“the following men won”) or a very similar phrase and then the names of the victors. In most cases the victor list itself starts with the name of an event followed by the name of the victor in that event (and supplementary information such as hometown) and then continues with the name of the next event and next victor.

The example in Table 8, a second century victor list from the Heracleia Games at Chalcis (IG XII 9 952), is illustrative of the general pattern. This particular set of games differed from the Olympics in that there were four age classes (boys, ephebes, *ageneioi*, and men), a series of events described as *panpades*, which were presumably open to everyone except men, and a *hippios diaulos*, possibly a four-lap race.¹⁹⁰ Otherwise, however, the events are the standard array of gymnastic contests, and the contents of the inscription are typical.

Inscriptions of this type were also erected at the sites of the Panhellenic athletic festivals. Eleven victor lists recording the names of winning athletes at games held at the Sanctuary of Poseidon at Isthmia have been unearthed.¹⁹¹ All these lists date to the Roman period,

lists the expenses incurred by one Xenarchos in running the festival, including funds for inscribing a *stèle* with the name of victors. The precise sum is not, however, specified. On the date of this inscription, see Holleaux 1906.

¹⁹⁰ On the Heracleia at Chalcis, see Ringwood 1929. The *hippios* for ephebes and *hippios diaulos* for men were presumably the same sort of race.

¹⁹¹ Most of the Isthmian victor lists can be found in Volume VIII of the Corinth excavation reports (8.1 #14–20 and 8.3 #223, #228). Two others have been published separately in *Hesperia* (28 (1959): 324 and 39 (1970): 79–93). David Jordan has recently published lead tablets from Isthmia dating to the Roman era that contain judges' votes on the eligibility of contestants (Jordan 1994).

TABLE 7. *Victor Lists from Local Athletic Contests*

Primary Reference(s)	Date	Description (all inscriptions on stone unless otherwise noted; all inscriptions cover single iteration of games unless otherwise noted)
<i>IG V 1</i> 357, <i>SEG</i> 11.638, <i>SEG</i> 11.918, <i>SEG</i> 11.919	c. 500	Highly fragmentary lists of names from Laconia (two from the acropolis of Sparta, two from Geronthrai), identified by Jeffery as possible athletic victor lists ^a
Pindar <i>Olympian VII</i> 87	before 464	Pindar refers to a list of athletic victors inscribed on stone at Megara
<i>IG VII</i> 414; Petrakos, <i>Ho Oropos kai to Ieron tou Amphiariou</i> ^b	c. 350	Victor lists from multiple (at least five) iterations of the Amphiaria at Oropos
<i>SIG</i> ³ 314	320–304	Two <i>stelai</i> containing victor lists for four different iterations of the Lycaia in Arcadia
<i>SIG</i> ³ 1060	fourth–third century	Victor list from unknown games in Tralleis
Kontorini, “Les concours des Grands Éréthimia à Rhodes” ^c	third century	Series of victor lists (at least three separate iterations) from the Great Erethimia on Rhodes
Dunst, “Siegerliste der Samischen Heraia” ^d	268	Victor list from the Basileia in Alexandria
Klee, <i>Zur Geschichte der gymnischen Agone</i> ^e	c. 250–c. 180	Series of victor lists (at least 14 separate iterations) from the Asclepieia on Cos
<i>IG II</i> ² 2313–7	second century	Victor lists from five different iterations of the Great Panathenaia
Tracy and Habicht, “New and Old Panathenaic Victor Lists” ^f	second century	Victor lists from three different iterations of the Great Panathenaia
<i>IG II</i> ² 956–66	second century	Victor lists from an uncertain number of different iterations (at least four) of the Theseia at Athens

TABLE 7. (*continued*)

Primary Reference(s)	Date	Description (all inscriptions on stone unless otherwise noted; all inscriptions cover single iteration of games unless otherwise noted)
SEG 49.1146	second century	List of victors in monthly contests at the gymnasium in Samos; covers all victors for a single year
SEG 3.367–8	second century	Victor lists for different iterations of the Basileia at Lebedeia in Boeotia
IG XII 9 952	second century	Victor list from the Heracleia at Chalcis
Dunst, “Siegerliste der Samischen Heraia” ^g	second century	Victor list from the Heraia at Samos
SIG ³ 1061	second century	Victor list of unknown games at Samos
IG X 2 525–9	second century	Victor lists for four different iterations of the Eleutheria at Larissa
Kirchner, “Inscripfen von Attischen Lande” ^h	c. 150	Two victor lists from the Eleusinia
SIG ³ 1062	second–first century	Victor list from unknown games at Tralleis
SEG 28.456	first century	Victor list from the Pamboeotia
IG XII 9 91	first century	Victor list from games at Tamynae on Euboea
IG VII 416–20	first century	Victor lists from four separate iterations of the Games of the Amphiarii and Rome at Oropos
IG IX 2 531–4	first century BCE–first century CE	Victor lists from four different iterations of the Taurotheria at Larissa
IG VII 1764–72	first century BCE–second century CE	Victor lists from at least three iterations of the Erotideia in Thespiiai

(*continued*)

TABLE 7. (*continued*)

Primary Reference(s)	Date	Description (all inscriptions on stone unless otherwise noted; all inscriptions cover single iteration of games unless otherwise noted)
SEG 35.930	first–second century CE	Victor list from unknown games at Chios covering multiple iterations
SIG ³ 1063	212 CE	Victor list of unknown games at Ambyrssi in Phocis
IG VII 2871	Roman period	Victor list from the Pamboeotia at Coronea
SIG ³ 959	undated	Victor list from Games for Heracles and the Muses at Chios
SEG 47.1772	undated	Victor list from funeral games at Temessos in Asia Minor

^aJeffery and Johnston 1990, 60.

^bPetrakos 1968, #47.

^cKontorini 1975.

^dDunst 1967, 238–9.

^eKlee 1918, 3–19.

^fTracy and Habicht 1991, 188–9.

^gDunst 1967, 230.

^hKirchner and Dow 1937, 4–6.

when Isthmia was the site of a number of different festivals that included athletic contests, such as the Caesarea and the Asclepieia.¹⁹² Some of the lists are too fragmentary to attribute to a specific festival and others definitely list victors at contests other than the Isthmian Games. At least two of the inscriptions, however, clearly pertain to the Isthmian Games (Corinth 8.1 #15 and 8.3 #223). The better preserved of the two, 8.1 #15, dates to the second century CE and is inscribed

¹⁹² On the Isthmian victor lists and the various athletic festivals held at Isthmia, see the original publications listed above as well as Biers and Geagan 1970, Geagan 1968, and Gebhard 1993.

TABLE 8.

IG XII 9 952									
Επι ηγήμενος Τιμή[η]δών του Αρεταράτου[ς]. Δημήτριος Ανδρομάτης ἐπιμελητής γενόμενος του γυμνασίου ἀθλα προέβηκεν ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι τῶν Ἡρακλείων καὶ ἐνίκων οὕτως									
ΠΑΙΔΑΣ									
I. πανπασιδας σταδίων									
Γλαυκίας	Γλαυκίου	Κλέων	Αλέξανδρος	Ζώντιος	Αγρεμίδορος	Αλεάνδης	Ποσειδώνιος	Βόρμιος	Παρίνομος
Γλαυκίου.	Χαοκλείου	Θεοκρίτου	Θεοκρίτου	Θεοκρίτου	Νισίου	Αρχελαίου	Ξενοκράτου	Παραμόνου	Ξενοκράτου
Χαλαβεύς.	Χαλαβεύς.	Χαλαβεύς.	Χαλαβεύς.	Αντισχεύς.	Αντισχεύς.	Χαλαβεύς.	Χαλαβεύς.	Χαλαβεύς.	Χαλαβεύς.
Εὐρίβαν									
II. παναγάρτων δολύχων									
Θεοκλή	Αγέλαος	σταδίων	Τιμαρχίδης	Ηρόδοτος	Ἰππιον	πύλην	πύλην	πύλην	πύλην
Παναντίου	Φιλανος	Αρεταράτου	Αρεταράτου	Ζωίππου	Απολλοδόρου	Πόπλιος	Διονύσιος	Εύχατος	Πένταθλον
Χαλαβεύς.	Χαλαβεύς.	Χαλαβεύς.	Χαλαβεύς.	Χαλαβεύς.	Χαλαβεύς.	Ρωμαῖος.	Χαλαβεύς.	Πύργου	Φιλίος
III. πύλην									
Μισαρχος	παναγάρτων	Ανδρας	σταδίων	δολύχων	δολύχων	πύλην	πύλην	πύλην	πύλην
Εγγένιος	Μάρατος	Πέριλλος	Αἰβλος	Μένανδρος	Μονημάτῃος	Μοργίου	Καλλιστράτης	Αντισχεύς	Ευαγόρου
Ρωμαῖος	[Αρεμίδορος	Μονημάτῃος	Κορνήλιος	Μονημάτῃος	Μονημάτῃος	Ευαγόρου	Αμύντος	καὶ Φιλόνικος	Ευαγόρου
καὶ Νικανόρος	Παναντίου	Χαλαβεύς.	Αἰβλου	Χαλαβεύς.	Χαλαβεύς.	Χαλαβεύς.	Χαλαβεύς.	Αλεάνδου	Κορνέτιος
Κλαυγένου	Χαλαβεύς.	Ρωμαῖος.	Ρωμαῖος.	Ρωμαῖος.	Ρωμαῖος.	Ρωμαῖος.	Χαλαβεύς.	Χαλαβεύς.	Χαλαβεύς.
Χαλαβεύς.	Χαλαβεύς.	Χαλαβεύς.	Χαλαβεύς.	Χαλαβεύς.	Χαλαβεύς.	Χαλαβεύς.	Χαλαβεύς.	Χαλαβεύς.	Χαλαβεύς.

on three faces of a triangular pedestal. The text from Faces A and C (the beginning and end of the inscription) reads as follows:¹⁹³

Face A

[----]

ΠακκIANOY

Ἑλληνοδικῶν δὲ

[Γ. Ἰ]ουλίου Πολυαίνου υἱοῦ

[---- Κ]λαυδίου Μαξίμου

[---- Ἀν]τωνίου Κυιήτου

[----]παλήνου Ἀναξίλλου

[----] ου Ἰουλιανοῦ

[----] Γεμίνου

[----] Θρασέα

[----]σίου Κορινθ[ίου]

[---- Πομ]πηίου Κλαυδιαν[οῦ]

[---- Ἰου]εντίου [----]

vacat

[οἱ νεικήσα]ντες

[----] Ν. . . . ΙΚΟΝ

[τοὺς ἀγ]ῶνας [τῶν Ἰ]σθμίων

Σα[λπισ]τάς

[---- Δι]ογένους Ἱερο[----]

Κ[αίς]αρεύς

κήρυκας

[----]αίο[ς] Χαρικλῆς Λαυδικ[εύς]

vacat

Face C

[----]

[Παίδων πένταθλον]·

[---- Θρα]σύλος νεώ(τερος)

Ἀγενείων πένταθλο[ν]·

Ὀνασίων. Ἀργεῖος

Ἀνδρῶν πένταθλον·

Π(όπλιος) Αἴλιος. ἀσιχος Ἀντι(οχεύς)

Παίδ[ων] π[ά]λιν·

Γ(άιος) Ἀλέξανδρος Τε. . . . ολο[----]

Παίδων [πυγμα]λόν·

¹⁹³ The text of Face A of Corinth 8.1 #15 supplied here is that given in the original publication of the inscription. The text for Face C is that found in SEG 11.62.

Σύνεργος Ἐ[ρ]μ[ο]γένους. Μ[----]
 Παίδων. π[ανκρά]τιον·
 Π(όπλιος) Γερελλᾶνος. [----]
 Ἄγεν[είων] πάλ[ην]·
 Π(όπλιος) Αἴλιος Σ.τ.α[----]
 [----]ΡΣΙΓ[----]
 Ἄγενε[ίω]ν [πυγ]μήν·
 Σεραπίων Π.Α. . . ΙΔΙΟ[----]
 Ἄγενε[ίω]ν π.α.ν[κράτιον]·
 [----]
 [Ἀνδρῶν πάλην]·
 Δάμων Ἀρισ[τ]έ[α] ΛΓΕΛΤΟCE[----]
 Θεσσαλός
 Ἀνδρῶν πυγμή[ν]·
 Δείδας Ε[ἰ]σιδώρου. Ἀλεξα[ν](δρεὺς)
 Ἀνδρῶν π.α.νκρατίον·
 Λ(ούκιος) Ἐρένιος Φιλεῖνος
 Ὅπλείτην·
 Π(όπλιος) Ὠκλάτιος Τύρρανος
 Κορίνθιος.

The similarity in format and contents between this inscription and comparable inscriptions from local games is immediately obvious.

Only one other victor list from one of the *periodos* games is extant. It is cut on a thin bronze plaque found at Olympia (*IvO* 17).¹⁹⁴ The plaque was discovered to the northwest of the Temple of Zeus and is dated on letter forms to the late fifth or early fourth century. It is in very fragmentary condition, but a nail hole is preserved in the upper left corner. The legible part of the inscription reads as follows:

Ἐνίκασαν ἐπὶ [τῶν περὶ ----] –
 –να δαμιοργον[τῶν ----]
 μεδὲν ποτεχε[ν? ----το----]–
 –κοστ(ο) Ὀλυμπία[σιν ἀγῶνος?]
 Λαμπυριδν. Ἀθ[αναῖος?]
 . . . ες Α[----]¹⁹⁵

¹⁹⁴ The victor lists at Olympia were inscribed on bronze almost certainly due to the absence of suitable local stone.

¹⁹⁵ The text of *IvO* 17 given here is that found in Jeffery and Johnston 1990, 59.

Enough survives to show that this inscription was typical. It listed all the victors from a particular iteration of the Olympics preceded by the names of the contest organizers.

One might have thought that the Elean officials in charge of the Olympics would have carefully stored each such bronze plaque in an administrative building at Olympia or Elis and ended up with a nicely organized set of records. The nail hole, however, shows that the plaques were probably displayed on the walls of one or more buildings. It seems unlikely that Hippias found dozens of such plaques neatly lined up in chronological order. Moreover, as we will see, there is some reason to believe that victor lists of this sort were first inscribed in the early sixth century, and some of the older plaques are likely to have been lost or difficult to read by the time Hippias began his researches. Bronze plaques recording the names of victors in individual iterations of the Olympics must have been an invaluable resource for Hippias, but they were not without problems.

Victors at athletic contests did not always leave commemoration of their success entirely in the hands of contest organizers. A number of inscriptions, typically attached to a dedication of varying size and cost and intended to celebrate the success of individual athletes, were erected either by the victors themselves or by their hometowns. Inscriptions for individual athletes frequently listed all the contests that the athlete had won. The following two examples are among the earliest known:

[μνᾱμά μ]ε πενταφεθλέων νικά[σας δρις. . .],
[καὶ δὲ παλ]αῖον δρις, [τᾱ]ιδ' εὐχόμενό[ς ποκ' ἔθεκε]. (SEG 18.140)

As a reminder [name lost] dedicated this with a prayer after winning twice in the pentathlon and twice in wrestling.

Ἀρίστις με ἀνέθεκε Δ<ΙΦ>ὶ Φρονίδωνι φάν|ακτι πανκράτιον|νιφῶν τετράκις |
ἐν Νεμέαι Φεῖδῶ|νος φηιδὸς το Κλεωναῖδ. (SEG 11.290)

Aristis son of Pheidon of Cleonai dedicated me to Lord Zeus Cronios, having won four times in the *pankration* at Nemea.

The first of these was found at Isthmia on a stone weight used in jumping and is dated to the first half of the sixth century. The Aristis

dedication comes from a block found at Nemea and is dated to just before the middle of the sixth century.¹⁹⁶

Two statue bases from the Acropolis of Athens show that some relevant inscriptions provided a fairly high level of detail and that related individuals could be commemorated in the same inscription:

Καλλίας Δ[ιδυμῖο ἀνέθεκεν]

νῖκαι·

Ὀλυ[μ]πίασι

Πύθια: δῖς

Ἰσθμια: πεντάκις

Νέμεια: τετράκις

Παναθῆναια με<γ>άλ[α]

(IG I² 606; Luigi Moretti, *Iscrizioni agonistiche greche*, #15)

Callias son of Didymos dedicated this

victories:

at the Olympic Games

at the Pythian Games twice

at the Isthmian Games five times

at the Nemean Games four times

at the Great Panathenaia

Διοφάνης

Ἐμπεδίωνος

νίκη: Ἰσθμοῖ.

Ἐμπεδίωνος παῖδες Ἀθηνᾶο[ι] δὺ ἐνίκων·

Διοφάνης ἀγένειος ἐ[ν] Ἰσθμῶι πανκρατι[αστή]ς

κα[ὶ] πρόγονος Στέφ[ανος]· ρώμην δὲ χερῶν ἐπ[έ]δ[ει]ξ[αν]. (IG II² 3125; Moretti #22)

Diophanes

son of Empedion

victory: Isthmian Games

¹⁹⁶ On the jumping weight from Isthmia and the block from Nemea, see Ebert 1972, #1, #2.

The two sons of Empedion of Athens won:
 Diophanes as an *ageneios* at Isthmia as pancratiast
 and his grandfather Stephanos.¹⁹⁷ They showed the strength of their hands.

The Callias inscription dates to the second half of the fifth century, that for Diophanes to the second quarter of the fourth century.

Most monuments for individual victors were set up by the victors themselves, but there are some examples of communities taking a leading role in honoring one of their own. The following inscription, found on a statue base at Olympia and dating to the second century, is typical:

Ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἐρυθραίων
 Ἐπιθήρση Μητροδώρου
 νικήσαντα ἀνδρας πυγμῆν
 Ὀλύμπια δις καὶ τὴν περίοδον.
 Πυθόκριτος Τιμοχάριος Ρόδιος ἐποίησε. (*IvO* 186)

The people of Erythrai
 for Epitherses son of Metrodoros
 winning the men's boxing
 at Olympia twice and the *periodos*.
 Pythocritos son of Timochares of Rhodes made (it).¹⁹⁸

The final type of victor inscription consists of lists of members of a group who had distinguished themselves at one or more athletic contests. There are only two extant inscriptions that fall under this heading, one erected by a deme¹⁹⁹ or similar group on the island of Ceos and a second erected at Olympia by the members of an athletic guild. It is worth noting that both of these inscriptions commemorate only victories at the *periodos* games. Victories at the major Panhellenic festivals were recognized as qualitatively different than victories elsewhere, and more care was given to records of such successes.

¹⁹⁷ The translation of *IG* II² 3125 given here takes πρόγονος as grandfather, though the term might also refer to an older brother. For discussion of the problem, see Moretti 1953, #22.

¹⁹⁸ On *IvO* 186, see Moretti 1953, #46. Pausanias saw and paraphrased this inscription (6.15.6).

¹⁹⁹ A deme was a local administrative unit centering on one or more villages.

The list of Cean athletic victors, *IG XII 5 608*, dates to the second half of the fourth century. Enough of the text survives to show that it contained a list of victors in the *periodos* games:

]ν]

]ης Θίβρων<ος> ἀνδ[ρῶν ----
 Λ]εοκρέων Βώλεος ἀνδ[ρῶν ----
 Λ]ιπαρίων Λιπάρου ἀνδρῶ[ν ----
 Λ]ιπαρίων Λιπάρου ἀνδρῶ[ν ----
 Λεοκρέων Βώλεος ἀνδρῶν ----
 Λεοκρέων Βώλεος ἀνδρῶ[ν ----
 Λ]ιπαρίων Λιπάρου ἀνδρῶ[ν ----
 Φαιδιππίδης Λιπάρου ἀγ[γε]νείων ----
 ἀδελφοὶ τῇι αὐτῇι ἡμέραι
 Κίμων Κάμπου ἀνδρῶν [----
 Σμικυλίνης Τιμάρχου π[α]ίδων ----
 Κρίνις Ἀξιλέω παίδων π[α]γ[κράτιον
 Πόλυφαντος Θεοφράδης ἀγ[γε]νείων ----
 Ἀργεῖος Πανθεῖδεω παίδω[ν] ----
 Λέων Λεωμέδοντος κ[ῆ]ρυξ
 [three blank lines]
 οἷδε Νέμεια ἐνίκων ἀπο[----
 Φωκ[ί]ων Νεδοντίου ἀνδρῶ[ν] ----
 Ἑπαρκος Ναυκύδεος ἀνδρῶν ----
 Ἀλεξίδικος Μένητος ἀνδ[ρῶν] ----
 Κρινολέως Π[ρ]ασέα ἀγενε[ίων] ----
 Λιπαρίων Λιπάρου ἀνδρῶ[ν] ----
 Λαμπροκλῆς Ἀξιλέω ἀνδρῶν ----
 Κίμων Κάμπου ἀνδρῶν πα[----
 Πόλυφαντος Θεοφράδης ἀγενε[ίων] ----
 Ἀργεῖος Πανθεῖδεω ἀγενε[ί]ω[ν] ----
 Λάχων Ἀριστο[μ]ένεος παίδω[ν] ----
 Λάχων Ἀριστομένεος παίδω[ν] ----
 Λέων Λεωμέδοντος κῆρυξ²⁰⁰
 [no blank lines]

It was regular practice in inscriptions for individual athletes to list victories in order of importance, starting with the *periodos* games, with

²⁰⁰ The text of *IG XII 5 608* given here, and the discussion of its contents and significance, are based directly on Schmidt 1999.

the Olympics at the top of the list, followed by the Pythian, Isthmian, and Nemean Games (see, for example, the Callias inscription above). What survives seems to be the bottom of a list that began with the Olympics and ended with the Nemean Games. The section immediately preceding οἶδε Νέμεια ἐνίκων (“the following men won at the Nemean Games”) presumably contains the names of victors at Isthmia. The sections pertaining to the Olympic and Pythian Games are not preserved.

Some hint about the genesis of this text can be found in Bacchylides II, an ode written for Argeios of Ceos after his victory in the Isthmian Games. The poem reads in part:

Speed to Holy Ceos, report, you giver of majesty, and carry the message of gracious name, that Argeios won the victory in the bold-handed fight and reminded us of all the fine achievements we had displayed at the famous neck of the Isthmus when we left the sacred island of Euxantios and won seventy garlands. (ll. 1–10, trans. David Campbell)

Bacchylides appears to have had specific information about the number of Cean victors at Isthmia, a supposition that finds strong support in *IG* XII 5 608. It would seem that there was a tradition at Ceos of producing lists of local athletic victors. (One might note in this regard that the regulations for the festival at Coresia on Ceos required magistrates to record victors’ names on whitened boards.)

The contents of *IG* XII 5 608 show that it represented a subset of Cean victors, though the precise nature of the subset is impossible to establish. The list of victors at Nemea appears to be complete but contains only twelve names, far from enough to equal the sum total of all Cean victors at Nemea prior to the mid-fourth century. (Recall Bacchylides’ claim that Ceans had won seventy times at Isthmia by the mid-fifth century.) External evidence for the careers of some of the athletes named in the inscription, which includes the Argeios commemorated in Bacchylides *epinikia* I and II, shows that they were active from the sixth through the fourth centuries, so this is not a list of athletes who had won shortly before the time the inscription was cut. Nor was it a running list, because the entire text, with the exception of the entries at ll. 16 and 29, was cut at the same time. Desmond Schmidt, who published the definitive study of this inscription, argued that it

was erected by a deme or a similar, small, sub-*polis* group to honor the members of that group who had achieved major athletic success, an argument that has much to recommend it.

The only comparandum for the Cean inscription is a bronze plaque that was unearthed at Olympia in 1994 (Inv. 1148). The text records the names of victors at Olympiads ranging from 28 BCE to 385 CE (see Table 9). As the letter styles vary widely from one entry to the next and the entries are far from neatly organized (see Fig. 2), there can be little doubt that this was a running list kept over a long period of time. Joachim Ebert, who published the *editio princeps*, noted that it contains no victors from hippic events and concluded that it is a list of members of an association of professional athletes who were victorious at Olympia.²⁰¹ Such associations came into being starting in the Hellenistic period and are known to have owned buildings that served as clubs or headquarters.²⁰² This has led to the tentative identification of the building in which the plaque was found as the headquarters of an athletic guild. It seems likely that there were originally inscriptions of this sort at other game sites, though no records of this sort can have been kept prior to the establishment of the first athletic guilds in the Hellenistic period.

This completes our survey of inscriptions commemorating athletic victories, and the general pattern is clear. Victors' names were frequently recorded on whitened boards, but these boards were rarely preserved for extended periods. Lists of the names of all of the victors at some iterations of some games were inscribed on stone or bronze. The known examples of such inscriptions come from a sufficiently diverse array of times and places to show that this custom was widely disseminated. Some successful athletes who had the requisite resources at their disposal (or the goodwill of their hometown) erected monuments that included inscriptions describing their victories. Enough such inscriptions survive (or are described in literary sources such as Pausanias) to show that this was by no means unusual, though it can hardly be doubted that the practice was limited to unusually wealthy or successful athletes. Groups with corporate identities such

²⁰¹ Ebert 1997b.

²⁰² Forbes 1955 and Pleket 1973.

TABLE 9. *Olympia 1148*

[]μιος πέντ.	ρ.[. .]. [
[Φίλι?]ππος πύξ	ρπη΄ Παράμονος π. σῑα
[Όλ. σ'] Τ. Κλαύδιος Ροῦφος	σοέ
[πρῶ]τος ἀνδρῶν ἱερὰν	Όλ. Μ. Αὔρ. Μαρκιανὸς
[ἐπ]οίησε πανκράτιον	Σαρδιανὸς νεικῶ
[Αἶ]λ. Καλλίνεικος πάλ.	παίδων παν
[Μ. Αἶ]ντ. Σεκοῦνδος πάλ.	κράτιον εὐτυ-
	χῶς
[Αἶ]λ. Ἑρμιππος Φιλα-	Όλ. σοη΄ Μαρ. Αὔρ.
[δελφεύς?] παίδ. πάλη	Κάλλων Θεσπιεὺς
	νεικῶ ἀν. δόλιχ.
[]νκαρπος Τρωαδεὺς	
[ἀνδρῶν?] πύξ	Όλ. σοη΄ Αὔρ. Στρατό-
[. .]	
[ν]εικ[.] Όλ. ΤῖΤ	νεικος Τενέδ.
[Μ. Αὐρή]λιος Ἑρμήνιο[ς]?	νεικῶ ἀν. δίαιλον
[παίδων?] πανκράτ.	
	[.]?
[Μ. Αἶ]ρ. Ἡλι-	Ἐπίκτητος νει. τριάδα
[όδωρος ἀν. πα]γκρά[τ.] ἀν. ^{v. v.} σοθ' Όλ.	
[] Μᾶρκος Αὔρ. Ἡλιόδωρος	
[Ἡλιοδ]ώρου Θεσπιε<ύ>ς νικᾷ παίδων	
[πανκρ]άτιον	
[] Μᾶρκος Αὐρήλιος Σότηρος	
[Σοτή]ρου Θεσπιεὺς νικᾷ πέδων	
[στάδι]ον	
[Μᾶρ.] Αὔρ. Εὐκαρπίδης Ζωπύρο[υ]	
[Ἀθηναῖ]ος νικῶ παίδων πανκράτιον	
[ἐ]πὶ Όλ. σφ'	
Εὐκαρ πί- Ζωπύρου	
δου	
[Μᾶρ. Αἶ]ρ. Ζώπυρος Ἀθηναῖος νικῶ	
[παίδ]ων πυγμὴν ἐπὶ Όλ. σφά. αὔξι,	
[Εὐκαρ]πίδη καὶ Ζώπυραι, ἡ φιλαδελφία.	
[Πα]γκράτιος Ἀθηναῖος νικῶ ἀνδρῶν πέν.	
Vac. ἐπ' Όλ. σπς. Vac.	

as demes or athletic guilds occasionally commemorated the success of their members by erecting a list of their victories at Panhellenic athletic festivals.

Two features of victor inscriptions of all kinds merit special attention in the present context. First, the earliest known athletic victor inscriptions, in the form of dedications by individual athletes, date to the first half of the sixth century. There is some reason to think that it was just at that time that the first such inscriptions were produced. During the first half of the sixth century, both the amount and social significance of athletic activity in Greek communities increased sharply. The Pythian, Isthmian, and Nemean Games were founded (in 586, 580, and 573, respectively), along with numerous local athletic contests, including the Panathenaia (in 566).²⁰³ The first athletic victor statues were erected.²⁰⁴ Stesichorus wrote the first purely athletic epic,²⁰⁵ and Ibycus wrote the first *epinikia*.²⁰⁶ The absolute number of surviving Athenian Black Figure vases with athletic scenes from the first half of the sixth century is dramatically higher than in the preceding half century, as is the percentage of surviving Athenian Black Figure vases with athletic scenes.²⁰⁷ The first formal stadia were built,²⁰⁸ and the earliest gymnasia were laid out.²⁰⁹

It is unlikely to be coincidental that the earliest preserved inscriptions commemorating athletic victory also date to the first half of the sixth century. There are several hundred extant dedications by individual athletic victors, which indicates that these dedications originally

²⁰³ There is some debate as to whether the Isthmian Games were founded in 582 or 580. See Gebhard 2002.

²⁰⁴ On victor statues, see Herrmann 1988, Lattimore 1988, Steiner 1998, and the bibliography cited therein.

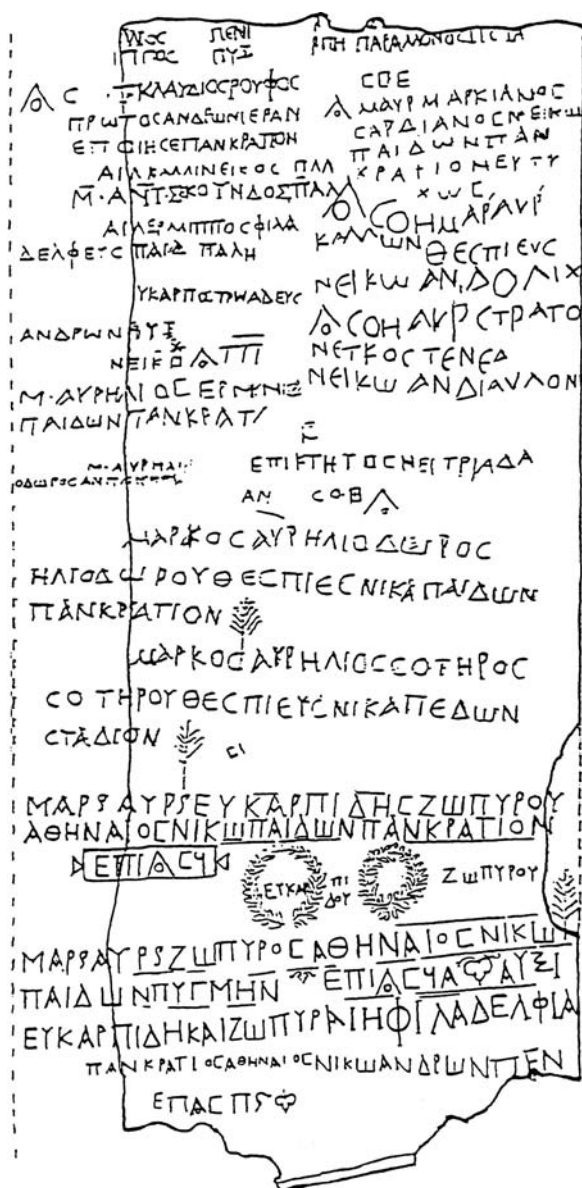
²⁰⁵ On Stesichorus, see Segal 1980–85a, 186–201.

²⁰⁶ See Golden 1998, 74–88 for a good brief history of *epinikia*. On Ibycus, see Barron 1984 and Jenner 1986.

²⁰⁷ Legakis 1977, 370–88. See also Goossens and Thielemans 1996 and Hollein 1988, 71–103.

²⁰⁸ On stadia, see Romano 1993. Ongoing excavations at Isthmia, Nemea, and Olympia continue to augment what is known about early stadia. See Gebhard 1992, Miller 2002, and Schilbach 1992.

²⁰⁹ For brief overviews of the history of the gymnasium, see Glass 1988 and Mussche 1992. For full-length treatments, see Delorme 1960 and Glass 1967. For early Athenian gymnasia, see Kyle 1987, 64–84.



2. Inscription from Olympia listing members of athletic guild who won Olympic victories (Olympia Inv. 1148). Location: Olympia. Date: first entry made in 28 BCE, last in 385 CE. Credit: after H. Kyrieleis, *Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Olympia XII* (Berlin, Walter de Gruyter, 2003), p. 21 fig. 21, © Deutsches Archäologisches Institut.

existed in large numbers. This, in turn, makes it likely that the extant pieces include examples from the first decades when such dedications were made. The situation is slightly different with inscriptions listing all the victors at a particular iteration of a particular athletic contest. This type of inscription survives in significantly smaller numbers and was almost certainly less common from the outset. The earliest preserved examples date to c. 500, but one might infer that the earliest such inscriptions were cut in the first half of the sixth century.

The key issue for present purposes is that victor inscriptions were probably first erected in the sixth century. There is no evidence of any kind that such inscriptions existed in the seventh or eighth centuries. This almost certainly holds true for Olympia, where the earliest inscriptions of any kind date to the sixth century. Hippias clearly found bronze plaques at Olympia, each of which recorded the victors in a specific iteration of the Games. Even if one chooses to be optimistic and assume that all such plaques were intact and displayed in order for Hippias to inspect, the series did not reach beyond the sixth century. This left Hippias dependent upon oral traditions, with all their attendant problems, for earlier periods.

Second, most athletic victory inscriptions had no internal dating information and those that did contain chronological indicators could be placed in time only with difficulty. None of the extant inscriptions listing the victors in particular iterations of athletic contests provides a date based on one of the time-reckoning systems in general use in the Greek world, such as Athenian archons or Olympiad numbers. The organizers of the festival in question are named, but in the absence of a complete list of such men these names had little chronological significance, and there is no reason to believe that such lists existed. Internal dating information in the inscriptions on individual victor monuments is extremely rare, even at Olympia, even after numbered Olympiads became a standard means of reckoning time.

It is now apparent that Hippias worked with a distinctly imperfect collection of source material when he compiled the first Olympic victor list, particularly for the period before the sixth century. This, in turn, raises two questions that will be addressed in the discussion that follows. First, how did Hippias generate the date of 776 for the first

Olympiad? Second, to what extent is the Olympic victor list a reliable source of information?

2.8. WHENCE 776?

For a considerable period, scholars believed that Hippias arrived at the date of 776 for the first Olympics by simply counting backward through a complete register of Olympic victors maintained by the Eleans. However, the preceding discussion has made it clear that no such register existed. Given the material at his disposal, Hippias could have calculated the date of 776 for the first Olympics in one of five ways.²¹⁰ First, he may have assembled the most complete possible list of Olympic victors, put them in some sort of sequence, and ended up with a register that began in 776. Second, he may have worked backward from the earliest written records to 776 using oral traditions or numerology. Third, he may have used written records, synchronizations, or generational reckoning to place a major reform of the Olympics in the years corresponding to 576 or 476 and worked backward from there using oral traditions or numerology. Fourth, he may have synchronized the first Olympiad with the outbreak of the First Messenian War and provided a date for that war, and hence the first Olympiad, using the Spartan king list. Finally, he may have linked what he believed to be the first of the series of continuous Olympiads to a specific individual and then established a date for that individual by means of a king list with regnal years or by generational reckoning.

²¹⁰ It is possible but not probable that the date of 776 for the Iphitos–Lycurgus Olympics was established before the time of Hippias. We have already seen that the story of Lycurgus and Iphitos cooperating to renew the Olympics and found the Olympic truce may well go back to the early sixth century (Section 2.3). A date for their joint activity may have been calculated at that time or any time prior to the appearance of Hippias' *Olympionikai*. For the sake of simplicity, the argumentation presented here assumes that Hippias was directly responsible for generating the date of 776. The identity of the person who calculated the date of 776 is not critical because it is improbable that the calculation was made prior to the sixth century. (If the date of the first Olympics had been calculated before the sixth century, the issues in regard to sources would have been rather different.) Greeks showed minimal interest in historical chronology prior to the middle of the fifth century, so it remains likely that Hippias was the first to assign the date of 776.

The evidence does not permit a firm judgment as to which of the five scenarios outlined above is most likely. Moreover, once one eliminates the possibility that Hippias used a complete set of documentary records, the precise means by which he arrived at the date of 776 is of minimal importance. In any of the five scenarios, the date of 776 (and the dates assigned to the victories of particular individuals from the period before the sixth century) is nothing more than an approximation. Depending on how critical a stance one wishes to adopt, the names in the list may be largely accurate or largely fabricated, but one way or the other the chronology embedded in the list is problematic.

My own feeling is that Hippias proceeded by associating the first in the continuous series of Olympiads with Lycurgus and then used Lycurgus' relationship to the line of Spartan kings, the Spartan king list, and generational reckoning to calculate a date of 776.²¹¹ In the interests of brevity, this is the only possibility considered here. The other possibilities, all of which remain viable, are treated in Appendix 12.

We have already seen that Lycurgus was closely associated with the organization of the first Olympiad recorded in the Olympic victor list. He was, therefore, an obvious means of dating that Olympiad. The likely chronographic importance of Lycurgus in regard to the date of 776 is apparent from Phlegon's account of the founding of the Olympics, which has been quoted at length above (Section 2.3). The directly relevant section reads as follows:

Because of the failure to hold the contests, unrest threatened the Peloponnese. Lycurgus of Lacedaemonia (son of Prytanis, son of Eurypon, son of Soos, son of Procles, son of Aristodemos, son of Aristomachos, son of Cleodaios, son of Hylllos, son of Heracles and Deianeira) and Iphitos of Elis (son of Haimon, but according to some son of Praxonidos, one of the Heracleidai), and Cleosthenes, son of Cleonikos, of Pisatis, wishing to restore the people to harmony and peace . . . (*FGrH* 257 F1; see Appendix 5.7 for the Greek text)

It is striking that of the various founders of the Olympics identified by Phlegon (Peisos, Pelops, Heracles, Iphitos, Lycurgus, and Cleosthenes),

²¹¹ The possibility that Hippias calculated the date of 776 using Lycurgus and the Spartan king list is discussed briefly in Körte 1904.

only Lycurgus is provided with a genealogy. The only obvious reason why Lycurgus' genealogy would have been relevant to a description of the founding of the Olympics was that it had been used to calculate the date of the Olympiad organized by Lycurgus. The genealogical information continued to be relevant even after the date of 776 was firmly established because, although it was generally agreed that Lycurgus was the offspring of a Spartan king, there was considerable confusion about which one and about the sequence of Spartan kings (see below) and hence about Lycurgus' date.

One thing of which we can be certain is that Hippias was quite familiar with the Spartan king list. In an exchange between Socrates and Hippias in the *Hippias Major*, Socrates asks Hippias the reasons for his popularity among the Spartans. Hippias replies that the Spartans enjoy hearing about "genealogies of heroes and men, and the founding of *poleis*, about how they were originally established, and in short, the whole study of things ancient" and that he has, as a result, memorized material of that sort in order to please them (285b–d). There can be little doubt that among the genealogies he memorized for the entertainment of the Spartans was the Spartan king list.

If Hippias used the Spartan king list to establish the date for the first Olympiad, he was only one of a number of ancient scholars who used the reigns of Spartan kings to reckon time. The two greatest figures in ancient chronography, Eratosthenes and Apollodorus, both relied heavily upon the Spartan king list. The most immediately relevant statement to this effect is found in Plutarch's *Lycurgus*:

Concerning Lycurgus the lawgiver, it is generally speaking possible to say nothing that is not subject to dispute . . . Those who reckon time by means of the succession of kings at Sparta, such as Eratosthenes and Apollodorus, show that he was more than a few years older than the first Olympiad. (1.1–2)

The Spartan king list carried great chronographic significance, and it would have been an obvious choice to take advantage of the association of Lycurgus with the first Olympiad and with one or more figures in the Spartan king list to generate a date for the first Olympiad.

Unfortunately, it is impossible to reproduce the calculations that Hippias might have used to date Lycurgus. The problem is that there

were multiple, variant versions of the Spartan king list and of Lycurgus' genealogy. The Spartan king lists were presumably transmitted orally for a considerable period.²¹² They may have been tabulated for the first time by Hecataeus at the end of the sixth century, though this cannot be definitively established.²¹³ The sequence of kings in the Agiad house seems to have been more or less fixed by Herodotus' time, but multiple versions of the Eurypontid line circulated for an extended period. In addition, different ancient writers assigned different numbers of years to individual rulers.²¹⁴ Regnal years were probably first assigned to individual kings by either Charon of Lampsacus, working in the second half of the fifth century, or by Sosibius of Laconia, working in the middle of the third century.²¹⁵ Other recensions of the Spartan king list with different regnal years were subsequently produced (at minimum) by Eratosthenes, Apollodorus, and Eusebius. Eusebius, for instance, records in the first book of the *Chronika* (probably following Apollodorus) that the first Olympiad was held ten years after Alcamenes and Theopompos came to the throne (106.16–18 Karst). In the second book of the *Chronika*, however, he records (probably following Ephorus) that the first Olympiad was held thirty-eight years after Alcamenes' ascension (86a, h Helm). In Sosibius' version of the Spartan king list, the first Olympiad fell in the thirty-fourth year of Nicandros' reign, who is Theopompos' predecessor in all extant versions of the Spartan king list (*FGrH* 595 F2). The only Spartan king list that survives complete and that has regnal years is that of Eusebius, which is derived from Diodorus Siculus. Large portions of the Apollodoran list, which relied heavily on its Eratosthenic predecessor,

²¹² The issues pertaining to and scholarship on the Spartan king lists are tremendously complex. A good introduction can be found in Cartledge 2002, 293–8.

²¹³ The standard statement of the evidence for Hecataeus' role in recording the Spartan king list can be found in Meyer 1892, 1: 153–88. For a contrary view, see Burkert 1995.

²¹⁴ See Appendix 13.

²¹⁵ Meyer believed that regnal years were assigned by allotting forty years to each generation, with more than one king assigned to some generations because of complications in the succession pattern (Meyer 1892, 1: 153–209). This position has recently been rejected by Burkert, who argues that Herodotus assigned a date to Heracles based on Lydian royal genealogies and that later writers stretched the Spartan king list to fit this date (Burkert 1995).

can be reliably reconstructed.²¹⁶ The earliest versions, however, remain almost completely unknown.

There were also multiple variants of Lycurgus' genealogy and hence his position in relation to the Spartan royal lines. Herodotus records a tradition that he was related to the Agiads and that he was the guardian of King Leobotes (1.65). All other ancient sources make him a Eurypontid and typically describe him as the guardian of King Charilaos. Simonides made Lycurgus the son of Prytanis, while most other ancient authorities made him the son of Eunomos.²¹⁷

There is no immediately obvious way to arrange the extant source material for Spartan kings to place Lycurgus in the year 776.²¹⁸ Hippias could have used either a Spartan king list and generational reckoning or just a Spartan king list with regnal years. The former seems rather more likely in view of the presence of a genealogy for Lycurgus in Phlegon's account of the early Olympics, the common use of generational reckoning during the period when Hippias was compiling his *Olympionikai*, and the distinct possibility that regnal years may not have

²¹⁶ Jacoby 1902a, 80–91, 403–13.

²¹⁷ For good overviews of the issues surrounding Lycurgus' biography and chronology, see Mosshammer 1979, 173–92 and Tigerstedt 1965–78, 1: 70–73 (and Tigerstedt's extensive and useful footnotes). For lists and discussion of the pertinent ancient sources, see Busolt 1893–1904, 1.2: 569–79; Clinton 1834, 1: 140–48; Jacoby 1902a, 108–18; Kessler 1910, 4–9; and Neumann 1910. Meyer argues that the change from portraying Lycurgus as an Agiad to portraying him as a Eurypontid reflected the relatively greater importance of the Eurypontids in the fifth and fourth centuries (Meyer 1892, 1: 275–6). He connects this change in Lycurgus' genealogy with a change in the order of kings in the Eurypontid list so that Eunomos came before Polydectes (compare the Eurypontid lists of Herodotus and Pausanias found in Appendix 13) in order that Lycurgus, famed as the creator of *eunomia* (good order) in Sparta, could become the son of Eunomos while maintaining his place in the generational sequence. For a different opinion, see den Boer 1954, 6, 12–14. Simonides' characterization of Lycurgus is known from Plutarch *Lycurgus* 1.8. There has been considerable discussion as to whether the Simonides in question is the poet of the early fifth century or his grandson, who was a genealogist. On this question, see Neumann 1910, 115–18.

²¹⁸ Den Boer argues that the date of 776 was originally based on records at Olympia that were eventually used by Hippias (den Boer 1954, 42–54). He also takes the position that Aristotle subsequently confirmed this date by using the Spartan king list and assigning 25 years per ruler (126–40). On the basis of Plutarch *Lycurgus* 29.10, den Boer claims that Aristotle placed fourteen rulers between Agis II's ascension in 427 and Lycurgus, which yielded 350 years and hence a date of 777. This is a possible scenario, but as Plutarch seems to say that the reign of these fourteen kings occupied 500 years, den Boer's interpretation cannot be taken as entirely persuasive.

been assigned to Spartan kings until after Hippias' time. Either way, the ambiguities inherent in the source material make any number of reconstructions possible but none notably probable. For the purposes of illustration, one scenario may be mentioned here. Aristotle believed that Lycurgus was the guardian of King Charilaos (*Politics* 1271b25–6), who appears two generations before Theopompos in the Eurypontid king list. Theopompos was closely associated with the First Messenian War, which was typically dated to somewhere in the second half of the eighth century, so a date of 776 for Charilaos and hence Lycurgus and the first Olympics was entirely possible for Aristotle. The same may well have been true of Hippias.²¹⁹

Part of the problem is that the association of Lycurgus with the first Olympics ultimately became a source of major chronographic complications because the variant versions of Lycurgus' genealogy and of the Spartan king list made it possible to suggest widely divergent dates for Lycurgus. In the *Chronikoi Kanones*, for example, Eusebius gives three different dates for Lycurgus' activity as a lawgiver: 883, 820, and 796 (79c, 83d, 84f Helm). A date of 884/3, which seems to have been proposed first by Eratosthenes, became the *communior opinio* among ancient chronographers.²²⁰

One might well wonder how it could have been possible for the date for the first Olympiad to have been established with reference to Lycurgus and then remain fixed when Lycurgus himself was redated. This was possible because ancient chronographers located epochs by means of intervals.²²¹ Once a date for the first Olympiad had been calculated, that date would have been most commonly expressed by referring not to Lycurgus but to the number of years between that

²¹⁹ Huxley 1973. Huxley points out that Aristotle's remarks at *Politics* 1270a1–8 could be taken to mean that Lycurgus was active during the First Messenian War. This would mean that Aristotle had variant dates for Lycurgus, which would not come as a surprise.

²²⁰ On the genesis of the date of 884 for Lycurgus, see Jacoby 1902a, 75–80, 108–27. Ephorus may have dated Lycurgus to the ninth century (see n. 35 in this chapter), but he seems to have placed Iphitos in the eighth century and used generational reckoning. He is, therefore, very unlikely to have established 884 as the date for Lycurgus' and Iphitos' activity at Olympia.

²²¹ On the use of intervals by historians and chronographers in ancient Greece, see Mazzarino 1966, 2.2: 412–61.

Olympiad and other key events. The following passage from Diodorus' *Bibliotheca Historica* shows how this system functioned:

Following Apollodorus of Athens, from the Trojan War to the Return of the Heracleidai we put 80 years, from there to the first Olympiad 328 years, reckoning the years on the basis of the Spartan kings, from the first Olympiad to the beginning of the Celtic War, which we have made the end of our history, 730 years. (1.5.1)

The use of intervals to express the date of the Lycurgus Olympics would have been particularly important before numbered Olympiads became a standard means of chronological reckoning. Hippias' catalog contained only the names of *stadion* victors, and so calculating the date of the first Olympiad in the catalog relevant to the present involved rather laborious counting. It would have been far simpler to express the date in terms of an interval between the Lycurgus Olympiad and a well-known recent event, most probably the beginning or end of the Peloponnesian War. The use of the Peloponnesian War as an interval marker was common among ancient chronographers, including Eratosthenes:

Eratosthenes reckons the chronology as follows. From the capture of Troy to the return of the children of Heracles, eighty years. From there to the founding of Ionia, sixty years. Then, in order, to the acceptance of responsibility by Lycurgus, 159 years. Then to the initial year of the first Olympiad, 108 years. From that Olympiad to Xerxes' sea expedition, 297 years; from there to the start of the Peloponnesian War, forty-eight years; then to the defeat and dissolution of the Athenians, twenty-seven years; and to the battle of Leuctra, thirty-four years; thereafter to the death of Philip, thirty-five years; after that to the death of Alexander, twelve years. (*FGrH* 241 F1a *apud* Clement of Alexandria *Stromata* 1.138.1–3, trans. John Ferguson)

The expression of the date for the first Olympiad in Hippias' catalog in terms of an interval would have made it possible over the course of time for the first Olympiad and Lycurgus to have become separated.

There would, however, have been a need to deal with the established tradition that Lycurgus helped organize the first Olympiad in the Olympic victor list, that in which Coroibos of Elis won the *stadion*. One solution, seemingly adopted by both Timaeus (*FGrH* 566 F127) and Apollodorus (*FGrH* 244 F64), was to posit the existence of

two different men named Lycurgus who lived at different times.²²² An alternative solution was to postulate the existence of “unregistered” Olympiads between the iteration of the Games organized by Lycurgus and that in which Coroibos won the *stadion*. The brief history of the Olympic Games that prefaces the Eusebian list of *stadion* victors is the key source for this aspect of Olympiad dating:

Aristodemus of Elis and his colleagues relate that contestants began to be recorded after the 27th Olympiad from that of Iphitos, whichever athletes were victors, of course. Before that time no one was recorded on account of the neglect of those who came before. In the 28th Olympiad Coroibos of Elis winning the *stadion* was the first to be registered. And this Olympiad was ordained as the first. The Greeks reckon their years from it. Polybius also relates the same things as Aristodemus. Callimachus says that, from the time of Iphitos, thirteen Olympiads passed without being registered, the Olympiad in which Coroibos was victor being the 14th. (ll. 38–45 in Appendix 4.1) ²²³

To this list of sources can be added Phlegon, who writes that “twenty-eight Olympiads are reckoned from Iphitos to Coroibos of Elis” (*FGrH* 257 F1). In addition, we have just seen that Eratosthenes reckoned 108 years between Lycurgus and the first Olympiad.²²⁴ One hundred eight years was twenty-eight Olympiads, so Aristodemus of Elis,

²²² On *FGrH* 244 F64, 65, see also Jacoby 1902a, 122–7. The multiple Lycurgi and Iphittoi solution has also been adopted by various modern scholars. Clavier, for instance, went so far as to posit the existence of three separate Iphittoi (Clavier 1809, 200). There have been various attempts to argue that the Lycurgus and Iphitos mentioned on the discus found at Olympia were not in fact the Spartan lawgiver and the Elean ruler, but other figures that Hippias or Aristotle inadvertently conflated with their better known homonyms. Gaspar (Gaspar 1875–1919, 172–3), Meyer (Meyer 1892, 1: 275), and Wilamowitz (Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1922, 489–90) all argue that the Iphitos and Lycurgus on the discus were figures from the heroic age that Aristotle mistook for actual historic persons. Ziehen takes the position that the Lycurgus on the discus was actually an Elean that Aristotle confused with the Spartan lawgiver, so that Timaeus and Apollodorus were right to posit the existence of two different Lycurgi (Ziehen 1937–9, 2526–7).

²²³ The information about Aristodemus’ views on the number of Olympiads between Lycurgus and Coroibos is repeated almost verbatim in Syncellus’ *Ecloga Chronographica* (232.5–11), which draws directly on Eusebius’ *Chronika*. Callimachus’ views on the number of unregistered Olympiads are also cited in a scholion to Lucian (Lucianic work 41 section 9; see n. 48 of Chapter 1 for the text).

²²⁴ Cicero also states that there were 108 years between Lycurgus and the first Olympiad (*De Republica* 2.10.18).

Eratosthenes, Phlegon, and Tiberius Claudius Polybius all agreed in placing the Lycurgus Olympics in 884.²²⁵ Although the precise sequence of events cannot be reconstructed with absolute certainty, it seems likely that Eratosthenes calculated a new date for Lycurgus on the basis of a different Lycurgan genealogy or Spartan king list from that used by Hippias and simultaneously postulated the existence of unregistered Olympiads.²²⁶

Like Callimachus, Sextus Julius Africanus placed Coroibos' victory in the 14th Olympiad after Lycurgus (F37 Routh, see below for the text). This divergence from Eratosthenes can be explained in one of two ways. One possibility is that Callimachus and Africanus subscribed to a date of 828 (776 plus fifty-two years for fourteen Olympiads) for Lycurgus.²²⁷ Another possibility is that Callimachus believed that prior to the time of Coroibos the Olympics were enneateric²²⁸ rather than penteteric.²²⁹ This would mean that his fourteen Olympiads would have occupied 108 years, the same period as that assigned by Eratosthenes and others. A passage in the work of the third-century CE grammarian Censorinus suggests that some ancient chronographers believed that the Olympic Games were originally enneateric (*De die natali*

²²⁵ Tatian gives the interval between Lycurgus and the Coroibos Olympics as 100 years, presumably rounding off (*ad Graecos* 41.3). (See Jacoby 1902a, 109.) The scholiast to Plato *Republic* 465d gives a brief summary of the history of the early Olympics that is very similar to that in Phlegon with the important difference that the period of twenty-eight Olympiads is described as the interval between the games held by Heracles and those held by Iphitos, Lycurgus, and Cleosthenes. The text reads as follows:

Olympionikai: those winning the contests at Olympia. For after Pisos and Pelops and Heracles, who first held them, the contests were neglected for twenty-eight Olympiads. When Iphitos and Lycurgus, descendants of the Heracleidai, and Cleosthenes the son of Cleonicos were alive, they summoned the Peloponnesians to concord. They sent to the oracle at Delphi, asking about the contest. Apollo commanded them to renew the contest and to give to the victors as a prize *kotinos*, which is a crown made of wild olive.

This is clearly a garbled version of the standard account.

²²⁶ Mahaffy argued that the resort to "unregistered" Olympiads was necessary because the date for the first Olympiad that Hippias had calculated on the basis of Iphitos' genealogy conflicted with dates later chronographers assigned to Lycurgus on the basis of the Spartan king list (Mahaffy 1881).

²²⁷ Jacoby 1902a, 124.

²²⁸ The word enneateric, which comes directly from ancient Greek, designates something that happens every nine years.

²²⁹ Müller 1844, 2: 483.

18.4). There were clear parallels at Delphi. Plutarch mentions three different enneateric festivals that were held there in his time (*Moralia* 293c), and some ancient authors believed that the Pythian Games were also enneateric prior to their reorganization in the early sixth century (Demetrius of Phalerum F191 Wehrli, Pindar *Pythian* hypothesis c). Many modern scholars have subscribed to the idea of enneateric Olympiads on the grounds that the Olympics were originally built around an eight-year cycle consisting of ninety-nine lunar months.²³⁰ Stephen Miller has shown that this is not true, and the evidence for enneateric Olympiads is too tenuous to inspire confidence.²³¹ Callimachus and others, however, may well have subscribed to this idea and calculated the Olympiads between Lycurgus and Coroibos on this basis.

The existence of Olympiads between Lycurgus and Coroibos created a certain amount of confusion in some ancient authors as to whether the Coroibos Olympics should be numbered the 1st, 14th, or 28th Olympiad. A clear instance can be found in the chronographic work of Sextus Julius Africanus. In the third book of his *Chronographiai* Africanus writes:

ἀναγραφῆναι δὲ πρῶτην τὴν τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτην ἦν ἐνίκᾳ Κόροιβος στάδιον. Τότε ἐβασίλευσεν Ἀχάζ ἐπὶ Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἔτος πρῶτον. (F37 Routh *apud* Syncellus *Ecloga Chronographica* 233.14–15)

The 14th Olympiad, in which Coroibos won the *stadiou*, was the first one to be registered. At that time Achaz was in the first year of his reign in Jerusalem.

In the fourth book of the *Chronographiai*, Africanus writes that “This then was the first year of the reign of Achaz, which we have shown coincides with the first Olympiad” (F37 Routh *apud* Syncellus *Ecloga Chronographica* 233.15–17). A reader of Africanus’ work could easily be forgiven for being confused about whether the Olympiad in which Coroibos won was numbered as the 1st or the 14th. P. J. Shaw has recently shown that widely variant dates for the *akmai* of figures such as Thales found in the ancient sources can in at least some cases be

²³⁰ On the idea that the timing of the Olympics was based on a cycle of ninety-nine lunar months, see Ziehen 1937–9, 1–3.

²³¹ Miller 1975.

reconciled by assuming that what one author, for example, labeled the 20th Olympiad was identical to the 34th Olympiad for a different author.²³² (There have been various, largely unconvincing, attempts to interpret the relevant evidence to mean that different dates were assigned in antiquity to the Coroibos Olympics. See Appendix 14 for detailed discussion.)

Once Hippias had calculated a date of 776 for the first Olympiad in his victor catalog, he defined a space of roughly ninety-four Olympiads (376 years, assuming that he was working around 400) that his list would occupy. He then filled in this space on the basis of the information at his disposal. This may seem like a rather odd way of going about things, but two important considerations need to be kept in mind. First, Hippias must have been aware of the imperfect nature of his sources. Provided that he had some confidence in his means of calculating a date for the Lycurgus–Iphitos Olympics (and there is no reason to think that he did not), this would have been an entirely reasonable approach. It would have in fact generated a more accurate date than any of the alternatives at his disposal. Second, the creation of a defined number of Olympiads to which victors needed to be attached simplified Hippias' work. He could determine in advance how many *stadion* victors he needed and then do what he could to assemble the appropriate number.

Proceeding in this fashion would, however, not have been without its own complications. It is very unlikely that Hippias had precisely the right number of *stadion* victors. He probably needed to add or subtract names to those he had collected through his researches. If Hippias needed to add names to his initial list of *stadion* victors, which seems likely, he could easily have done so by using the names of athletes who had won at Olympia in another event (or athletes whose event was unknown). He could also have used his knowledge of genealogies, especially Spartan genealogies, and picked ancestors of influential families. All of this may seem to have required an unwarranted boldness on the part of Hippias, but one must not lose sight of the fact that in an unnumbered eponym list, the eponym is as much a symbol for a year (or iteration of the Olympics) as a factual datum. Modern

²³² Shaw 2003, 47–91 and *passim*.

scholars are primarily interested in eponyms for prosopographical and historical purposes, but to ancient Greeks much of the value in an eponym list lay in its use as a time-reckoning instrument. As a result, ancient Greeks must have been less interested than modern scholars in the question of whether a particular person held office or won a victory in the year indicated in an eponym list. Eponyms could be and frequently were nothing more than a way of designating a year or Olympiad. The addition or subtraction of names to get a list of appropriate size was not, therefore, nearly as problematic for Hippias as it would be to a modern scholar.²³³

2.9. THE OLYMPIC VICTOR LIST: AN ASSESSMENT

Hippias faced a task of considerable magnitude when he began compiling the first cumulative catalog of Olympic victors. His two basic sources of information were oral traditions and written records. The information he derived from oral traditions was no doubt copious in quantity and included the names of victors from the period before the earliest written records. Oral traditions were, however, incomplete, subject to distortion and lacking in precise dates. The written records with which Hippias worked consisted primarily of lists of victors at individual iterations of the Olympics and inscribed monuments erected both at Olympia and elsewhere in honor of successful athletes. These records did not stretch back any further than the early sixth century, may not have been complete, and were for the most part impossible to date precisely. Later editors of the Olympic victor list, such as Aristotle, may have been able to check and correct Hippias' work, but in doing so they had to use the same sort of sources as Hippias. This, in turn, has significant ramifications for our understanding of the date of

²³³ As Gomme notes, "for chronologers, it was more important that the archon-list (or Olympic victor or any other list) should be fixed than it should also be true" (Gomme et al. 1945–81, 1: 7 n. 1). There is abundant evidence that Greeks regularly and freely invented and reinvented "history." For an overview of the issues, see Grafton 1990, 8–18. For a cross-cultural perspective, see Hobsbawm 1983. For specific instances (including the invention in fourth-century Athens of "documents" ostensibly pertaining to the Persian Wars), see Habicht 1961. For an update on Habicht's work, see Davies 1994, 198–200.

776 for the first Olympics and of the contents of the Olympic victor list.

The year 776 is at best an approximate date for the first Olympiad, because Hippias calculated this date in what can only be called a rough-and-ready fashion. This is not to say that ancient Greek traditions about the early history of the Olympics should be treated with complete skepticism, particularly because those traditions show a certain amount of overlap with the archaeological data.²³⁴ Cult activity at Olympia began with dedications of terracotta and bronze figurines around 1000 and of tripods around 875. These dedications show that Olympia was visited largely by people from the immediately surrounding regions until the last quarter of the eighth century. Two exceptions to the rule of local patronage are indicated by the presence of a limited amount of material made by Argive craftsmen beginning in the late tenth or early ninth century and by Laconian craftsmen beginning in the early eighth century.²³⁵ Significant changes took place at Olympia at the end of the eighth century, when visitors began arriving from a gradually widening area. Major improvements were made to the site, including the diversion of the river Cladeos, the digging of wells to provide water for spectators, the leveling of the eastern section of the sanctuary, and the construction of the terrace at the foot of the Hill of Cronos that eventually held a row of treasuries.²³⁶ The German excavators at the site have argued that these improvements reflect the beginnings of athletic contests, though it remains possible that games of purely local significance were held earlier.²³⁷

The picture of the evolution of activity at Olympia that emerges from the physical remains fits reasonably well with the ancient

²³⁴ For an optimistic, probably overly optimistic, assessment of the overlap between ancient tradition and archaeological finds in regard to Olympia, see Koiv 2003, 354–66. For some problems with Koiv's approach, see Larson 2004.

²³⁵ On the identity of early visitors to Olympia, see Morgan 1990, 26–105, though it is worth reading the slightly divergent conclusions reached in Andrews 1994 as well as the cautionary comments found in Herrmann 1991. Herrmann points out that geographical attributions of finds at Olympia are far from simple and that there is no certainty that, for instance, items made by Argive craftsmen were necessarily dedicated by Argives.

²³⁶ On the changes that took place at Olympia in the late eighth and early seventh century, see Herrmann, Mallwitz and van de Löcht 1980; Mallwitz 1988; Mallwitz 1999, 181–224; Schilbach 1984; and Sinn 1991.

²³⁷ Mallwitz 1988.

traditions about Olympia, most notably in regard to activity at the site predating the eighth century, major changes in the pattern of activity at Olympia at some point in the eighth century, and the special role played by Argos and Sparta. The ancient traditions, including Hippias' date of 776 for the refounding of athletic contests at Olympia, seem to reflect the actual course of events in a general sense. Indeed, if the German excavators are correct in suggesting sometime around 700 for the first Olympics, Hippias deserves credit for getting as close to the correct date as he did. This is, of course, a long way from saying that the ancient traditions about Olympia are entirely trustworthy as transmitted.

The sections of the Olympic victor list pertaining to the period before the early sixth century need to be treated with great caution. Many if not most of the names in the early parts of the list are likely to be accurate in the sense that the individual in question won an Olympic victory at some point. At the same time, there is no reason to think that Hippias had anything but the most approximate sense of when these individuals won their Olympic victories. A handful of victors such as Cylon were sufficiently famous that some independent information was available, but for the most part Hippias had to rely on records that did not contain internal dating information. The placement of Messenian and Spartan victors in the entries for the first sixteen Olympiads shows every sign of having been arranged in accordance with the received chronology for the First Messenian War, as one might expect in view of the fact that Hippias had to assign victors to specific Olympiads in the absence of any clear indication as to who won when. It is, therefore, critical to keep in mind that the precision suggested by the placement of individual victors in particular Olympiads is illusory, at least in regard to earlier periods.

Hippias may also have found it necessary to fill in the gaps in his sources in order to generate a victor list of the proper length. If so, there are problems with the names of some of the victors in the parts of the list pertaining to the period before the early sixth century. It is certainly true that there are what might be described as an alarming number of Spartan victors in the early parts of the Olympic victor list. Spartans represent well over half the known Olympic victors from the period between 720 and 576, but their numbers fall off rapidly after

that. This may reflect the rise and fall of a Spartan athletic dynasty.²³⁸ It may, however, be a product of the fact that Hippias had good records beginning in the first half of the sixth century and that for earlier periods, when he needed to fill in gaps, he did so with Spartans. We have seen that Hippias was deeply concerned with the Spartans when he was compiling his *Olympionikai* and that he memorized specific kinds of material in order to be able to entertain them, so it would not be entirely surprising if he assembled a victor catalog with an eye to pleasing the Spartans.

One further minatory note should be sounded. Numbered Olympiads were to a large extent an abstract system of absolute chronology. The fact that the first Olympics probably did not take place in the year corresponding to 776 is thus not nearly as important as the fact that ancient Greeks thought that the first Olympics took place in that year and counted accordingly (just as the fact that Jesus was probably not born in 1 CE does not affect the accuracy of the Julian dates for World War II). That said, chronographers of the late Classical and Hellenistic periods were obliged to assign dates to numerous events and people from the eighth through sixth centuries on a *post eventum* basis. In some cases they did so using synchronizations, either real or imagined, with figures that appeared in the Olympic victor list. The dates assigned to those figures in the Olympic victor list were, however, imprecise. This means that any date established on the basis of a date in the Olympic victor list, particularly for the period before the sixth century, is far from secure. As the means by which ancient Greek chronographers established dates for specific events and people are rarely clear to us, an unknowable number of dates transmitted in the ancient sources are more problematic than they might appear.

This completes our examination of Hippias' *Olympionikai*. We turn now to Chapter 3 and a discussion of the other known examples of *Olympionikon anagraphai*.

²³⁸ The predominance of Spartans in certain parts of the Olympic victor list has been much discussed. The best recent treatment is that of Hodkinson, who explores a number of possible explanations for the drop in Spartan victors after the early sixth century, all based on the assumption that the Olympic victor list is accurate (Hodkinson 1999).

OLYMPIONIKON ANAGRAPHAI AND STANDARD CATALOGS OF OLYMPIC VICTORS

This chapter is devoted to an in-depth exploration of *Olympionikon anagraphai* (treatises that provided detailed information about Olympia and the Olympic Games in addition to a victor catalog). It focuses on two closely related issues: (1) the history, structure, and contents of *Olympionikon anagraphai* and (2) the structure and contents of standard catalogs of Olympic victors. Standard catalogs, which were initially incorporated into *Olympionikon anagraphai*, were later circulated as independent documents, but there was strong continuity in their structure and contents. This makes it reasonable to treat *Olympionikon anagraphai* and standard catalogs of Olympic victors simultaneously.

The textual evidence is summarized in Table 10 (*Olympionikon anagraphai* are indicated in bold type). There are also a number of sources that provide further insight into *Olympionikon anagraphai*, including the *Pythionikon Anagraphe* (*Register of Victors in the Pythian Games*) compiled by Aristotle and Callisthenes, Pausanias' description of Olympia and the Olympic Games, and Philostratus' *De Gymnastica*.

Standard catalogs were cumulative registers of Olympic victors that began with the first Olympiad and typically ran down to the time they were compiled. They listed the winners in all events and were organized by numbered Olympiads. Within each Olympiad the contests were listed in an order based upon a division between gymnastic and hippic events and upon the order in which events were added to the Olympic program. Standard catalogs were relatively terse. They provided victors' names, hometowns, and the events in which they

TABLE 10. *Known Examples of Olympionikon Anagraphai (in Bold Type) and Standard Catalogs of Olympic Victors Circulating as Independent Works*

Author	Date That Work Appeared	Title of Work	Number of Books	State of Preservation
Hippias of Elis	c. 400	<i>Olympionikon Anagraphē</i> (<i>Register of Olympic Victors</i>)	?	1 testimonium
Aristotle, probably with Callisthenes	330s	<i>Olympionikai</i> (<i>Olympic Victors</i>)	1	6 short fragments
IG II² 2326 (probably an inscribed copy of the Aristotelian <i>Olympionikai</i>)	275–250	n/a	n/a	17 lines
Victor list inscribed in gymnasium at Olympia by Paraballon, later updated by Euanoridas	3rd and 2nd centuries	n/a	n/a	mentioned by Pausanias
Eratosthenes of Cyrene	3rd century	<i>Olympionikai</i>	at least 2	10 short fragments
<i>POxy</i> II 222, unknown author	mid–3rd century CE	?	?	85 lines (with <i>POxy</i> XXIII 2381)

won along with notes about athletes who won the *periodos* or multiple victories at the same Olympiad, and little else.

In addition to a standard catalog, *Olympionikon anagraphai* provided a wide range of information about the Olympic Games and Olympic victors. The approach adopted here is to consider all the known *Olympionikon anagraphai*, as well as the Aristotelian *Pythionikon Anagraphe*, as a group and to generate a general picture of their contents. This approach is viable because the three known *Olympionikon anagraphai* and the *Pythionikon Anagraphe* were similar in terms of structure and contents. We have already seen that Aristotle probably used Hippias' *Olympionikon Anagraphe* in compiling his own version of the Olympic victor list. The Aristotelian registers of Olympic and Pythian victors covered precisely the same sort of subject matter and were written at roughly the same time, so they were almost certainly parallel works. Aristotle and Eratosthenes produced similar treatises within a relatively brief span of time. Eratosthenes, moreover, explicitly cited Aristotle's *Olympionikai* as a source of information, and it is likely that Eratosthenes started with Aristotle's *Olympionikai*, enriched it using the unique resources available at the Library of Alexandria, and updated the list of victors.

Olympionikon anagraphai offered historical accounts of athletics, of Olympia, of the Olympic Games, and of the events in the Olympic program; summaries of the order in which events were added to the Olympic program; stories about famous athletes; and lists of athletes who won multiple Olympic victories. They probably also offered summaries of discontinued events in the Olympic program, accounts of the order in which contests were held at the Olympics, and notes on contest rules. Because of the paucity of fragments, it is impossible to know how much of this information was contained in any one *Olympionikon anagraphe*. The available evidence is summarized in Table 11.

The discussion in this chapter is divided into seven sections. We will begin by looking at the history of *Olympionikon anagraphai* (3.1), after which we will examine the relevant textual evidence. That evidence includes the extant fragments of the *Olympionikon anagraphai* of Aristotle (3.2) and of Eratosthenes (3.3) and of the Aristotelian *Pythionikon Anagraphe* (3.4). We will then proceed to an exploration of the structure and contents of standard victor catalogs (3.5). The

TABLE 11. *Probable Contents of Specific Olympionikon Anagraphai*

	Hippias	Aristotle <i>Olympionikai</i>	Aristotle and Callisthenes <i>Pythionikon</i> <i>Anagraphe</i>	Eratosthenes
Historical account of athletics	?	?	?	definitely
Historical account of Olympia (or Delphi)	probably	probably	definitely	?
Historical account of the Olympic (or Pythian) Games	probably	?	probably	definitely
Historical account of the events in the Olympic (or Pythian) program	?	?	?	probably
Summary of the order in which events were added to the Olympic (or Pythian) program	probably	probably	probably	probably
Stories about famous athletes	?	definitely	definitely	definitely
List of athletes who won multiple Olympic (or Pythian) victories	?	probably	?	?
Summary of discontinued events in the Olympic (or Pythian) program	?	?	?	?
Account of the order in which contests were held at Olympia (or Delphi)	?	?	?	?
Contest Rules	?	?	?	?

evidence for standard victor catalogs consists of *POxy* II 222, *IG* II² 2326, and passages from Pausanias and Philostratus. We will then consider what that same body of evidence can tell us about the contents of *Olympionikon anagraphai* (3.6–3.7).

3.1. HISTORY OF THE TYPE

Aristotle produced an *Olympionikon anagraphē* in the 330s, the next known recension of the Olympic victor list after that of Hippias. The two earliest catalogs of Olympic victors were thus incorporated into *Olympionikon anagraphai*. The history of *Olympionikon anagraphai*, however, ended not long after Aristotle, when Eratosthenes produced the last known work of this type. Victor catalogs must have gone into circulation as stand-alone works shortly after the last *Olympionikon anagraphē* was written, and may have been available before that time.

No more *Olympionikon anagraphai* were produced after the time of Eratosthenes because new types of literature came into being in the fourth and third centuries that contained the same sort of information as that found in *Olympionikai anagraphai*, with the exception of the victor catalog. Before the middle of the fourth century there were a limited number of written sources other than *Olympionikai* that provided details about the Olympics. Some *epinikia*, which had been composed since the sixth century, featured relevant myths, but not in anything approaching a systematic fashion. Mythographers such as Hecataeus recounted and sometimes rationalized the many stories that involved the Olympic Games (*FGrH* I F25, 121), but their range of interests was relatively narrow.¹ The texts of speeches delivered at Olympia by famous orators such as Gorgias and Lysias circulated and had some content specific to the setting, but such content was incidental at best.² It is thus understandable that early versions of the Olympic victor list included substantial amounts of information on the Games.

This situation began to change with the work of Ephorus in the middle of the fourth century. Ephorus wrote the first universal history

¹ On Hecataeus' work, see the bibliography cited in n. 18 Chapter 1.

² On Gorgias' *Olympikos*, see Cameron 1995, 268–73 and Diels and Kranz 1951–2, 2: 287. The opening sections of Lysias' Olympic oration are preserved.

(*FGrH* 70 T7), a massive work in thirty books that covered “the deeds of both Greeks and non-Greeks” from the Return of the Heracleidae (which Ephorus placed in 1069) to 341/0 (T10). He was known for expertise in foundation stories (F122a), and Strabo, writing in the Augustan period, used Ephorus as a source for the arrival of the Aetolians in Elis and the beginning of the Olympics (F115). Ephorus’ history was organized topically, with each book having its own proem and subject matter (T10–11). The passage on the Olympics used by Strabo comes from somewhere in Books 1–3, which dealt with the Return of the Heracleidae and the immediate aftermath of the Dorian migration. It is not likely, therefore, that Ephorus provided a full conspectus of the Olympics in this section of his work, and there is no hint in the more than 200 surviving fragments that he did so elsewhere. His analysis of Olympia’s early history nonetheless represented an important step in the broadening of the body of writings on the Olympic Games.³

Three other types of literature that came into being not long after Ephorus penned his history contributed to the obsolescence of the *Olympionikon anagraphai*: local histories of Elis, periegetic writings, and treatises on contests. These were all to some extent a product of an interest in descriptions of specific places and their histories. The Greeks traced the practice of writing such descriptions back to Homer, but a major change took place in the second half of the fifth century when the focus shifted from foreign lands to places in the Greek heartland.⁴ This change was signaled by the writing of the first local histories (horographies) in the fifth century. Numerous horographies were written in the fourth and third centuries, and even Ephorus wrote a history of his birthplace, Cyme in Asia Minor.⁵

³ There is no complete and up-to-date single work on Ephorus. The more important scholarship includes (but is not limited to) Alonso-Núñez 1990; Barber 1993; Drews 1963; Drews 1976; Prakken 1943, 73–101; Sacks 1994; Schepens 1970; Schepens 1977; Schwartz 1957, 3–26; and Stylianou 1998, 84–132. For a complete listing and discussion of the fragments, see *FGrH* 70. The new edition of Barber’s 1935 work on Ephorus (Barber 1993) contains an English translation of many of the key fragments.

⁴ Strabo himself states that geographic essays began with Homer (1.1.1, 8.1.1).

⁵ On the change from writing about foreign peoples and places to writing about the Greek homeland, see Cameron 1995, 42–4. On the earliest local histories, see Fornara 1983, 16–23; Fowler 1996; and the bibliography cited therein.

The fourth and third centuries saw the production of a number of historical works on Elis.⁶ As might be expected, Olympia figured prominently in at least some of these works. The summaries of the constitutions of various *poleis* compiled under Aristotle's direction included a treatise on Elis. One of the two extant fragments of the *Eleion Politeia* traces changes in the number of *Hellandikai* at Olympia (FHG (2.135) F92). There are five known local histories of Elis (*Eliaka*), though they are not easily sequenced because little is known about their authors.⁷ Jacoby suggested that the *Eliaka* of Echephylidas was written in the fourth century, which would mean that it was probably the earliest of the group. The extant fragments show that Echephylidas had a strong interest in aetiology and the period before the Coroibos Olympics.⁸ Comarchus also wrote an *Eliaka*, though the only indication of its date is the *terminus ante quem* that is provided by its citation in the Pindaric scholia. One of the two extant fragments describes with some precision the timing of the Olympic Games in the Elean calendar (FGrH 410 F1). Virtually nothing can be said about Teupalus, as he is known through a single, passing mention of his name and his *Eliaka* in Stephanus of Byzantium's *Ethnica* (s.v. Ἀνδρία (FGrH 408 T1)). The final two *Eliaka*, those of Istrus and Rhianus, can both be placed securely in the second half of the third century. Istrus, a student of Callimachus, worked at the Library in Alexandria for a long period beginning around 250.⁹ His *Eliaka* took up at least five books and seems to have contained detailed information about the topography and history of Elis. Based on what is known about Istrus' *Attika*, the *Eliaka* is likely to have focused on cult activity in the period before the

⁶ The earliest stirrings of interest in the local history of Elis are already evident in the activities of sophists in the fifth century. Sophists were not above ingratiating themselves with the residents of the locales they visited by expatiating on themes of local interest. We have already seen that Hippias prepared material especially for the Spartans, and the compilation of his *Olympionikon Anagraphe* must have pleased his fellow Eleans. Moreover, Gorgias composed an encomium for the people of Elis that began with the words, "Elis, happy city . . ." (Diels-Kranz 82 F10). Fornara in fact classifies Hippias' *Olympionikai* as one of the earliest horographies (Fornara 1983, 22).

⁷ On local histories of Elis, see FGrH 408–16 and Jacoby 1923–58, 3b1: 221–36.

⁸ On Echephylidas, see FGrH 409 and Mette 1978, 28.

⁹ On Istrus, see FGrH 334 as well as Castelli 1994 and Jackson 2000, 7–16.

Coroibos Olympics. Istrus' contemporary, Rhianus of Bene, seems to have had similar interests.¹⁰

Periegetic writings represented another important source of information about the Olympics. Descriptions of peoples and places written by Greeks had literary, philosophical, mathematical, and practical dimensions. The last of these originated in accounts of harbors and coastlines intended as mariners' handbooks that were first written down (presumably based on a long-established oral tradition) in the early fifth century. By the third century, a new offshoot, periegetic works written as guides for tourists, had come into being. Heraclides Creticus produced the earliest known such work, with the title *On the Cities in Greece*.¹¹ The preserved sections provide information about distances, roads, topography, cities, inhabitants, and local products for central and northern Greece.

We have fragments from the work of two authors of the Hellenistic period, Agaclytus and Polemon of Ilium, who wrote periegetic treatises that discussed the sights at Olympia, and we are fortunate to possess complete texts of Pausanias' *Graeciae Descriptio* and of Strabo's *Geographia*.¹² The *Geographia* was a hybrid work, combining elements of mathematical and practical geography with what had become a separate periegetic tradition. The entry on Olympia is, therefore, relatively brief. We have already encountered Pausanias' *Graeciae Descriptio* on numerous occasions. It contains detailed information about the

¹⁰ On Rhianus, see *FGrH* 265 and Cameron 1995, 15–16, 297–300, 346–7.

¹¹ On the development of geographical and periegetic writings in ancient Greece, see Bischoff 1938; Habicht 1985, 1–27; and Rutherford 2001. On Heraclides Creticus (also known as the Pseudo-Dicaearchus) see Ballatti 2001; Dihle 1991; Frazer 1913, 1: xlii–xlix; and Pfister 1951, 3–70. (Frazer suggests a later date for Heraclides than is currently accepted.) For a text and German translation of Heraclides' work, see Pfister 1951, 71–95.

¹² The date of the earliest periegetic work on Olympia is unknown. Agaclytus cannot be dated more precisely than the Hellenistic period; Polemon lived and worked in the second century. Apollas the Pontian should possibly be added to the list of periegetes who wrote about Olympia. Apollas was a student of Callimachus and so can be dated to the second half of the third century. He wrote a treatise that touched on statues at Delphi (*FGrH* 266 F1), and he is cited by the Suda as a source for the inscription on a Cypselid dedication at Delphi (F5 *apud* Suda s.v. Κυψελιδῶν ἀνάθημα ἐν Ὀλυμπίαι) and by a Pindaric scholiast for information about victor statues at Olympia (F7 *apud* scholiast Pindar *Olympian VII* inscr.). These fragments presumably come from the same treatise, probably a periegetic work of some kind. Jacoby's discussion of the fragments remains the basic treatment of Apollas' work.

history of Elis, the foundation of the Olympic Games, and the order in and dates at which specific contests were added to the Olympic program.¹³ Too little of Agaclytus' work survives for much to be said about it.¹⁴ There are, on the other hand, slightly more than 100 preserved fragments from Polemon, who was active in the second half of the second century.¹⁵ Plutarch praises Polemon as the most learned of all antiquarians (*Moralia* 675e), and the extant fragments make it clear that Polemon supplied detailed information about the sanctuaries at both Olympia and Delphi and about athletic contests.

Treatises on contests, many of which bore the title *Peri Agonon*, were produced in significant numbers beginning in the second half of the fourth century.¹⁶ The earliest known work that falls under this heading is Menaechmus of Sicyon's *Pythikos*, which treated the history of the musical contests at the Pythian Games at Delphi and at the homonymous games at Sicyon.¹⁷ Noteworthy among the many similar works that followed are Philochorus' *On the Contests at Athens*, which ran to seventeen books, and three separate works, all bearing the title *Peri Isthmion* (*On the Isthmian Games*), by Procles (*akme* in the late fourth century), Euphorion (*akme* in the middle of the third century), and Musaeus (unknown date, but probably Hellenistic).¹⁸

The Olympics also received their fair share of attention. Dicaearchus of Messene, one of Aristotle's students, wrote a work on the Olympics (*Olympikos*), the only extant fragment of which states that the rhapsode Cleomenes recited Empedocles' work on purification at Olympia (F87 Wehrli).¹⁹ Callimachus wrote on subjects relating to athletic festivals in general and the Olympics in particular, both in verse (in the *Aetia*,

¹³ See Sections 3.5–3.7.

¹⁴ On Agaclytus' work, see *FGrH* 411.

¹⁵ On Polemon, see Deichgräber 1952; Donahue 1996; Frazer 1913, 1: lxxxiii–xcvi; Pfeiffer 1968, 247–9; and Weniger 1865, 22–48. Wilamowitz and several of his students argued that Pausanias copied large sections of Polemon's work verbatim, a position that was refuted by both Frazer and Habicht (Habicht 1985, 165–75). For the fragments, see Mette 1978, 40–41 and Müller 1878–85, 3: 108–48.

¹⁶ On *Peri Agonon* treatises, see Jüthner 1909, 70–74 and Krause 1972 (1838), xi–xiii.

¹⁷ See Appendix 15.

¹⁸ On Philochorus' *On the Contests at Athens*, see the bibliography cited in n. 9 of Chapter 5. On *Peri Isthmion* treatises, see Gebhard 2002 and Jacoby 1923–58, 3b1: 304.

¹⁹ On Dicaearchus and his work, see Wehrli 1968. For the fragments, see Wehrli 1944–59, 1: 29–32. Krause claims that Dicaearchus' *Olympikos* was part of a larger work with

Iambi, and in *epinikia*) and in prose (in a *Peri Agonon*).²⁰ Stories relating to the founding of the Olympic Games by Heracles are related in Books 3 and 4 of the *Aetia*, which also contains tales about the political career of the Olympic victor Euthycles and information about other *periodos* games. Somewhere in his extensive corpus Callimachus also dealt with the question of the “unregistered” Olympiads between Lycurgus and Coroibos, because Eusebius states that Callimachus believed there to have been thirteen such Olympiads (ll. 44–5 in Appendix 4.1).²¹

By the early Hellenistic period, therefore, significant information about the Olympic Games could be found in universal histories such as that of Ephorus, local histories of Elis, periegetic works, and treatises on contests. None of these works included catalogs of Olympic victors, so they were not *Olympionikai*, but their existence made the long historical excurses attached to *Olympionikon anagraphai* superfluous.²² The separation of background information about the Olympics from the increasingly long victor catalog was in any case more convenient for ancient readers working with expensive scrolls of papyrus. *Olympionikon anagraphai*, as a result, became obsolete, and none appear to have been written after the time of Eratosthenes.

We are now ready to examine the evidence for the structure and contents of the *Olympionikon anagraphai* of Aristotle and Eratosthenes.

3.2. ARISTOTLE'S *OLYMPIONIKON ANAGRAPHÉ*

There are six extant fragments from the Aristotelian *Olympionikai*.²³ (IG II² 2326, which probably represents an inscribed copy of a portion

the title *Peri Agonon* (Krause 1972 (1838), xi), but there is no evidence to support this claim.

²⁰ On Callimachus and his work, see Bulloch 1980–85, 549–70; Cameron 1995, 141–73 and *passim*; Kerkhecker 1999, 1–10 and *passim*; and Trypanis 1958, vii–xvi.

²¹ See also Section 2.8.

²² Pausanias, before launching into a description of some 200 victor statues he saw at Olympia, specifically states that his lengthy list of statues should not be confused with a catalog of Olympic victors (6.1.1). Polemon mentioned the *periodonikes* Ephodion (FHG (3.131) F52), presumably in reference to a dedication of some sort.

²³ On Aristotle's work with the Olympic victor list, see Jacoby 1923–58, 1: 477–8 and 3b1: 221–8 and Jüthner 1909, 60–70. Max Nelson has recently argued that Aristotle may not have provided a complete listing of Olympic victors (Nelson 2007). He points to the fact that Diogenes Laertius refers to an Aristotelian *Olympionikai*, not an *Olympionikon anagraphé*. This seems to me to place too much interpretive weight on Diogenes' use of

of the Aristotelian *Olympionikai*, is treated in Section 3.5 because of complexities regarding attribution.) The fragments read as follows (the Greek text can be found in Appendix 3.1):

FHG (2.182–4) F261 *apud* scholiast Pindar *Nemean III* 27a ll. 3–4:

Aristotle says that Leucaros of Acharnania was the first to bring systematic skill to the *pankration*.

FHG F262 *apud* scholiast Theocritus 4.6:

Milon: He is talking about Milon of Croton, who Aristotle also says had a huge appetite.

FHG F263 *apud* Diogenes Laertius 8.51–2:

Eratosthenes also says in his *Olympic Victors* (ἐν τοῖς Ὀλυμπιονίκαις) that the father of Meton (Empedocles) was a victor in the 71st Olympiad, citing Aristotle for this information. The grammarian Apollodorus in his *Chronika* says that “he was the son of Meton, and Glaucos says he went to Thurii, which had recently been founded.” Then farther on he adds, “Those who relate that, being exiled from his home, he went to Syracuse and fought with them against the Athenians seem to me to be completely mistaken. For by that time either he was no longer living or exceedingly old, which does not fit. For Aristotle, as well as Heraclides, says that he died at the age of sixty.”

FHG F264 *apud* scholiast Pindar *Olympian VII* inscr.:

For the boxer Diagoras of Rhodes, who won in the 79th Olympiad. This Diagoras was the son of Damagetos of Rhodes, who won both at the Pythian and Isthmian Games. Both Aristotle in his *Olympic Victors* (ἐν Ὀλυμπιονίκαις) and Apollas speak about this Diagoras.²⁴ They give evidence for the following things. Diagoras set up a statue at Olympia, next to that of Lysander, that was four cubits and five fingers high, the right hand being extended, and the left hand inclined toward the body. Next to Diagoras’ statue is also one of Damagetos, the elder of his sons, who bore the same name as his grandfather. He was a famous pancratiast and was himself also four cubits tall, being five fingers shorter than his father. Nearby stands a statue of his brother, Dorieus, a boxer and famous in his own right. Third after him is a statue of Acousilaos, holding a boxing thong in his left hand, the right hand being extended in prayer. And these children of the prize-winner stand on pedestals with their

a generic term and too little weight on the evidence of the fragments of the Aristotelian *Olympionikai* and *Pythionikon Anagraphe*.

²⁴ Jacoby disagrees with Müller’s reconstruction of the text and removes Aristotle’s name but does not give an alternative reading (*FGH* 266 F7 and 1923–58, 3a: 201). On Apollas, see n. 12 of this chapter.

father. After them are also statues of two prize-winning sons of his daughters, Eucles, who defeated Andron in boxing, and after him is Peisirrothos. And it is said that when the sons won at Olympia on the same day as their father, they encircled Diagoras and walked around the stadium, and they were called blessed by the Greeks. They say that at a later date Diagoras' daughter Callipateira came to Olympia and asked the *Hellandikai* to allow her to watch the games. When they asserted that the law forbade a woman from watching the gymnastic contest, she said to them that she was not like other women, but that she brought something special, relying upon the excellence of her family. For she had both a father and three brothers who were Olympic victors, Damagetos, Dorieus, Acousilaos, and her sister's child Eucles and her own son Peisirrothos. And she showed them the statues of both her father and brothers, and thus being defeated the *Hellandikai* gave way and waived the normal rule, and they allowed Callipateira to watch the games. And this is what they (relate) about these things.

FHG F264a *apud* Aristotle *Politics* 1339a1–5:

For there is no small proof that overly rigorous training can produce this result, since in the list of Olympic victors one might find only two or three persons who have won both as men and as boys, because those who train during their youth exhaust their strength in the requisite exercises.

FHG (2.145) F118 *apud* scholiast Pindar *Olympian* IX 86e:

Of the Epeians of the Eleans, who take their name from Epeios the son of Endymion, or from Aethlios the son of Endymion. Opountos was the daughter of the king of the Eleans; Aristotle calls her Cambyse.²⁵

These fragments show that Aristotle's *Olympionikon anagraphe* contained stories about Olympic victors and a victor catalog that began in 776 and that was organized around numbered Olympiads. F263 is the earliest known use of a numbered Olympiad. As Aristotle is also known to have numbered the Pythiads for the first time, it is reasonable to conclude that numbered Olympiads were an innovation introduced in the Aristotelian *Olympionikai*.²⁶ There is evidence independent of the Aristotelian victor list that the grandson of the Empedocles who won in the 71st Olympiad can be placed in the middle of the fifth century, which means that what Aristotle designated as Olympiad 1

²⁵ Müller assigns this fragment to the *Politeia Opountion*, but given the subject matter it could equally easily come from the *Olympionikai*.

²⁶ See Section 3.4.

fell at some point in the first half of the eighth century.²⁷ Given that 776 was the basic Olympic epoch throughout antiquity, there can be little doubt that Aristotle assigned that date to Olympiad 1.²⁸ We have already seen that in his *Olympionikai* Aristotle almost certainly took the position that this Olympiad was overseen by Lycurgus and Iphitos.²⁹ The fact that Aristotle is cited in connection with the Epeians, early inhabitants of Elis, suggests that his *Olympionikai* included a history of the foundation of the Olympic Games.

3.3. ERATOSTHENES' *OLYMPIONIKON ANAGRAPHE*

The ten extant fragments of Eratosthenes' *Olympionikai* show that it contained a victor catalog that was organized by numbered Olympiads and ran from the first Olympiad at least as far as the 116th (316) and presumably down to Eratosthenes' own time. Eratosthenes' catalog included the names of victors in each of the events held at the Olympics and comments on athletes who won multiple victories at the *periodos* games. We have already seen that Eratosthenes dated Olympiad 1 to 776, but moved the Lycurgus–Iphitos Olympics back to 884/83 and filled the resulting gap with twenty-eight “unregistered Olympiads.”³⁰

²⁷ On Empedocles' dates, see Chitwood 2004, 12–58. If the grandson of Empedocles the Olympic victor is placed c. 450 and one allots 50 years between the two figures, and then adds 284 years (for 71 Olympiads), one ends up in 784. This is a rough calculation, but it shows that Aristotle dated the first Olympiad to sometime around 776.

²⁸ Astrid Möller has recently argued that it was Eratosthenes who first attached the Coroibos Olympics to the year corresponding to 776 (Möller 2004b and 2005). (Pfeiffer implied that he held this view but without supplying any argumentation (Pfeiffer 1968, 163).) This does not appear to be a tenable position, not least because of the fragment from the Aristotelian *Olympionikai* dating the victory of Empedocles' grandfather to the 71st Olympiad. Moreover, the date of Coroibos' victory was necessarily established as soon as Hippias published a cumulative catalog of *stadion* victors with Coroibos at its head. The only way that it would have been left to Eratosthenes to establish the date of 776 for the Coroibos Olympics as canonical is if there were divergent Olympic victor lists in circulation containing different numbers of *stadion* victors placed in different Olympiads. There is, however, no sign that this was the case (see Appendix 14 for further discussion). Möller's interest in the date of 776 is in large part driven by a desire to demonstrate that 776 did not become the fixed dividing line between myth and history until well after Eratosthenes. Even if that is true (see n. 25 of Chapter 1), it by no means indicates that the Coroibos Olympics was not dated to 776 before Eratosthenes.

²⁹ See Section 2.3.

³⁰ See Section 2.8.

Eratosthenes also provided a great deal of supplementary information about the history of athletics in general and about the history of the Olympic Games and of the events in the Olympic program in particular, as well as stories about Olympic victors. Because Athenaeus specifically cites the first book of Eratosthenes' *Olympionikai*, it must have been at least two books long (154a (FGrH 241 F4)).

The biography of Philochorus in the Suda indicates that Eratosthenes met Philochorus when he came from his hometown of Cyrene to study at Athens in the 260s (T1). Eratosthenes, who was born c. 285 and so was in his early twenties at the time, may have gone out of his way to meet Philochorus, probably in his seventies and a man with a formidable reputation as a scholar. This encounter was a nice piece of coincidence, involving as it did the authors of the first Olympiad chronicle and of the last *Olympionikon anagraphē*. Eratosthenes later succeeded Apollonius Rhodius as the head of the Library at Alexandria and developed into a versatile and prolific scholar. He worked on a vast range of subjects and made lasting contributions in the fields of mathematics, descriptive geography, and chronography. His writings on the last of these are of particular interest here and included two separate works, *Peri Chronographion* and an *Olympionikai*. The *Peri Chronographion* was the first systematic attempt to place a wide range of events in the political and literary history of Greek-speaking communities in a single, coherent chronological framework.³¹

The compilation of an *Olympionikai* was an important preliminary step in Eratosthenes' chronographic researches because the dates given in the *Peri Chronographion* were expressed in terms of numbered Olympiads. Eratosthenes introduced a small but important innovation by subdividing each Olympiad into years one through four (so, for instance, 773 became the fourth year of the 1st Olympiad and 772 the first year of the 2nd).³² This resulted in a highly refined, entirely

³¹ On Eratosthenes and his *Peri Chronographion* and *Olympionikai*, see Geus 2002, 7–58, 309–32; Jacoby 1923–58, 1: 477 and 3b1: 221–8; and Wachsmuth 1892, 1–18. Geus provides a full listing of the earlier scholarship. The relevant fragments can be found in FGrH 241. The title of Eratosthenes' chronological work is sometimes given in the modern scholarship as *Chronographiai*, on which see Geus 2002, 313–14.

³² The idea that Eratosthenes numbered the individual years within Olympiads goes back to Wachsmuth (Wachsmuth 1892, 12–13). The key piece of evidence is FGrH 241 F1b

numerical system of chronology that was used for the remainder of classical antiquity.

The fragments of Eratosthenes' *Olympionikai* are as follows (the Greek text can be found in Appendix 3.2):

FGrH 241 F4 *apud* Athenaeus 154a:

Eratosthenes in the first book of his *Olympic Victors* (ἐν πρώτῳ Ὀλυμπιονικῶν) says that the Etruscans box to the music of the flute.

F5 *apud* scholiast Homer *Odyssey* Book 8 hypothesis-verse 190:

The stone flew humming: The discus was stone. And Eratosthenes relates in his *Olympic Victors* (ἐν Ὀλυμπιονίκαις) that the *solos* (weight) was made of iron or wood or bronze with a hole bored through the middle. A small cord was threaded through the hole, and the contestants threw the *solos* holding onto this cord. And the *solos* was thus equipped at the funeral games for Patroclus. For this reason Homer says "but the son of Peleus set out the *solos*, which previously (Eetion) was in the habit of throwing . . ." (*Iliad* 23.826). It is for this reason that "from the shoulder" is used to describe the discus: "as far as the flight of a discus thrown from the shoulder" (*Iliad* 23.431). For this reason even now there is the saying "having whirled it (the discus) round."

F6 *apud* scholiast Theocritus 2 prolegomenon-anecdote 121a:

White poplar of Heracles: Eratosthenes in the first book of his *Olympic Victors* (<ἐν πρώτῳ> Ὀλυμπιονικῶν) says that, upon descending to Hades, Heracles found white poplar growing on the banks of the Acheron River and crowned himself with it. Homer calls this tree *Acherois*.

F7 *apud* Diogenes Laertius 8.51:

Empedocles was, as Hippobotos says, the son of Meton and grandson of Empedocles, and was from Acragas. Timaeus in the fifteenth book of his *Histories* also says the same thing, adding that Empedocles, the poet's grandfather, was a distinguished figure. Hermippus also says the same things as Timaeus.

(*apud* Dionysius of Halicarnassus 1.74.2), in which Dionysius says that the founding of Rome fell in what was by Eratosthenes' system the first year of the 7th Olympiad (see Appendix 4.3 for the text). This strongly suggests that Eratosthenes numbered the years within Olympiads. In addition, Eratosthenes had a deep interest in mathematics, and numbering the years within Olympiads made the system a purely numerical one. The earliest surviving historian who uses Olympiads with internally numbered years is Polybius. Geus has recently argued that Eratosthenes relied on intervals, not Olympiad dates, in the *Peri Chronographion*, that he thus probably did not use an Olympic victor list in compiling the *Peri Chronographion*, and that he did not number the years within Olympiads (Geus 2002, 316–20). All of these positions are based on a misreading of a passage in Dionysius of Halicarnassus' *Antiquitates Romanae* (1.74.1–2).

So, too, likewise Heraclides in *On Diseases* says that he was from a famous household, his grandfather having raised horses. Eratosthenes also says in his *Olympic Victors* (ἐν τοῖς Ὀλυμπιονίκαις) that the father of Meton was a victor in the 71st Olympiad, citing Aristotle for this information (μάρτυρι χρώμενος Ἀριστοτέλει).

F8 *apud* scholiast Menander *POxy* III 409.104–106:

Of Astyanax: Exceedingly many of the comic writers make mention of Astyanax of Miletus. For he was the strongest pancratiast of his time, and he also competed in boxing. Eratosthenes in the (numeral missing) book of his *Olympic Victors* (ἐ[ν τῷι .] τῶν Ὀλυμπιονικῶν) under the heading of the 116th Olympiad says: “Astyanax of Miletus (won) the *periodos* uncontested, the sixth to do so.”

F11a *apud* Diogenes Laertius 8.47:

Eratosthenes says, according to what Favorinus claims in the eighth book of his *Miscellaneous History*, that he (Pythagoras) was the first to box scientifically, in the 48th Olympiad, keeping his hair long and wearing a purple robe. When he was disbarred from the boys’ contest and mocked, he went immediately to the men’s contest and won. This is clear in the epigram that Theaitetos wrote:

If you remember a certain Pythagoras, O foreigner,
long-haired Pythagoras, the famous Samian boxer,
I am that Pythagoras. If you ask someone of the Eleans about my deeds,
you will say that he speaks unbelievable things.

F11b *apud* Proverb. Cod. Paris. Suppl. Gr. 676:

The long-haired man (from Samos): They say that the adage comes from a Samian boxer with long hair who arrived at Olympia and, despite having been mocked by his opponents as effeminate, won. Eratosthenes (records) that Pythagoras of Samos won at the 48th Olympiad wearing long hair.

F14 *apud* scholiast Euripides *Hecuba* 573:

They strewed (the dead woman) with leaves: This is anachronistic. For with respect to *phyllobolia*³³ Eratosthenes says that long ago men competed without prizes and each of the spectators threw (things) to the winner, bringing whatever he had in abundance, just like contributing to a pot-luck supper. Those having made the trip, therefore, supplied different gifts [to the victor (?)]. Those sitting nearby put crowns on the rest (of the competitors), while those farther away threw flowers and leaves at them, just as even now for competitors who have distinguished themselves they throw belts, hats, shirts,

³³ *Phyllobolia* was the Greek term for throwing leaves and flowers as an act of celebration.

boots. For this reason it was customary that the athletes went around collecting what had been given. (This) was (the practice), therefore, until, after one contest at Olympia, lavish gifts were given (to the victor), and with the gifts multiplying, those things that were distributed to the rest of the competitors diminished, and finally *phyllobolia* was abandoned. These things, therefore, Euripides (inserts) anachronistically.

F15a *apud* Hesychius *Lexicon* s.v. Ἐφωδίων:

Ephodion. Eratosthenes records Ephotion of Mainalos as a *periodonikes* in the *pankration*, spelling his name with a “t.” Polemon spells his name with a “d.”

F15b *apud* scholiast Aristophanes *Vespae* 1191:

They appear to be speaking falsely in jest, just like pancratiasts. This Ascondas and Ephoudion of the same name if not exactly the same Ephoudion of Mainalos who appears in the Olympic records in the 79th Olympiad.

F44 *apud* scholiast Pindar *Olympian* IX 1 k:

Eratosthenes says that the song of Archilochus was not an *epinikion*, but a hymn to Heracles. Pindar calls it “triple” not because it was composed of three stanzas, but because the refrain “gloriously triumphant” is sung three times. Concerning *tenella* in this hymn, Eratosthenes says that when the pipe-player or *kithara*-player was not present, the leader of the chorus took this part in addition and spoke over the song, when the chorus of revelers sang “gloriously triumphant.” And thus the words “*tenella*” and “gloriously triumphant” came out simultaneously. The start of the song is: “Hail, gloriously triumphant Lord Heracles.”

One further fragment from the *Etymologicum Magnum* (s.v. Ἡλῖς) has been attributed to either Aristotle’s or Eratosthenes’ *Olympionikai*:³⁴

Elis. Before Zeus acquired Olympia from Gaia, both Helios and Cronos had received it in turn. The mark of their joint possession is the altar for both of them at Olympia. And there is another token: the hill called Cronios, and Elis, which is to this day named after the god. And also on account of this Augeas ruled over Helios’ share of the countryside, being the son of Helios. In *On Olympic Victors* (ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ὀλυμπιονικῶν).

The ascription at the end indicates that the source was an *Olympionikai* of some kind, and the sort of information given in the fragment indicates that it was likely an *Olympionikon anagraphe*. The number

³⁴ The text of the entry for Elis from the *Etymologicum Magnum* given here is that printed in Theodoridis 1979, 16–17. See Theodoridis for the previous scholarship on attribution.

of possible candidates is limited, particularly because Hippias' *Olympionikai* does not seem to have been heavily used after the fourth century. The *Olympionikai* of Aristotle and Eratosthenes are the logical choices, though it is impossible to decide between the two.

Eratosthenes clearly presented a great deal of information about the history of athletics, as is evident from his comments on the Homeric discus, and about the history of the Olympics, as is evident from his comments on Heracles. The information on the history of athletics probably included observations on the origins of the individual contests in the Olympic program. This would explain why Eratosthenes commented on Etruscan boxing and on the Homeric discus and would fit with the well-known interest on the part of Alexandrian authors in aetiologies. Further support for this conclusion can be found in the opening sections of Philostratus' *De Gymnastica*.

Among the substantial corpus of Flavius Philostratus, a prominent author who worked during the first half of the third century CE, is a treatise called *De Gymnastica*.³⁵ Philostratus begins his essay by stating that he wishes to explain the reasons for the decadent state of athletic training in his time. Before doing so, however, he proposes to explore the origins of the gymnic events:

But first let us consider the origins of running and boxing and wrestling and other such things, and how and when each began. The records of the Eleans (τὰ Ἡλείων) will be cited throughout. For it is necessary to speak about these things based on the most accurate sources. (2)

Philostratus proceeds to analyze the origins of the pentathlon, *dolichos*, *stadion*, *diaulos*, *hoplites*, boxing, and *pankration* (3–11). He then provides a brief summary of the expansion of the Olympic program (12–13) and returns to the question of athletic training in section 14. The text in 3–13 is constructed as a coherent unit, all of which is based on what Philostratus enigmatically calls τὰ Ἡλείων.

There is good reason to think that τὰ Ἡλείων is Philostratus' shorthand for an Olympic victor list and that sections 3–13 reproduce part

³⁵ The title of Philostratus' work on athletics is typically given in its Latinized version, *De Gymnastica*, rather than the Greek original, *Gymnastikos*. On Flavius Philostratus and his work, see Anderson 1986, 1–22, 268–72, and *passim*; Billault 2000, 9–31 and *passim*; and König 2005, 301–44.

of an *Olympionikai*.³⁶ The synopsis of the expansion of the Olympic program given in 12–13 derives directly or indirectly from an Olympic victor list.³⁷ In addition, there is an immediate parallel for Philostratus' τὰ Ἡλείων in Pausanias' τὰ Ἡλείων ἐς τοὺς ὀλυμπιονίκας γράμματα, which seems to have been a circumlocution for the victor list on display at Olympia.³⁸ Philostratus, however, is unlikely to have consulted the official Olympic victor list inscribed at Olympia, and there is in any case no reason to think that an inscription would have provided detailed information about every event in the Olympic program. Presumably, then, Philostratus consulted an *Olympionikai* of some sort when writing sections 2–13 of the *De Gymnastica*.³⁹ The overlap between Philostratus' comments in sections 2–11 of the *De Gymnastica* and the fragments of Eratosthenes' *Olympionikai* reinforces the conclusion that Eratosthenes provided histories of the origins of the events in the Olympic program.

3.4. THE ARISTOTELIAN PYTHIONIKAI

A number of different forms of evidence beyond the extant fragments make it possible to form a more detailed picture of the structure and contents of *Olympionikon anagraphai*. Among the most important of those forms of evidence is the Aristotelian *Pythionikon Anagraphe* (referred to here as the *Pythionikai*, by analogy with *Olympionikai*).

An enneateric festival was held in the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi from an early date. This festival included a single contest, in singing a hymn to Apollo to the accompaniment of the *kithara*. In the early sixth century the inhabitants of the town of Crisa began levying heavy

³⁶ Jüthner 1909, 109–16. The argumentation presented here draws heavily upon Jüthner's discussion of the issues.

³⁷ See Section 3.5.

³⁸ See Section 2.5.

³⁹ Philostratus may have used an *Olympionikon anagraphe*, as his interests, like Pausanias', were squarely focused in the earlier periods of Greek history. Of the twenty-six athletes that he mentions by name in the *De Gymnastica*, only four definitely or possibly postdate the death of Alexander. It is, however, more likely that he used an Olympiad chronicle of some sort, as he lived more than five centuries after the last *Olympionikon anagraphe* was written and makes mention of the exploits of two athletes of the third century CE. He may also have used a combination of different sources.

tolls on visitors to Delphi. (Crisa controlled the easiest route into Delphi. This route passed through Crisa's port, which was called Cirrha.⁴⁰ The names Crisa and Cirrha are frequently used interchangeably in the ancient sources.) These tolls prompted armed intervention by the amphictyony⁴¹ based at the temple of Demeter located in Anthela in Thessaly. The ensuing conflict, the First Sacred War, resulted in the destruction of Crisa, probably in 591/90. The commander of the amphictyonic forces, Eurylochos of Thessaly, held contests as part of a victory celebration. These included athletic contests for which prizes, probably drawn from the spoils from Crisa, were offered.⁴² After the destruction of Crisa, the Anthelan amphictyony, which may have had some influence at Delphi prior to the First Sacred War, became responsible, together with the residents of Delphi, for the supervision of the sanctuary.⁴³ (This amphictyony is, as a result, frequently called the Delphic amphictyony.) In 586 the Pythian festival was reorganized. It became penteteric and a full array of gymnic and hippic contests, along with various musical contests, were permanently added to the program of events. Monetary prizes were offered in 586 but were immediately discontinued and victors received only wreaths thereafter.

The first cumulative list of Pythian victors was compiled in the mid-330s by Aristotle and Callisthenes as part of their *Pythionikai*. This work was both circulated on papyrus and, in part, inscribed on *stelai* set up at Delphi. It occupied three books, each of which had its own title. One book consisted of an account of the musical contests at Delphi and perhaps a list of victors in these contests and was called *Pythionikai Mousikes*. The history of the Pythian festival was the subject of a second book, with the title *Pythikos*. This book included an account of the First Sacred War and a summary of the development of the program

⁴⁰ The reader should be aware that there is some lingering uncertainty about the relationship between Crisa and Cirrha.

⁴¹ An amphictyony was an association of communities responsible for the maintenance of a shrine.

⁴² The games held by Eurylochos in 591/90 may have been folded into an iteration of the Pythian festival.

⁴³ For a good, brief history of the sanctuary at Delphi and the Delphic amphictyony, see Morgan 2003, 113–34. For a full-length treatment, see Sánchez 2001.

of contests at the Pythian Games. The third book contained a complete catalog of victors in the gymnastic and hippic events at the Pythian Games, organized by numbered Pythiads. The catalog began with the reorganization of the Pythian Games in 586 and ran down to the 330s. This book bore the title *Pythionikon Elenchoi*, with *elenchoi* carrying the meaning “catalog.” There was also a title for the work as a whole, *The Register of Victors in the Pythian Games* (ἡ τῶν Πυθιονικῶν ἀναγραφή).⁴⁴ (All of the relevant Greek texts are collected in Appendix 3.3.)

The evidence for the Aristotelian *Pythionikai* is fourfold: inscriptions from Delphi; extant, clearly attributed fragments; unattributed fragments from the Pindaric scholiasts and from Pausanias that can plausibly be assigned to the *Pythionikai*; and lists of Aristotle’s works. In the second half of the fourth century a decree was enacted at Delphi honoring Aristotle and Callisthenes for producing a list of victors at and organizers of the Pythian Games. The text of the decree was inscribed on a marble *stele* and erected in the sanctuary of Apollo. A substantial fragment of the *stele* was discovered in 1895. The text (SIG³ 275 = *Fouilles de Delphes* 3.1.400) reads as follows:

[(11 missing letters) ἐπεὶ]	1
[Ἀριστοτέλης Νικο]-	
[μάχου Σταγίριτης]	
[καὶ Καλλισθένης Δ]-	
[αμοτίμου Ὀλύνθιο]-	5
[ς συ]νέ[ταξαν πίνακ]-	
[α] τῶν ἀ[. . .]. [. . .]νευ]-	
ινκηκό[τ]ων τὰ [Πύθια]	
καὶ τῶν ἐξ ἄρχ[ῆς τὸ]-	
ν ἁγῶνα κατασκ[ευα]-	10
σάντων, ἐπαινέ[σαι]	
Ἀριστοτέλην κα[ὶ Κ]-	
αλ[λ]ισθένην καὶ [στ]-	
εφανῶσαι. ἀνα[θεῖν]-	
αι δὲ τὸν πίν[ακα το]-	15

⁴⁴ On the *Pythionikai*, see Bousquet 1988, 97–101; Chaniotis 1988, 195–6, 293–6; Higbie 1999, 65–70; Jacoby 1923–58, 3b1: 213–16; Miller 1978; Robertson 1978; Sánchez 2001, 18–20, 27, 75, 262–7; and Spoerri 1988. For the fragments, see *FHG* (2: 184) F265–6 and F615–17 in Rose’s collection.

ὕς ταμία[ς ἐν τῷι ἱε]-
 ρῶι με[ταγεγραμμέ]-
 νο[ν εἰς στήλας ?]

[The initial part of the decree is lost, but almost certainly began with “It was resolved by . . .”⁴⁵]

[Since Aristotle son of Nicomachos of Stagira and Callisthenes son of Damotimos of Olynthos] assembled the register of those having won at the Pythian Games from [---] and of those organizing the contest from the beginning, praise Aristotle and Callisthenes and crown them. The treasurers will set up the register (*pinax*) in the sanctuary, copying it onto *stelai* . . .

The text is cut *stoichedon*⁴⁶ with 15 letters per line, something that has been very helpful in restoring the damaged sections. All of the restorations indicated above were made by Homolle in the original publication of the inscription in 1898 and have been endorsed by a succession of editors since that time.⁴⁷ The one place in the text that has resisted convincing restoration is line 7. The parallel phrasing found in line 9 indicates that there should be a genitive construction defining the starting point of the victor catalog. There are four letters preserved and four that can be plausibly restored (at the beginning and end of the line). However, no consensus regarding the seven letters after the preserved *alpha* has been reached.⁴⁸ Whatever the exact phrasing, it is

⁴⁵ The Greek text of SIG³ 275 given here comes from Rhodes and Osborne 2003, #80, which should also be consulted for discussion of this inscription and the earlier bibliography. It is unclear whether the decree was passed by the amphictyons or by the residents of Delphi.

⁴⁶ *Stoichedon* describes a method of arranging letters in an inscription so that each letter is aligned vertically with the letters in the preceding and following lines, producing a grid pattern with a fixed number of letters per line.

⁴⁷ Homolle 1898.

⁴⁸ Homolle restored ἀπὸ Γυλίδᾱ, on the grounds that Gylidas is mentioned in a Pindaric scholion (*Pythian* hypothesis d; the corresponding text in hypothesis b is probably corrupt and has been emended in light of hypothesis d) as holding the archonship at Delphi when the Pythian Games were refounded by Eurylochos of Thessaly. This restoration met with a lukewarm reception because it requires sixteen letters in the line, thus breaking the *stoichedon*. Lenschau solved the problem by emending the scholion to read Gylis, a questionable approach at best (Lenschau 1936, 398). Bousquet, following Preuner, suggested ἀπ’ αἰῶνος, a formula known from agonistic inscriptions of the Roman period (Bousquet 1988, 97–102). The lack of parallels in the fourth century is, however, troubling. The most likely restoration is that of Witkowsky, who suggested

clear from the preserved fragments of the *Pythionikai* that the victor catalog began in the 580s, when the Pythian Games were refounded in the aftermath of the First Sacred War (see below).

Jacoby and Körte were surely right to think that the honorary decree should be taken as an indication that Aristotle and Callisthenes supplied something that had theretofore been lacking, a complete catalog of victors in the Pythian Games.⁴⁹ As the Olympic victor list was not compiled until the very end of the fifth century, and complete victor lists for the Isthmian and Nemean Games were never compiled at all,⁵⁰ the absence of a cumulative catalog of Pythian victors prior to the second half of the fourth century would not be surprising. There is, moreover, no evidence that there were any predecessors to the *Pythionikai*.⁵¹

A small detail of the Daochos monument at Delphi first noticed by Stephen Miller also speaks to the absence of a catalog of Pythian victors before the time of Aristotle.⁵² The inscriptions on the statues of Agias erected by Daochos at Pharsalos and Delphi are nearly identical. The Pharsalos inscription, however, gives Agias five victories at both the Nemean and Pythian Games (πεντάκις ἐν Νεμέοις, τόσσα Πύθια), whereas the Delphi inscription credits Agias with only three Pythian victories (πεντάκις ἐν Νεμέοις, τρις Πύθια). Miller showed that the inscription at Delphi was originally identical to that

ἁμφοτέρα, which preserves the *stoichedon* and which would fit nicely with the division between gymnastic and hippic contests on one hand and musical contests on the other that is evident in the *Pythionikai* (Witkowski 1899).

⁴⁹ Jacoby 1923–58, 3b1: 213–16 and Körte 1904, 230–31.

⁵⁰ See Section 2.5.

⁵¹ Brinkmann (Brinkmann 1915, 627–8) and Preuner (Preuner 1900, 97 n. 54) both argued that the inscribed version of the Aristotelian *Pythionikai* replaced an earlier inscription that had been destroyed in the plundering of Delphi that accompanied the Third Sacred War. This is, however, pure speculation, and there is no obvious reason why a stone inscription lacking any intrinsic value would have been destroyed. The plundering in question was driven by the need for funds to fight a war, not by an unrestrained desire to ruin the sanctuary. Homolle believed that there was an earlier inscription that was obliterated in the unknown disaster that resulted in the destruction of the Temple of Apollo in 373/72 (Homolle 1898, 260). This is a less improbable scenario, but once again it is pure speculation based on the preconceived notion that there must have been an earlier Pythian victor list.

⁵² Miller 1978. On the Daochos monument, see Section 2.7 and the bibliography cited in n. 178 of Chapter 2.

at Pharsalos but that τόσσα was subsequently erased and replaced by τρις. He ascribed the change to the publication of the *Pythionikai*, which must have assigned only three Pythian victories to Agias. Aristotle and Callisthenes compiled the *Pythionikai* in the mid-330s (see below), whereas the Daochos monument was probably erected sometime between 336 and 332 and the change to the original inscription was made shortly after the monument was erected. The dates thus certainly work well. Agias was active just before the Persian Wars, and it seems unlikely that the number of his Pythian victories could have been unclear in the early 330s if a complete, official listing of Pythian victors had been available prior to the appearance of the Aristotelian *Pythionikai*.

This is not to say that there were no victor lists at Delphi prior to the publication of Aristotle's and Callisthenes' register. There were almost certainly dozens of such lists, but each one pertained to an individual iteration of the Pythian Games.⁵³ These lists were probably not organized into a complete, carefully sequenced collection, which meant that Aristotle and Callisthenes had to assemble the available material, make the gaps good using other sources, and find a way to put the victors in chronological order.

This may in turn explain a slightly mysterious phrase in the honorary inscription for Aristotle and Callisthenes, which indicates that the contents of their *pinax* included "those organizing the contest from the beginning." The precise meaning of this phrase has been the

⁵³ Despite the fact that no inscriptions recording the names of victors at individual iterations of the Pythian Games have survived, their existence can safely be presumed. The practice of cutting such inscriptions was widespread and is attested at two other Panhellenic festival sites (Olympia and Isthmia, see Section 2.7).

There has been considerable debate as to the nature of the records that Aristotle and Callisthenes found at Delphi. Jacoby was of the opinion that officials at Delphi kept yearly records of key events, to which Aristotle and Callisthenes had access (Jacoby 1923–58, 3b1: 214–15). Pritchett believes that "officials at Delphi had kept records of Pythian victors" and that "Aristotle and Callisthenes found sacred archives at Delphi extending well back into the sixth century . . ." (Pritchett 1996, 28–33, at 31 and 32, respectively). For a more pessimistic view, see Robertson 1978, 54–63. A passage in Plutarch's *Solon* (11.2) cites *hupomnemata* at Delphi on the identity of the Athenian commander in the First Sacred War (see Section 2.5), but it is unclear whether Plutarch is referring to archival records or a later epigraphic or literary source.

subject of some discussion. It could refer to an account that focused on individuals associated with major changes in the structure of the festival, or a catalog of the men who organized each iteration of the Pythian Games.⁵⁴ The evidence does not permit a definitive conclusion, but one consideration favors the latter possibility. Aristotle and Callisthenes almost certainly worked with victor lists from individual iterations of the Pythian Games that had no internal dating information other than the names of contest organizers.⁵⁵ Those names had to be sequenced to put the victors in proper chronological order, and they may have been included in the *Pythionikai*.

The honorary decree directs the treasurers to have the *pinax* inscribed for display in the sanctuary. Aristotle and Callisthenes no doubt worked on papyrus, and their *Pythionikai* clearly circulated in this form because the Pindaric scholiasts had access to it. The change of medium from papyrus to stone is reflected in the use of *metagegrammenon* to describe the cutting of the inscription. The treasurers carried out their charge, as there are four entries in the financial accounts of the Delphic archons for the years 327–24 that record expenses incurred in inscribing Aristotle's and Callisthenes' work on *stelai*.⁵⁶

Corpus des Inscriptions de Delphes II 97.42–43:

Δεινομάχῳ[ι], τῷμ Πυθιονικῶν ἀναγραφῆς, κελευσάντων | [τ]ῶν ἱερομνημόνων, μνᾶς δύο.

To Deinomachos, for the register of Pythian victors, at the bidding of the *hieromnemones* (amphictyonic officials), two *mnai*.

⁵⁴ Pomtow and Tod in their publications of the inscription in *SIG³ 275* and *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions* 187, respectively, take the position that Aristotle and Callisthenes compiled a list of all contest organizers at the Pythian Games, but they do not provide any supporting argumentation.

⁵⁵ See Section 2.7.

⁵⁶ On the dates of the inscriptions listing expenses for the inscription of the Aristotelian *Pythionikai*, see Bousquet 1989, 201–27. *CID* II 97 and 98 date to the archonship of Caphis at Delphi, which used to be placed in the late 330s but has recently been redated. As we will see, the honorary decree for Aristotle's and Callisthenes' work in compiling a register of Pythian victors was enacted after 337, so these financial records must refer to the Aristotelian *Pythionikai*. There are no surviving fragments of the *Pythionikai* inscription.

Corpus des Inscriptions de Delphes II 98.B.5–7:

[Δεινομάχῳ Δ]ελφῶι τῆς Π[υθιονικῶν ἀναγραφῆς, τετράκις] | [μυρίων καὶ χιλίων διακοσ[ίων] γραμμαίων, ἀνὰ ἑκατὸν τῆς] | [δραχμῆς, μυαῖ πέντε, στατή[ρες] τριάκοντα εἰς.

To Deinomachos of Delphi, for the register of Pythian victors, 41,200 letters at the rate of 1 *drachma* per 100 letters, sum paid being 5 *mnai*, 31 *staters*.⁵⁷

Corpus des Inscriptions de Delphes II 99.A.9–10:

Δε[ινομάχῳ Δελφῶι τῶν Πυθιονικῶν] | ἀναγραφῆ[ς μνᾶς δύο ?]

To Deinomachos of Delphi, for the register of Pythian victors, two *mnai* (?)

Corpus des Inscriptions de Delphes II 102.i.44–6:

Δει[νομάχῳ γραμμαίων] | [ἐγκοπῆς τῶν Πυθιονικῶν, κ]αὶ τῶν ἐπ[ι]δεκάτῳ] | [στατή[ρας] (14 missing letters)]

To Deinomachos for cutting the letters of the Pythian victors and of the tithes *staters* [14 missing letters]

All but the first of these inscriptions are heavily restored, and on a much less reliable basis than that from which Homolle worked when dealing with the honorary decree. For the most part, the sums of money involved, and hence the length of the inscriptions cut by Deinomachos, must be treated as uncertain.⁵⁸ As we will see, the *Pythionikai* took up three papyrus scrolls, so presumably only select portions of the work were inscribed at Delphi.

The description of the *Pythionikai* as a *pinax* in the honorary decree and as an *anagraphe* in the financial records makes it clear that a list of victors was a key feature of the work.⁵⁹ Other sources of information show that the highly compressed description in the honorary decree understates the content of the *Pythionikai*. This is most immediately apparent from the handful of surviving fragments. Many of those fragments speak to the form of the victor catalog:

⁵⁷ *Mnai* and *staters* are both specific coinage denominations, on which see the bibliography cited in n. 188 of Chapter 2.

⁵⁸ The uncertainty about the sums of money dispensed makes reconstructions of the length of the inscription based on known rates for cutting letters difficult. For the most recent such reconstruction, see Bousquet 1988.

⁵⁹ On the use of the term *anagraphe*, see n. 62 of Chapter 1.

F617α Rose *apud* scholiast Pindar *Isthmian III* inscr. a:

For Xenocrates of Acragas . . . this Xenocrates won with his horses not only at the Isthmian Games, but also at the Pythian Games in the 24th Pythiad, as Aristotle records.

F617γ Rose *apud* scholiast Pindar *Pythian VI* inscr.:

For Xenocrates of Acragas: Xenocrates of Acragas is recorded as winning in the 24th Pythiad.

F617β Rose /FHG (2.184) F265b *apud* scholiast Pindar *Olympian II* 87e:

According to the register of Aristotle, only Theron is listed as a Pythian victor.

F616 Rose /FHG F265a *apud* Hesychius s.v. Βοῦθος:

“Bouthos wanders”: An adage about silly and thick-witted people, taken from a certain Bouthos who was victor at the Pythian Games, whom Aristotle also records as having won.

These fragments show that the victor catalog was organized by numbered Pythiads and that it included a complete list of victors in both the hippic and gymnic events.⁶⁰ They also show that the victor catalog began with the refoundation of the Pythian Games after the First Sacred War. Xenocrates was the brother of Theron, who was the tyrant of Acragas in the first quarter of the fifth century and an Olympic victor in the four-horse chariot race in 476. If Xenocrates won a victory at the 24th Pythiad in the Aristotelian catalog, that catalog began in the first quarter of the sixth century, just when the Pythian Games were refounded.⁶¹ There is no information either in these fragments or elsewhere as to the endpoint of the catalog, but it presumably ran down to the time when Aristotle and Callisthenes produced the *Pythionikai* “if only because no reason can be imagined for stopping at any earlier point.”⁶²

There is one other fragment clearly attributed to the *Pythionikai*, and it is an important one:

⁶⁰ The victor list in the *Pythionikai* clearly included winners in the hippic events, which in turn must mean that winners in all events were cataloged.

⁶¹ See below for a detailed discussion of whether the first Pythiad in the Aristotelian catalog was that of 586 or 582. On Theron and Xenocrates, see Asheri 1982–2005.

⁶² Robertson 1978, 57.

F615 Rose/*FHG* F265 *apud* Plutarch *Solon* 11.1–2:

For having been persuaded by him (Solon), the amphictyons went to war, as both many others and Aristotle attest, in his *Register of Pythian Victors* (ἐν τῇ τῶν Πυθιονικῶν ἀναγραφῇ), in which he ascribes the resolution to Solon.

This passage provides valuable information about the title and contents of the *Pythionikai*. Plutarch cites the *Pythionikai* as ἡ τῶν Πυθιονικῶν ἀναγραφή, the same title used in the financial records at Delphi, and this was almost certainly the proper name for the work. The contents of the *Pythionikai* clearly included a considerable amount of information about the historical background to the Pythian Games, since Plutarch looked to this work for details of the First Sacred War.

The fact that the *Pythionikai* contained a significant amount of information about the First Sacred War makes sense in view of the context in which it was compiled. The inscriptions from Delphi and what is known about Aristotle and Callisthenes make it possible to date the publication of the *Pythionikai* to the mid-330s. The *tamiai* mentioned in the honorary decree did not exist until 337/36, thus giving a *terminus post quem*.⁶³ The inscriptions recording expenses incurred in inscribing the *Pythionikai* for display in the sanctuary are dated to 327–24, thus giving a *terminus ante quem*. This period can be compressed further based on the biographies of Aristotle and Callisthenes. Aristotle produced lists of the sort found in the *Pythionikai* in concert with his students during his years at the Lyceum, 335–323, though he may have begun his researches at Delphi a few years before that.⁶⁴ Further,

⁶³ Bousquet 1989, 146–9.

⁶⁴ Aristotle finished his work at Mieza in 340 and is generally believed to have spent the years 340–35 in Stagira (Barnes 1995, 1–6 and Düring 1957, 249–62). Diogenes Laertius states that Aristotle wrote a hymn for inscription on a statue of Hermias (who died sometime between 345 and 341) that was erected at Delphi (5.1.6). (On Hermias, see Hornblower 1982–2005, 94–5 and the bibliography cited therein.) This hymn led Kahrstedt to believe that Aristotle may have begun collecting materials at Delphi in 343 (Kahrstedt 1910, 21), but this probably places too little emphasis on the role of Philip, particularly after Chaeronea.

Aristotle's statement in the *Politics* (1339a1–5) about boy athletes might be taken to indicate that Aristotle already had the list of Olympic victors at his disposal when he wrote the *Politics*. The problem is that the date of the composition of the *Politics* remains unclear. The latest event mentioned in this work is the death of Philip (1311b2–4). On the date of the *Politics*, see Barnes 1995, 15–22. For a good overview of Aristotle's collaboration with his students, see Keaney 1992, 9–12.

Callisthenes left Athens in order to participate in Alexander's expedition and died in the East in 327/6. The date at which Callisthenes departed Athens is not known, but it is unlikely to have been after 330.⁶⁵

This leaves a handful of years in the mid-330s, a time when Macedonia was asserting control over the Delphic amphictyony and exerting considerable influence at Delphi. The seat on the amphictyonic council that traditionally belonged to Phocis was given to Macedonia at the end of the Third Sacred War, and Philip personally presided over the Pythian Games in 346.⁶⁶ Moreover, in the aftermath of the Battle of Chaeronea, the Delphians had every reason to look to their relationship with Macedonia. Aristotle and Callisthenes were closely associated with Macedonia, as is evident from the fact that Aristotle was forced to flee Athens in 323 when Athens revolted against Macedonia. The same burst of anti-Macedonian sentiment manifested itself at Delphi, as the following passage from Aelian's *Varia Historia* makes clear:

Aristotle the son of Nicomachos was a wise man both in reality and by reputation. When someone deprived him of the honors that had been bestowed on him by decree at Delphi, writing to Antipater concerning these things, he said, "About the honors bestowed on me at Delphi, which have now been rescinded, my feeling is that I neither care excessively about them nor are they meaningless to me." (14.1)

Ingemar Düring believed that this might be a genuine extract from a letter written by Aristotle, and that if not it was "a very clever fiction indeed."⁶⁷ The now lost portions of the honorary decree quoted above likely granted Aristotle and Callisthenes privileges at Delphi, and it would make sense that they were revoked when the Phocians signed a treaty with Athens and joined the Athenian revolt against Macedonian power (October 323).

There are, therefore, good grounds for thinking that the *Pythionikai* needs to be understood in the context of the relationship between

⁶⁵ On Callisthenes and his work, see Chroust 1973, 1: 83–91; Lendle 1992, 151–60; Pearson 1960, 22–49, 55–6, 160–62, 170–71, 196–8; and Prandi 1985, 18–20 and *passim*.

⁶⁶ On the growth of Macedonian power during this period, including the Third Sacred War, see Ellis 1982, 2005a and b and the bibliography cited therein.

⁶⁷ Düring 1957, 339–40 at 340.

Delphi and Macedonia in the 330s. Pierre Sánchez, following Noel Robertson, has recently suggested that Philip may have arranged for the production of the *Pythionikai* so that it could serve as an implicit *apologia* for his actions in the Third Sacred War.⁶⁸ Sánchez points out that a spate of literature on the Sacred Wars was produced in the second half of the fourth century, much of it by authors with strong pro- or anti-Macedonian biases.⁶⁹ As chief magistrate (*tagos*) of Thessaly, Philip could easily be aligned with Eurylochos, to the benefit of the reputation of the former. Callisthenes wrote a monograph on the Third Sacred War and began a history of the Persian campaign that portrayed Alexander as the son of Zeus and that eulogized him as a champion of Panhellenism. He was, therefore, clearly not averse to playing the role of Macedonian partisan. If Sánchez is correct, Callisthenes and Aristotle went out of their way to legitimize the Third Sacred War by giving a suitable account of the First Sacred War, which fits nicely with the fact that Plutarch looked to the *Pythionikai* for information on the latter conflict. Since the *Pythionikai* is never cited as a source for information about subsequent Sacred Wars, it seems likely that it included only myths and events directly relevant to the foundation of the Pythian Games.

Sánchez also suggests that the amphictyons welcomed the *Pythionikai* because it helped reaffirm their position and privileges at Delphi in the aftermath of the Third Sacred War. He points out that the amphictyons issued coins after the end of that conflict, quite possibly for the same purpose. We have already seen that Hippias' Olympic victor list was at least in part intended to legitimize Elean claims to Olympia, and the *Pythionikai*, which contained the same mixture of historical information and a victor list found in Hippias' *Anagraphe*, seems to have been similar to and perhaps even modeled on Hippias' work. The usefulness of the *Pythionikai* to Philip and the amphictyons would help explain the honorary decree for Aristotle and Callisthenes.

⁶⁸ Sánchez 2001, 18–20, 27, 75, 262–7. One might note in this regard that Polybius quotes Marcus Porcius Cato as raising the theoretical possibility of someone being ordered to write a historical work by the Delphic amphictyonic council (39.1.6–7), though not in reference to Aristotle and Callisthenes.

⁶⁹ Robertson argued that the Third Sacred War was pure fiction (Robertson 1978), a position that is amply refuted in Davies 1994.

The evidence reviewed to this point has established the authorship, title, and date of the *Pythionikai* and supplied some insight into its structure and contents. It is possible to get a fuller picture of the contents of the *Pythionikai* from three other collections of material that can be plausibly assigned to this work, two from the Pindaric scholia and one from Pausanias.

The first collection of material consists of information in the Pindaric scholiasts about the Pythiad numbers for between sixteen and nineteen Pythian victories achieved by eleven different individuals. A source citation is supplied for only one of these Pythiad numbers, but there are three reasons to think that the scholiasts took this information from the Aristotelian *Pythionikai*. First, the one Pythiad date for which there is a source citation is explicitly attributed to Aristotle (F617α Rose *apud* scholiast Pindar *Isthmian II* inscr. a). Second, the latest Pythiad found in the scholiasts is the 35th (450 BCE), well within the range of dates covered by the *Pythionikai*. Third, Pythiad numbers are rare. They are found only in the Pindaric scholia and in Pausanias, who, as we will see, almost certainly used the *Pythionikai* directly or indirectly. Aristotle and Callisthenes produced the first complete catalog of Pythian victors and numbered the Pythiads, but this system was never widely used, unlike numbered Olympiads. There were, as a result, a very limited number of places where the scholiasts could have found information about Pythiad numbers, and the *Pythionikai* remained a basic source, as is clear from its use by Plutarch.⁷⁰ It is thus likely that the Pindaric scholiasts took their Pythiad numbers from the Aristotelian *Pythionikai*. As the scholia in question pertain solely to the victor catalog, the structure of which is quite clear, they need not be reviewed in detail here; they are cataloged in Appendix 3.3.

⁷⁰ It is interesting to note that other than the Pindaric scholiasts and Pausanias, the only author to use Pythiads as a chronological unit is Plutarch, in the following passage:

Surely you know that I have been in the service of Pythian Apollo for many Pythiads (πολλὰς Πυθιάδας), but you would not say, “Plutarch, you have done enough sacrificing, marching in processions, and dancing in choruses. Now that you are older, put aside the garland and leave the oracle behind on account of your age.” (*Moralia* 792f)

Plutarch’s use of Pythiads as a chronological unit may be nothing more than the habit of a man who worked at Delphi for many years, but it may also reflect his familiarity with the numbered Pythiads found in the Aristotelian *Pythionikai*.

The second collection of material consists of the hypotheses to Pindar's Pythian odes. We have already seen that the Pindaric scholiasts used the *Pythionikai*. Wilamowitz, following Boeckh, argued that the authors of the hypotheses to Pindar's Pythian *epinikia* drew directly on the Aristotelian *Pythionikai*.⁷¹ The most telling of the various considerations upon which he relied was that these hypotheses use Athenian archon dates, something that would fit well with a work composed by an author with strong connections to Athens. If, as seems likely, Wilamowitz's intuition was correct, the following four passages are illustrative of the contents of the *Pythionikai*:

Hypothesis a:

The Pythian Games were established many years before the Isthmian Games, and the reason for the foundation of the Pythian Games is told in mythic tales as follows. Leto was the daughter of Coios, the offspring of Heaven and Earth, and of Phoebe, the offspring of Cronos. Zeus, having taken on the form of a quail, had intercourse with Leto. Having become pregnant, she went into labor on Cape Zoster in Attica and gave birth to Artemis and Phoibos on Delos, which had previously been called Ortygia (little quail). When Artemis grew up, she went to Crete, and took possession of Mt. Dicte. Apollo went to Lycia, and they apportioned Delos to their mother. Apollo, moreover, came to Delphi, pasturing his cows in Pytho (the foot of Mt. Parnassos). Hermes, having found a tortoise, strung four flaxen cords across the shell in place of the intestines, since the use of sinews for strings had not yet been discovered. Having been caught stealing the cattle of Apollo, Hermes gave the tortoise-shell lyre to Apollo as the price for the theft and took the herald's staff from him. Apollo made the lyre seven-toned, tuning it to the pipe of Pan, not the offspring of Hermes and Penelope, but of Zeus and Thybris. Or Apollo quickly gave it seven tones because he had been born in the seventh month. He seems to have taken out the flax strings (*ta lina*) and strung the lyre with sinews, on which account he is said to have laid hands on Linos. He learned the art of prophecy from Pan. For he made it his business to give oracles to all of the Arcadians. He comes to prophecy next, with respect to which Night was the first to chant oracles and then Themis. Then Pytho took charge of the prophetic tripod, in which Dionysius first prophesized [- - -] having killed the snake Pytho he held the Pythian Games on the seventh day. The contest commemorates Apollo's making trial of the beast in battle. The lampooning iambic poem comes from the insults exchanged before the battle.

⁷¹ Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1893, I: 13–24.

For it is said that to use iambs is to insult. The dactylic composition comes from Dionysius, who seems to have been the first to prophesize from the tripod. The composition in Cretan meter comes from Zeus. The song for the mother goddess comes from the fact that prophecy comes from Earth. The pipe playing comes from the hissing of the serpent. In this fashion, therefore, the Pythian Games was first established. Afterward, when Crisa was founded in the constricted part of the road leading to Delphi, and the Crisians did many things to the Greeks and despoiled those going to the oracle, the amphictyons with their other allies seized Crisa and, upon gaining control, established another contest, in which pipe-players also competed. These were the victors in the gymnic contest, when Apollo organized the Pythian Games, in the contest of Pytho: Castor in the *stadion*, Polydeuces in boxing, Calais in the *dolichos*, Zetes in the *hoplites*, Peleus in the discus, Telamon in wrestling, Heracles in the *pankration*. Apollo crowned these men with laurel.

Hypothesis b:

Otherwise: Hypothesis of the Pythian Odes: Eurylochos of Thessaly, having conquered the Cirrhans, restored the contest of the god. The Cirrhans, using a robber's attack, were murdering those who approached the sanctuary of the god. Eurylochos conquered them in the archonship of Simonides at Athens, of Gylidas at Delphi. The Cirrhans, therefore, fled to the area lying before Parnassos, Mount Cirphis, as many that is, as happened to survive. Eurylochos, leaving behind some of the Thessalians with Hippias as general to subdue those who remained, went to restore the contest and established it only as chrematitic.⁷² After six years, when Hippias and his men had defeated the remnants of the Cirrhans, in the archonship of Damasias at Athens, of Diodoros at Delphi, they set it straight and established the next contest as stephanitic. They called Eurylochos the new Achilles, as Euphorion relates:

We hear of Eurylochos, a younger Achilles,
to whom the Delphians, the servants of fair Apollo, raise a cry
in response,
he having overthrown Crisa, the abode of Phoibos Lycoreus.

Only the contest for singing to the *kithara* existed of old; Eurylochos established the others.⁷³

⁷² The most important Greek athletic contests were stephanitic, which is to say that the only immediate prize for victory was a leafy crown. Many games of lesser importance offered substantial cash prizes and are thus described in ancient and modern literature as chrematitic, from the Greek word for money. See Miller 2004, 129–49.

⁷³ The translations of hypotheses b and d provided here are based in part upon those found in Miller 1978.

Hypothesis c:

Otherwise: The Pythian Games were founded, according to some, for the serpent, the guardian of the oracle at Delphi, that Apollo killed. The contest took its name from the place. The name of the place was Pytho either because those coming to the oracle of the god learned by inquiry (*punthanesthai*) or on account of the rotting of the beast that was killed in that spot. For to rot (*puthesthai*) is to putrefy, as in Homer, “white bones rot (*puthetai*) in the rain” (*Odyssey* 1. 161). After Apollo had been purified of the serpent-slaying murder by Chrysothemis in Crete, he came thence to Tempe in Thessaly, whence he transplanted the laurel. For a long time the laurel in the crowns for the victors was tended there by a boy both of whose parents were living. The contest was originally held on an enneateric basis. The amphictyons (re)founded it, with Eurylochos of Thessaly acting as organizer, and it was changed to penteteric [---]. For this reason Parnassian brides bring fruit in their hands to Apollo the serpent-slayer as gifts.

Hypothesis d:

Otherwise: Eurylochos of Thessaly together with the amphictyons founded the Pythian Games, after having conquered the Cirrhans, who were rather savage and who did violence to their neighbors, in the archonship of Gylidas at Delphi, of Simon in Athens. Having won, he established a chrematitic contest. For he honored the victors with money alone, there not yet being a crown. He held the contest in *kithara*-singing just as in the past, and added contests in pipe-playing and singing to pipe-playing. A few of the departing army of the amphictyons were left behind, to destroy (the survivors holding out on Mount) Cirphis. Hippias of Thessaly was the leader of those left behind. In the sixth year after the fall of Cirrha they announced a stephanitic contest for the god, in the archonship of Diodoros at Delphi, of Damasis at Athens. The Cirrhan plain and the mountain, which they call Cirphis, in the middle of which the Pleistos River runs, lie opposite and to the south of Mount Parnassos. And Euphorion also bears witness to the fact that Eurylochos of Thessaly conquered the Cirrhans:

We hear of Eurylochos, a younger Achilles.

Not all of this material came from the *Pythionikai*, as the quotation from Euphorion, who was active in the first half of the third century, makes clear.⁷⁴ If, however, the hypotheses do indeed reflect in a general way the contents of the *Pythionikai*, then that work included a great deal of information on the musical component of the

⁷⁴ On Euphorion, see the bibliography cited in n. 18 of this chapter.

Pythian Games as well as the mythological and historical origins of the contests.

This brings us to Pausanias' *Graeciae Descriptio*, and more specifically to those sections of this work that deal with the Pythian Games. The section of the *Graeciae Descriptio* dedicated to Delphi breaks down as follows:

10.1.1–2	Geography of Phocis
10.1.3–3.4	Famous events in the history of Phocis (continuing hostilities between Phocians and Thessalians, Persian Wars, Third Sacred War)
10.4.1–10	The towns of Panopeus and Daulis
10.5.1–4	The road from Daulis to Delphi
10.5.5–8	Origins of the oracle
10.5.9–13	Successive reconstructions of the Temple of Apollo
10.6.1–7	Earliest settlements at Delphi
10.7.1	Plots against the sanctuary
10.7.2–8	History of the Pythian Games
10.8.1–5	History of the Delphic amphictyony
10.8.6–19.4	Description of the site
10.19.5–23.14	Excursus on the Gallic attack on Delphi
10.24.1–32.1	Description of the site (continued)

The key passage in the present context is 10.7.1–10.8.1:

(10.7.1) It seems that from the beginning the sanctuary at Delphi has been plotted against by a particularly large number of men. This Euboean pirate, and, in later years, the people of Phlegys, and later still Pyrrhos the son of Achilles attacked it, and part of Xerxes' forces, and the rulers of the Phocians, whose inroads both lasted the longest time and resulted in the largest theft of the god's wealth, and the Gallic army. It was fated that the sanctuary not even lack experience of the contempt for all things felt by Nero, who robbed Apollo of five hundred bronze statues altogether, some of gods, some of men. (2) The tradition is that the oldest contest and the one for which they first offered prizes, involved singing a hymn to the god. And Chrysothemis from Crete both sang and won for singing. His father Carmanor is said to have purified Apollo. After Chrysothemis, tradition has it that Philammon won with a song and that after him Thamyris the son of Philammon. They say that Orpheus, because of his boasting about his mystery rites and his thinking

himself better than others, and Musaeus, because he mimicked Orpheus in every way, did not wish to be judged in a contest of musical skill. (3) They also say that Eleuther carried off a Pythian victory for his loud and sweet voice, since he at any rate sang a song that was not his own. It is also said that Hesiod was excluded from the contest since he had not learned how to play the *kithara* together with his singing. Homer came to Delphi in order to ask the god about the various things he needed, but it was fated that, even though he had learned how to play the *kithara*, this skill become useless to him due to the misfortune with his eyes. (4) In the third year of the 48th Olympiad (586 BCE), in which Glaucias of Croton won (the *stadion*), the amphictyons held a contest in singing to the *kithara*, as was the case from the start, and they also added contests in playing the flute and singing to the flute. Melampous of Cephallenia was proclaimed the winner in singing to the *kithara*, Echembrotos of Arcadia in singing to the flute, and Sarcadas of Argos in playing the flute. This Sarcadas also carried off the prize in the next two Pythiads. (5) At that point the amphictyons also instituted contests for athletes for the first time, the competitions being the same as at Olympia except the four-horse chariot. They themselves also decreed that there would be contests in the *dolichos* and *diaulos* for boys. At the second Pythiad, they no longer summoned athletes to compete for prizes, but made the contest stephanitic from that point forward. They also put an end to the contest in singing to the flute at that time, reckoning that the music was ill-omened. For the songs sung to the flute and the tunes of the flute were very melancholy, and the songs sung to the flute were elegies and dirges. (6) The dedication of Echembrotos also bears witness to this for me. He dedicated a bronze tripod to Heracles at Thebes. The tripod has an inscription:

Echembrotos of Arcadia dedicated this gift to Heracles,
having won at the contests of the amphictyons,
singing songs and elegies for the Greeks.

In this way the contest in singing to the flute was ended. They also added a hippic race, and Cleisthenes, the tyrant of Sicyon, was proclaimed the winner in the chariot race. (7) At the 8th Pythiad, they decreed in addition a contest in playing the *kithara* without singing, and Agelaos of Tegea was crowned. At the 23rd Pythiad, they added the *hoplites*, and Timainetos of Phlius carried off the laurel in it, five Olympiads after Damaretos of Heraea won (the first *hoplites* at Olympia). At the 48th Pythiad, they also added the two-horse chariot race, and the chariot of Execestides of Phocis won. In the fifth Pythiad after this they added a chariot race for colts, and the four-colt chariot of Orphondas of Thebes ran off with the victory. (8) Many years later the boys' *pankration* and the two-colt chariot race and a race for colts were brought in from Elis. The first of these was introduced in the 61st

Pythiad, and Iolaidas of Thebes won. At the next Pythiad but one, they instituted the race for colts, and in the 69th Pythiad the two-colt chariot race. Lycormas of Larissa was proclaimed the victor in the race for colts, and Ptolemy of Macedon in the two-colt chariot race. The kings of Egypt liked to be called Macedonians, as in fact they were. A crown of laurel is the prize for a victory in the Pythian Games for no other reason, it seems to me, than the story holds that Apollo fell in love with the daughter of Ladon.

(10.8.1) Some think that Amphictyon the son of Deucalion established here the assembly of the Greeks and from this the delegates coming to the assembly were called amphictyons. But Androtion, in his work *Atthis*, says that in the beginning the delegates came to Delphi, assembling from the surrounding regions, and they were called amphictyons (neighbors), but the current name over the course of time won out.

The history of the Pythian Games at 10.7.2–8 is a distinct section of narrative and probably derives directly or indirectly from the *Pythionikai*.⁷⁵ The most significant relevant consideration is the use of numbered Pythiads. As we have seen, Pythiad numbers appear only in the Aristotelian *Pythionikai*, in the Pindaric scholiasts, and in Pausanias. The citation in the Pindaric scholiasts indicates that they took their Pythiad numbers from the *Pythionikai*. The use of numbered Pythiads in Pausanias is thus significant, particularly since all the other extant sources for the history of the Pythian Games make no use of numbered Pythiads.⁷⁶

⁷⁵ The possibility that Pausanias made use of the Aristotelian *Pythionikai* is mentioned in passing in Higbie 1999, 69–70.

⁷⁶ Some scholars have in the past argued that Pausanias used a different source on the Pythian Games than the scholiasts, perhaps Menaechmus of Sicyon's *Pythikos* (on which see Appendix 15). Pausanias places the first Pythiad, i.e., the iteration of the Pythian festival from which the Pythiads were numbered, in the third year of the 48th Olympiad, and hence in 586. The Pindaric scholia (and the Marmor Parium), on the other hand, refer to a chrematitic version of the Pythian Games held by Eurylochos in 591/0 and a stephanitic version established in 582, six years after the fall of Cirrha but make no explicit mention of games in 586. In addition, some scholars believed that the scholiasts used a Pythiad era date of 582 rather than 586.

These issues were resolved in a careful analysis of the relevant evidence by Steven Miller (Miller 1978). (See also Brodersen 1990, Mosshammer 1982, and Sánchez 2001, 75–7.) Miller showed that the six-year interval between the fall of Cirrha and the first stephanitic games in the scholiasts should be understood as a distorted refashioning of an original narrative in which the six-year interval of the scholiasts was that between the extraordinary contests held at the end of the First Sacred War in 591/590 and the first iteration of the Pythian Games in 586. Miller also showed that the scholiasts used

Other considerations also point to a link between Pausanias' account of the Pythian Games and the *Pythionikai*. When Aristotle and Callisthenes compiled their *Pythionikai*, they wrote a history of the Pythian Games, assembled a list of victors, and assigned each victor to a numbered Pythiad, all of which required putting together something very much like the passage from Pausanias quoted above. The *Pythionikai* remained a standard reference work, as its use by Plutarch and the Pindaric scholiasts makes clear. It was, therefore, in circulation and available for consultation by Pausanias or by the author of the work on which he drew. One might also note that Pausanias provides details about both the musical contests and their gymnic and hippic counterparts, precisely the sort of information contained in the *Pythionikai*. There is, moreover, good reason to think that IG II² 2326 reproduces a section of the Aristotelian *Olympionikai*. This inscription contains a compact summary of the expansion of the Olympic program that is structured in exactly the same fashion as Pausanias' overview of the Pythian program and is presented separately from the victor catalog.

The information Pausanias presents at 10.7.2–8 thus is likely to have been derived, either directly or through an intermediary, from the Aristotelian *Pythionikai*.⁷⁷ If we add this to what we already know, we can conclude that the Aristotelian *Pythionikai* offered a detailed survey of the mythological and historical origins of the Pythian Games, an account of the development of the program of events, and a complete catalog of Pythian victors, organized by numbered Pythiads.⁷⁸

We can get a good sense for how this material was organized from the list of Aristotle's works that is reproduced both by Diogenes

a Pythiad era date of 586. There is, therefore, no reason to think that Pausanias and the scholiasts used different sources for the Pythian Games.

⁷⁷ The question of how Pausanias accessed the Aristotelian *Pythionikai* cannot be answered in a satisfactory manner. We can be certain that Pausanias did not use only the Aristotelian *Pythionikai* for the history of the Pythian Games because he mentions the addition of a chariot race in the 69th Pythiad. This iteration of the Pythian Games was held in 314, well after the death of both Callisthenes and Aristotle.

⁷⁸ Sánchez suggests that the *Pythionikai* was also the source for the information about the Sacred Wars found in Aeschines *In Ctesiphontem* 107–9, the Marmor Parium, and [Thessalos] *Presb.* (=Hippocrates *Epist.* 27 Vol. 9.404–15 Littré) (Sánchez 2001, 18–20, 27, 75, 262–7). The connection in these cases is, however, difficult to establish with any certainty since the information contained in these three sources is fairly generic.

Laertius and in the *Vita Menagiana*.⁷⁹ The latter drew directly on the *Onomatologi* of Hesychius of Miletus (sixth century CE) and may be a verbatim copy of Hesychius' work on Aristotle. The list of Aristotle's works is generally believed to come from the biography written by Hermippus of Smyrna, who was employed at the Library in Alexandria in the third century.⁸⁰ A number of Aristotle's important treatises, which were certainly in the Library's collection at a later date, are not on Hermippus' list, and it is likely that this list is an inventory of the manuscripts that Neleus, the last survivor of Aristotle's small circle of close friends, sold or donated to the Library. The transmission of the text from Hermippus to Diogenes and Hesychius was a complex process that involved several intermediaries, as a result of which the two preserved versions are not identical. The relevant portions read as in Table 12. Ὀλυμπιονῖκαι ᾱ and Ὀλυμπιονίκας Βιβλίον ᾱ obviously both refer to the Aristotelian Olympic victor list, though the title as given may be shorthand for Ὀλυμπιονικῶν ἀναγραφή. Νῖκαι Διονυσιακαὶ ᾱ and Νικῶν Διονυσιακῶν ἀστικῶν καὶ Ληναίων both refer to a list of winners in the dramatic contests at the Dionysia in Athens that was compiled by Aristotle.⁸¹ The works at the beginning and end of the relevant sections of both lists are thus identical, but the three titles in between, which presumably describe the same works, diverge markedly. This has given rise to considerable scholarly discussion about the title and scope of the original texts. The likeliest explanation is that these three entries describe a single, unitary work in three books, with the collective title found in Plutarch and in the Delphi financial records, ἡ τῶν Πυθιονικῶν ἀναγραφή. The Alexandrian manuscript catalog listed each book individually rather than under the collective title, doubtless the more convenient approach to referencing what must have been three separate papyrus scrolls.

One of the editors of the Hesychian version of the list apparently mistook the three successive entries pertaining to the *Pythionikai* as doublets and suppressed them. Πυθιονῖκαι μουσικῆς ᾱ was broken up

⁷⁹ On the lists of Aristotle's works, see Düring 1957, 13–93 and *passim* and Moraux 1951.

⁸⁰ On Hermippus, see the bibliography cited in Appendix 7. On Hermippus' authorship of the list of Aristotle's works, see Düring 1956.

⁸¹ See n. 130 of Chapter 2 for bibliography on Aristotle's list of victors at the Dionysia.

TABLE 12. *The Olympionikai and Pythionikai in Lists of Aristotle's Works*

Diogenes (5.26)	<i>Vita Menagiana</i> (122–126)
Ὀλυμπιονῖκαι ᾱ	Ὀλυμπιονίκας Βιβλίον ᾱ
Πυθιονῖκαι μουσικῆς ᾱ	Πυθιονίκας βιβλίον ᾱ, ἐν ᾧ Μέναιχμον ἐνίκησεν
Πυθικός ᾱ	Περὶ μουσικῆς ᾱ
Πυθιονικῶν ἑλεγχοι ᾱ	Ἐλέγχων σοφιστικῶν ἢ Περὶ ἐριστικῶν
Νῖκαι Διονυσιακαὶ ᾱ	Νικῶν Διονυσιακῶν ἀστικῶν καὶ Ληναίων ^a

^a The text from Diogenes' and Hesychius' lists of Aristotle's works given here comes from Düring 1957. The versions given in Rose's collection of the fragments of Aristotle's work include unjustified emendations that are not clearly marked.

into two parts, and μουσικῆς became Περὶ μουσικῆς. This makes a certain amount of sense, as there was a work in the Aristotelian corpus by this name that appears in a different part of Diogenes' version of the list. Similarly, an editor of the Hesychian list took the ἑλεγχοι from Πυθιονικῶν ἑλεγχοι and arrived at Ἐλέγχων σοφιστικῶν ἢ Περὶ ἐριστικῶν, both titles from the Aristotelian corpus.⁸² (On the reference to Menaechmus and the relationship between the Aristotelian *Pythionikai* and Menaechmus' work, see Appendix 15).

The list as preserved by Diogenes is thus the more accurate guide to the titles of the individual books of the *Pythionikai*. One book could be described as *Pythionikai Mousikes* (Diogenes) or *Peri Mousikes* (Hesychius). This book must have contained an account of the musical contests that lay at the core of the Pythian Games. It is not obvious that Aristotle and Callisthenes took the trouble to compile a list of anything but the most famous victors in the musical contests. Pausanias gives the names of the men who won when a specific music contest was held at Delphi for the first time, but this may not mean very much. Pausanias expresses a studied disinterest in the names of musical victors (10.9.2), an attitude that Aristotle and Callisthenes may have shared.

The compiler of the list labeled a second book *Pythikos* (Diogenes) or *Pythionikas* (Hesychius) and a third book *Pythionikon Elenchoi*. The plural of ἑλεγχος can carry the meaning of catalog, so the *Pythionikon Elenchoi* must have contained the catalog of victors in the hippic and

⁸² Moraux 1951, 199.

gymnic events.⁸³ This leaves *Pythikos/Pythionikas*. We know that the *Pythionikai* included a considerable amount of historical information about the Pythian Games, and we can be virtually certain that this information was found in *Pythikos/Pythionikas*.

The *Pythionikai* can help us understand the Aristotelian *Olympionikai* and, by extension, *Olympionikon anagraphai* more generally. The *Pythionikai* is useful in exploring the Aristotelian *Olympionikai* because there is good reason to believe that these works were alike in terms of structure and content.⁸⁴ Above and beyond the obvious similarity in subject matter, the Aristotelian *Pythionikai* and *Olympionikai* were composed at roughly the same time, as treatises of this sort were the type of work that Aristotle undertook in concert with his students at the Lyceum. It is quite likely that Callisthenes also contributed to the compilation of the *Olympionikai*.⁸⁵ Aristotle and Callisthenes needed to find ways to put Pythian victors into chronological sequence. There was considerable overlap between Olympic and Pythian victors, and Olympic victors through the end of the fifth century had already been cataloged by Hippias. A close familiarity with the catalog of Olympic victors and an updated list of those victors were thus a virtual necessity for Callisthenes and Aristotle when they began to work on the Pythian list. The production of the *Olympionikai* may well have been something in the way of a preliminary research project for the *Pythionikai*.

⁸³ The use of *elenchos* in the plural to mean catalog or register is noted in the *LSJ*. Jacoby believed *elenchoi* were in effect footnotes, a collection of evidence for the victors that Jacoby thought were cataloged in the *Pythikos* (Jacoby 1923–58, 3b1: 215). This is possible, but unlikely, because there is no comparable known work, either in the Aristotelian corpus or elsewhere.

⁸⁴ The similarity between the Aristotelian *Pythionikai* and *Olympionikai* is pointed out in Gilbert 1875, 4. There was, however, a significant difference in length between the two *anagraphai*, as the lists of Aristotle's work given by Diogenes and Hesychius indicate that the *Olympionikai* occupied only a single book. The relative brevity of the *Olympionikai* was due in part to the absence of musical contests at Olympia. In addition, the historical account of the Olympics must have been quite a bit shorter than that for the Pythian Games, since the catalog of victors in the *Olympionikai* was if anything longer than that in the *Pythionikai*. This is as one would expect, since the account of the First Sacred War was a particularly important component of the *Pythionikai* that had no parallel in the *Olympionikai*.

⁸⁵ Callisthenes' participation in assembling the *Pythionikai* is not noted in the lists of Aristotle's writings. This is in keeping with the general character of the lists, which assign work produced by Aristotle's students to Aristotle himself.

What we know about the Aristotelian *Pythionikai* is helpful in regard to *Olympionikon anagraphai* in two ways. First, the fact that Aristotle numbered the Pythiads removes any possible doubt that he also numbered the Olympiads. It would be very strange indeed if he had done the former and not the latter. Second, the *Pythionikai* offers insight into how the different kinds of information in *Olympionikon anagraphai* were organized and presented. The background information on Delphi and the Pythian Games was separated from, rather than incorporated into, the victor catalog in the *Pythionikai*. The same basic format was probably found in *Olympionikon anagraphai*. This conclusion is reinforced by the fact that both the Aristotelian *Pythionikai* and *Olympionikai* contained summaries of the expansion of the program of events in what seems to have been a narrative (rather than tabular) format that cannot have been part of a victor catalog.

3.5. STANDARD VICTOR CATALOGS

We have developed a general sense of the structure and contents of *Olympionikon anagraphai*, based on the extant fragments and the Aristotelian *Pythionikai*. We will now look at other evidence that provides further insight into the single most important component of *Olympionikon anagraphai*, standard catalogs of Olympic victors. The evidence in question is a third-century CE papyrus, *POxy* II 222, and a third-century inscription, *IG* II² 2326, along with passages from Pausanias, Philostratus, and the Eusebian Olympic victor list.

Careful examination of this evidence leads to three conclusions. First, the format of standard catalogs of Olympic victors was established in *Olympionikon anagraphai* and remained stable thereafter. Second, standard catalogs of Olympic victors were organized around a division between gymnastic and hippic events and around the dates at which events were added to the Olympic program. Third, standard catalogs were relatively terse. Most supplemental information, such as notes on additions to the program of events at Olympia, was presented in narrative format separate from the victor catalog.

POxy II 222 as preserved contains a standard catalog of Olympic victors covering the 75th–8th and 81st–3rd Olympiads (480–68,

456–48).⁸⁶ The catalog is written on the back of a money account that dates to the late second or early third century CE. The editors of the papyrus believed that the catalog was written not long after the money account and so dated it to the middle of the third century. *POxy* XXIII 2381, virtually certainly a fragment from the same original, contains part of a victor list for the 96th Olympiad (396) and is treated here as part of *POxy* 222.⁸⁷ The text reads as follows (see Appendix 3.4 for the Greek):

[Column 1]

Xenopithes of Chios boys' *stadion*

[...]con of Argos boys' wrestling

[...]phanes of Heraea boys' boxing

Astylos of Syracuse *hoplites*

Daitondas and Arsilochos of Thebes four-horse chariot

Demos of Argos horse race

76th Scamandros of Mytilene *stadion*

Dandis of Argos *diaulos*

[...] [[...]] of Laconia *dolichos*

[...] of Taras pentathlon

[...] of Maroneia wrestling

Euthymos of Locris in Italy boxing

Theogenes of Thasos *pankration*

[...] of Laconia boys' *stadion*

Theognetos of Aegina boys' wrestling

Agesidamos of Locris in Italy boys' boxing

[----]uros of Syracuse *hoplites* most powerfully of all

Theron of Acragas four-horse chariot

Hieron of Syracuse horse race

⁸⁶ See Section 5.8 for a general introduction to the Oxyrhynchus papyri. On *POxy* II 222, see *FGrH* 415 as well as Grenfell and Hunt 1899; Jannell 1927; and Jüthner 1909, 63–4.

⁸⁷ The two preserved columns of 222 were written by the same copyist, but in slightly different scripts. 2381 represents the top of what would be column 5, but is written in the script found in column 1, not column 2. This led the editor of 2381 to suggest that it might come from another copy of the same document, but the more economical hypothesis is that 2381 was originally part of 222. See Lobel 1956.

77th Dandis of Argos *stadion*
 [...]ges of Epidauros *diaulos*
 Ergoteles of Himera *dolichos*
 [...]amos of Miletus pentathlon
 [---]menes of Samos wrestling
 Euthymos of Locris in Italy boxing
 Callias of Athens *pankration*
 [...]sandridas of Corinth boys' *stadion*
 [...]cratidas of Taras boys' wrestling
 Tellon of Mainalos boys' boxing
 [...]lgias of Epidamnos *hoplites*, winning twice
 Demos of Argos four-horse chariot
 Hieron of Syracuse horse race

78th Parmeneides of Poseidonia *stadion*
 Parmeneides the same *diaulos*
 [...]medes of Laconia *dolichos*
 [---]tion of Taras pentathlon in the friendliest fashion
 Epharmostos of Opous wrestling
 Menalces of Opous boxing
 Epitimadas of Argos *pankration*
 Lycophron of Athens boys' *stadion*
 [...]emos of Parrhasia boys' wrestling most beautifully
 [...]nes of Tiryns boys' boxing
 [...]los of Athens *hoplites*
 Hieronymos [Hieron?] of Syracuse four-horse chariot

[Column 2]
 [...]nomos [---] pentathlon
 Leontiscos of Messene in Sicily wrestling
 Anthropos [---] boxing
 Timanthes of Cleonai *pankration*
 Ikadion (?) [---] boys' *stadion*
 Phrynichos of Athens (?) boys' wrestling
 Alcainetos of Lepreon boys' boxing
 Mnaseas of Cyrene? *hoplites*
 Diactorides four-horse chariot
 Aigias of Na[---] horse race

82nd Lycon of Larissa *stadion*
 Euboulos of [----] *diaulos*
 Hippobotos of [----] *dolichos*
 Pythocles of Elis pentathlon
 Leontiscos of Messene in Sicily wrestling
 Ariston of Epidauros boxing
 Damagetos of Rhodes *pankration*
 Lachon of Chios boys' *stadion*
 Cleodoros of [----] boys' wrestling
 Apollodoros of [----] boys' boxing
 Lycos of Thessaly *hoplites*
 Psaumis of Camarina four-horse chariot
 Python of I[----] horse race

83rd Crison of Himera *stadion*
 Eucleides of Rhodes *diaulos*
 Aigeidas of Crete *dolichos*
 Ceton of Locris pentathlon
 Cimon of Argos wrestling
 Agesilaos [Acousilaos?] of Rhodes boxing
 Damagetos of Rhodes *pankration*
 Lacharidas of A[----] boys' *stadion*
 Polynicos of Thespia boys' wrestling
 Ariston of A[----] boys' boxing
 Lyceinos of L[----] *hoplites*

[*POxy* XXIII 2381]:

96th Eupolemos of Elis *stadion*
 Crocinas of Larissa in Thessaly *diaulos*
 [----]onios of Crete *dolichos*
 [----]of Corinth wrestling⁸⁸

Catalogs of Olympic victors were, by their very nature, generic, and as the papyrus contains no hint as to the source of the list, it is impossible

⁸⁸ The translation of *POxy* 222 given here is based on the Greek text found in *FGrH* 415 F1 and F2, with the addition of *POxy* XXIII 2381. Readings suggested in Moretti 1957 have also been taken into account. Jannell published a text of *POxy* 222 with a large number of new readings, not all of which have been accepted subsequently (Jannell 1927). See, for instance, Moretti 1957, #204.

to identify the specific *Olympionikai* from which it was copied.⁸⁹ The Olympic victor list on *POxy* 222 nonetheless remains an invaluable piece of evidence, not least because there is good reason to think that it reflects the structure and contents of the victor catalogs in *Olympionikon anagraphai*. To understand why this is so, it is necessary to look closely at the order in which events are listed in different *Olympionikai*. The order of events in *POxy* 222 is identical to that in the list of victors for the 121st Olympiad found in *POxy* XVII 2082 and in Phlegon's list of victors for the 177th Olympiad (*FGrH* 257 F12), the only other extant fragments that catalog all the victors from specific iterations of the Olympics. The structure of these three victor lists does not, as one might think, depend upon the order in which the events were actually contested.⁹⁰ Rather, the events are put into two groups, gymnastic and hippic, and the order within each group is determined by the order in which the events were added to the Olympic program.

We have four important sources for the order in which events were added to the Olympic program: *IG* II² 2326, Pausanias, Philostratus, and the Eusebian Olympic victor list.⁹¹ *IG* II² 2326 is dated on the basis of letter forms and contents to the second quarter of the third century.⁹² This inscription was found in the vicinity of the Lyceum in Athens and may well have been on display in the gymnasium that housed Aristotle's school. The first part of the text reads as follows (see Appendix 3.5 for the Greek text):

In the 38th Olympiad the boys' pentathlon was instituted and was in turn abolished in the next Olympiad, and Eutelidas of Lacedaemonia won. In the 41st Olympiad boys' boxing was instituted, and Philytas of Sybaris won. In the 65th Olympiad the *hoplites* was instituted, and Demaratos of Heraea won.

⁸⁹ Jacoby believed that *POxy* 222 was an excerpt made by a scholar from a larger work, but the facts that the papyrus comes from a small city in Egypt and was written on the back of a receipt do not support this hypothesis (Jacoby 1923–58, 3b1: 223). Carl Robert argued, almost certainly incorrectly, that *POxy* 222 was copied from one of Phlegon's *Olympionikai*. On this subject, see Appendix 17.

⁹⁰ On the order in which events were contested at Olympia, see Lee 2001, 1–6 and *passim*.

⁹¹ See Appendix 9 for discussion of the historical veracity of the ancient tradition on the development of the program of events at Olympia.

⁹² The addition of the four-colt chariot race in the 99th Olympiad (384) is noted, but the addition of the two-colt chariot race in the 129th Olympiad (264) is not.

In the 93rd Olympiad the two-horse chariot race was instituted, and Euagoras of Elis won. In the 99th Olympiad the chariot race for two-year old foals was instituted, and Eurybiades of Lacedaemonia won.

Although rather battered, most of the text can be restored with some confidence, primarily on the basis of the other sources listed above.

IG II² 2326 was almost certainly a copy of part of Aristotle's *Olympionikai*. This conclusion rests on four bases. First, the inscription contains the sort of information found in *Olympionikai*, of which there were four (those of Hippias, Aristotle, Timaeus, and Philochorus) extant when the inscription was erected. But even Timaeus and Philochorus may not have published their versions of the Olympic victor list prior to the erection of the inscription. Timaeus can in any case be excluded because his Olympic victor list was probably structured like that of Eusebius, so that information on the Olympic program was incorporated into the victor catalog and not presented separately as in *IG II² 2326*.⁹³ Hippias can also be excluded because numbered Olympiads were introduced by Aristotle. This leaves Aristotle as the most likely candidate. Second, both the date and the find spot of the inscription point strongly in Aristotle's direction. Third, the Aristotelian *Pythionikai* was inscribed on *stelai* at Delphi in the last quarter of the fourth century, so it would not have been surprising for Aristotle's successors to have had his *Olympionikai* inscribed for display in the gymnasium in which their school was based. Fourth, the information in the inscription closely matches the likely contents of the Aristotelian *Pythionikai*, which probably contained a compact summary of the development of the program of events at the Pythian Games.⁹⁴

⁹³ See Section 4.5.

⁹⁴ The *stèle* on which *IG II² 2326* was cut may have been a tribute to Aristotle, who had an obvious interest in athletics. This is evident not only from his work on lists of Olympic and Pythian victors, but also from the fact that he personally vouched for the lineage of the athlete Philamon, who won an Olympic victory in boxing in 360. A passage in Themistius indicates that Philamon would not otherwise have been allowed to compete, which almost certainly means that Aristotle was personally present at the Olympics (Βασανιστῆς ἢ φιλόσοφος Harduin p. 249d). On Philamon, see Moretti 1957, #424.

Another account of the evolution of the events held at Olympia is found in Pausanias' lengthy treatment of the history of the Olympics:

After Oxylos, who also held the Olympic Games, after his reign the Olympic Games were not held until the time of Iphitos. When Iphitos revived the contest, as I have already related, there still existed among men forgetfulness about the distant past, and little by little they began to remember. Whenever they remembered something, (6) they made an addition to the Games. This is clear. For from the time when there is a continuous record of the Olympiads, the footrace was the first contest instituted, and Coroibos of Elis won. There is no statue of Coroibos at Olympia, but his grave is on the borders of Elis. Later, in the 14th Olympiad, the *diaulos* was added. Hypenos of Pisatis carried off the wild olive for the *diaulos*. At the next [Olympiad] Acanthos (7) [of Lacedaemonia won the *dolichos*]. At the 18th Olympiad, they remembered the pentathlon and the wrestling. The victory in the former fell to Lampis, the victory in wrestling to Eurybatos, these also being Lacedaemonians. At the 23rd Olympiad they restored the prizes for boxing. Onomastos won. He was from Smyrna, which was already at that time part of Ionia. At the 25th Olympiad they received back the race for full grown horses, and Pagondas of Thebes (8) was proclaimed the victor, winning with his chariot. At the eighth Olympiad after this they admitted both the men's *pankration* and the horse race. The horse of Crauxidas of Crannon prevailed, and Lygdamis of Syracuse overcame those who entered the *pankration*. Lygdamis' tomb is in Syracuse near the quarries. If Lygdamis was equal in size even to Theban Heracles, I do not know, but the Syracusans say this. (9) The contests for boys do not originate from any memory of ancient times, but they were pleasing to the Eleans, and they instituted them. Indeed, contests for boys in running and wrestling were added at the 37th Olympiad, and Hipposthenes of Lacedaemonia won the wrestling, Polyneices of Elis the running. They summoned boy boxers at the 41st Olympiad, (10) and of those entering Philytas of Sybaris won out. The *hoplites* was approved in the 65th Olympiad, it seems to me because of concern for military matters. Damaretos of Heraea first overcame those running with shields. The race for two full grown horses, which was called the *synoris* (two-horse chariot race) was added in the 93rd Olympiad, and Euagoras of Elis won. At the 99th Olympiad, it was pleasing to them to also contest a chariot race for (four) colts. Sybardiades of Lacedaemonia got hold of the crown for colt chariots. (11) They later also added a chariot race for two colts and a race for colts. They say that Belistiche, a woman from the seacoast of Macedonia, was proclaimed victor in the chariot race for two colts, and Tlepolemos of Lycia in the race for colts. Tlepolemos won at the 131st Olympiad, Belistiche in the two-colt chariot race two Olympiads

before that. At the 145th Olympiad the boys' *pankration* was instituted, and Phaidimos, an Aeolian from the *polis* Troas, won. (5.8.5–11)

IG II² 2326 and Pausanias provide an identical picture of the development of the Olympic program. A slightly divergent version can be found in the work of Philostratus.

We have already had occasion to mention Philostratus' *De Gymnastica*. In this treatise Philostratus claims to be motivated by a desire to provide instructions for those who wish to train (1) and to explain why gymnastic training of his own day was inferior to that of earlier times (1–2). He provides a lengthy examination of the origins of each of the gymnastic events, in the course of which he discusses the expansion of the Olympic program:

(12) They say that all these events did not come into the contest together, but one after the other as they were both discovered as part of gymnastic training and perfected. For the ancient Olympic Games until the 13th Olympiad consisted only of the *stadion*, and the winners were three Eleans, seven Messenians, a Corinthian, a Dymaean, a Cleonaean, each one in a different Olympiad, no one man winning twice. The *diaulos* began in the 14th Olympiad, and the victory in it went to Hypenos of Elis. At the following Olympiad, the contest in the *dolichos* began, and the Spartiate Acanthos won. The 18th Olympiad included the men's pentathlon and men's wrestling. Eurybatos of Lousoi won the wrestling, and Lampis of Laconia the pentathlon. There are also those who record Eurybatos as a Spartiate. The 23rd Olympiad presently brought men's boxing, and Onomastos of Smyrna prevailed, claiming credit for Smyrna for this fine deed. For as many are both the Ionian and Lydian *poleis*, and those in both the Hellespont and Phrygia, and as many are the peoples in Asia, Smyrna surpassed all these together and first obtained an Olympic crown. This athlete also wrote the boxing rules, of which the Eleans make use on account of the skill of the boxer, and the Arcadians were not vexed, if he who wrote the contest rules for them came from luxurious Ionia. At the 33rd Olympiad the *pankration* was instituted, and Lygdamis of Syracuse won. This Sicilian was of such a size that his foot was the same size as his forearm. It is said at any rate that he measured out the stadium with the same number of his feet as there are cubits in the stadium. (13) They also say that the boys' pentathlon arrived there in the 38th Olympiad, when Eutelidas of Lacedaemonia won, though boys did not again compete in this type of event at Olympia. The winner in the boys' *stadion* in the 46th Olympiad – for this was when it was first instituted – was a beautiful boy, Polymnestor of Miletus, who by means of the strength of his feet outstripped hares. Some say that

boys' boxing began in the 41st Olympiad and that Philetas of Sybaris won. Others say the 60th Olympiad and Crios from the island of Ceos. Damaretos is said to have obtained the first victory in the *hoplites* in the 65th Olympiad. He was, I think, from Heraea. In the 145th Olympiad they added the boys' *pankration*. I do not know the cause of the slowness in adding it, since it was already flourishing in other places. For this contest began late in the series of Olympiads, when Egypt was already crowned, and this victory went to Egypt. When Phaidimos of Egypt won, Naucratis at any rate was announced as his home town. I do not think that these events would have come into the contest one after the other, nor would they have been practiced eagerly by both the Eleans and all Greeks, unless gymnastic training developed and fashioned them.

The information given by Philostratus for the most part agrees with that provided by the other sources. He does, however, give a divergent, and seemingly incorrect, date for the introduction of the boys' *stadion* and skips boys' wrestling and all the hippic events. The incorrect date for the introduction of the boys' *stadion* was almost certainly the result of a note in the entry in the Olympic victor catalog for the 46th Olympiad about Polymnestor, who won the boys' *stadion* at that iteration of the Olympics and who was famous for having chased and caught a hare. (Just such a note is found in the Eusebian Olympic victor list.) Philostratus did not read carefully enough and took this note as indicating that Polymnestor won the inaugural boys' *stadion* race at Olympia. This error shows that Philostratus worked rather sloppily, which no doubt accounts for the absence of boys' wrestling. Philostratus was only interested in the gymnastic events in *De Gymnastica*, so the absence of the hippic events is to be expected. All this goes to say that the information in Philostratus does not significantly conflict with that found in *IG II*² 2326 and Pausanias.

The text of the Eusebian victor list is given in Appendix 4.1 and need not be repeated here. The Eusebian list contains a number of notes about additions to the Olympic program that are in close agreement with the information provided by the other three relevant sources. The significance of the preceding passages emerges most clearly when the information they contain is presented as in Table 13.

As that table makes clear, the victor catalogs in *POxy* II 222, *POxy* XVII 2082, and Phlegon F12 organize events into two groups, gymnastic

TABLE 13. *The Structure of Catalogs of Olympic Victors and the Evolution of the Olympic Program*

Order of Events as Listed in Extant Catalogs of Olympic Victors				Order in Which Events Were Added to Olympic Program		
POxy II 222 (for 75th–78th and 81st–83rd, 96th Olympiads)	POxy XVII 2082 (for 121st Olympiad)	Phlegon FG+H 257 F12 (for 177th Olympiad)	IG II ² 2326 (third century)	Pausanias (second century CE)	Philostratus (second century CE)	Eusebius (fourth century CE)
	stadion	stadion		stadion (1st Olympiad)	stadion (1st Olympiad)	stadion (1st Olympiad)
	<i>diaulos</i>	<i>diaulos</i>		<i>diaulos</i>	<i>diaulos</i>	<i>diaulos</i>
	<i>dolichos</i>	<i>dolichos</i>		(14th Olympiad)	(14th Olympiad)	(14th Olympiad)
	pentathlon	pentathlon		<i>dolichos</i> (15th Olympiad)	<i>dolichos</i> (15th Olympiad)	<i>dolichos</i> (15th Olympiad)
	wrestling	wrestling		pentathlon (18th Olympiad)	pentathlon (18th Olympiad)	pentathlon (18th Olympiad)
	boxing	boxing		wrestling (18th Olympiad)	wrestling (18th Olympiad)	wrestling (18th Olympiad)
	<i>pankration</i>	<i>pankration</i>		boxing (23rd Olympiad)	boxing (23rd Olympiad)	boxing (23rd Olympiad)
	boys' stadion	boys' wrestling		<i>pankration</i> (33rd Olympiad)	<i>pankration</i> (33rd Olympiad)	<i>pankration</i> (33rd Olympiad)
	boys' wrestling	boys' stadion		boys' stadion (37th Olympiad)	boys' stadion (46th Olympiad)	boys' stadion (37th Olympiad)
		boys' wrestling		boys' wrestling (37th Olympiad)	boys' wrestling (37th Olympiad)	boys' wrestling (37th Olympiad)
(continued)						

TABLE 13. (Continued).

boys' boxing		boys' pentathlon (introduced in 38th Olympiad, held only once)		boys' pentathlon (introduced in 38th Olympiad, held only once)		boys' pentathlon (introduced in 38th Olympiad, held only once)	
boys' boxing	boys' boxing	boys' boxing (41st Olympiad)	boys' boxing (41st Olympiad)	boys' boxing (41st Olympiad) ^a	boys' boxing (41st Olympiad)	boys' boxing (41st Olympiad)	boys' boxing (41st Olympiad)
	boys' <i>pankration</i>		boys' <i>pankration</i> (145th Olympiad)	boys' <i>pankration</i> (145th Olympiad)	boys' <i>pankration</i> (145th Olympiad)	boys' <i>pankration</i> (145th Olympiad)	boys' <i>pankration</i> (145th Olympiad)
<i>hoplites</i>	<i>hoplites</i>	<i>hoplites</i> (65th Olympiad)	<i>hoplites</i> (65th Olympiad)	<i>hoplites</i> (65th Olympiad)	<i>hoplites</i> (65th Olympiad)	<i>hoplites</i> (65th Olympiad)	<i>hoplites</i> (65th Olympiad)
four-horse chariot	four-horse chariot		four-horse chariot (25th Olympiad)	four-horse chariot (25th Olympiad)	four-horse chariot (25th Olympiad)	four-horse chariot (25th Olympiad)	four-horse chariot (25th Olympiad)
horse race	horse race		horse race (33rd Olympiad)	horse race (33rd Olympiad)	horse race (33rd Olympiad)	horse race (33rd Olympiad)	horse race (33rd Olympiad)
	two-horse chariot	two-horse chariot (93rd Olympiad)	two-horse chariot (93rd Olympiad)	two-horse chariot (93rd Olympiad)	two-horse chariot (93rd Olympiad)	two-horse chariot (93rd Olympiad) ^b	two-horse chariot (93rd Olympiad) ^b
	four-colt chariot	four-colt chariot (99th Olympiad)	four-colt chariot (99th Olympiad)	four-colt chariot (99th Olympiad)	four-colt chariot (99th Olympiad)	four-colt chariot (99th Olympiad)	four-colt chariot (99th Olympiad)
	two-colt chariot		two-colt chariot (129th Olympiad)	two-colt chariot (129th Olympiad)	two-colt chariot (129th Olympiad)	two-colt chariot (129th Olympiad)	two-colt chariot (129th Olympiad)
	colt race	colt race (131st Olympiad)	colt race (131st Olympiad)	colt race (131st Olympiad)	colt race (131st Olympiad)	colt race (131st Olympiad)	colt race (131st Olympiad)

^a Philostratus also notes a variant opinion that placed the first boys' boxing contest at Olympia in the 60th Olympiad.^b Competitions for trumpeters and heralds were added in the 96th Olympiad (396, Eusebius *Chronographia* II. 286–9 in Appendix 4.1), but were ignored by all the sources considered here.

and hippic, and list events within each group based on the dates when they were added to the Olympic program.⁹⁵

All three of these victor catalogs were almost certainly closely modeled on the standard catalogs of Olympic victors found in *Olympionikon anagraphai*. The structure and content of the victor catalog was similar in all three cases because the basic form of a standard victor catalog was established at an early date by the authors of *Olympionikon anagraphai* and its format was maintained with only the most minimal changes thereafter.

In regard to structure, the key piece of evidence is the inclusion of a summary of the development of the Olympic program in *IG II² 2326*. This inscription is probably an extract from Aristotle's *Olympionikon anagraphē*, which indicates that information about the expansion of the Olympic program was of particular importance for Aristotle. Given the fact that the three extant examples of entries from full victor catalogs all use the order in which events were added to the Olympic program as a basic organizational principle, the conclusion lies near at hand that Aristotle was interested in the expansion of the Olympic program because it was critical to the structure of his victor catalog. This in turn means that the structure of the victor catalog in Aristotle's *Olympionikon anagraphē* was probably identical to that found in the victor catalogs in *POxy 222*, *POxy 2082*, and *Phlegon F12*.

Even without *IG II² 2326* there would be good reason to believe that the standard catalogs found in *Olympionikon anagraphai* provided

⁹⁵ The sole deviation in the pattern in which events were listed in *Olympionikai* can be found in the *hoplites*. This is the final gymnastic event listed in all three victor catalogs despite the fact that it was introduced in the 65th Olympiad, well before the introduction of the boys' *pankration*. It would, therefore, be expected to appear between boys' boxing and boys' *pankration* in Phlegon's list. There are two, non-mutually-exclusive, possible explanations for this anomaly. Before the addition of the boys' *pankration*, the *hoplites* was the most recent addition to the Olympic program and so properly appears last in the *POxy* lists. When boys' *pankration* was added, it technically should have appeared after the *hoplites*, but this would have left one boys' event separate from the other three, making for a rather odd arrangement. The boys' *pankration* was thus placed before the *hoplites*, in a position that was strictly speaking out of order but nonetheless reasonable. The other potentially relevant factor is that the *hoplites* was the final event held in every Olympics, so there was a certain logic to putting it last in the gymnastic list. *POxy 2082* reverses the order of the boys' *stadion* and the boys' wrestling, but both events were added in the same Olympiad, so this is not significant.

an important model for later victor lists. Catalogs listing victors in each event at Olympia (as opposed to only *stadion* victors) appeared in three kinds of *Olympionikai*: (1) standard catalogs of Olympic victors that were part of *Olympionikon anagraphai*, (2) standard catalogs of Olympic victors that circulated as separate documents, and (3) some Olympiad chronicles. The earliest *Olympionikai* about which we know – those of Hippias and Aristotle – were both *Olympionikon anagraphai*, and it seems clear that the victor catalogs in both Aristotle's and Eratosthenes' *Olympionikon anagraphai* listed the winners in all events. The structure of a comprehensive victor catalog was, therefore, established first in *Olympionikon anagraphai*, and there was no obvious reason to change it thereafter. One might recall in this regard that later authors copied (and then updated) victor catalogs from earlier *Olympionikai*, something that no doubt encouraged continuity in format.⁹⁶ Continuity is also evident in the fact that the dating of additions to the Olympic program is the same in *IG II*² 2326 and the Eusebian Olympic victor list, despite the fact that the latter was compiled 500 years after the former. We can, therefore, form an accurate picture of the structure of the victor catalogs in *Olympionikon anagraphai* on the basis of the later examples of full victor catalogs.

In regard to content, the victor lists in *POxy* 222, *POxy* 2082, and Phlegon F12 contain very few notes beyond the names and hometowns of the victors, and it is likely that the same was true of the standard victor catalogs in *Olympionikon anagraphai*. *IG II*² 2326 shows that in *Olympionikon anagraphai* information about the expansion of the Olympic program was presented as a compact unit, separate from the victor catalog.⁹⁷ Clear parallels can be found in two other compact summaries of the expansion of the Olympic program (in Pausanias and Philostratus), neither of which are integrated into a catalog of Olympic victors. We have, in addition, already seen that the Aristotelian *Pythionikai* likely contained a concise narrative of the evolution of the program of events at the Pythian Games that was nearly identical to that found in *IG II*² 2326.

⁹⁶ See Appendix 17 for further discussion of continuity in *Olympionikai*.

⁹⁷ In Olympiad chronographies, information about the expansion of the Olympic program was incorporated into the victor catalog. See Section 4.3.

The sequence in which events were added to the Olympic program was critical to the structure of the victor catalogs in *Olympionikon anagraphai*, yet it seems to have been presented separately from those catalogs. It is, therefore, reasonable to conclude that the same was true of most or all of the supplemental information found in *Olympionikon anagraphai*. The actual victor catalogs in *Olympionikon anagraphai* must, therefore, have been rather spare, precisely like those in POxy 222, POxy 2082, and Phlegon F12. Here again the Aristotelian *Pythionikai* is relevant, since it featured the same sort of separation, with extensive historical information in one book, the victor catalog in another.

This is not to say that the victor catalogs in *Olympionikon anagraphai* contained no information except victors' names and hometowns. There is, in fact, good reason to think that they included some notes on multiple victories, as the evidence examined in the next section will show.

Before moving on, however, one brief note is in order. The principles around which standard catalogs of Olympic victors were structured meant that information about the development of the program of events at Olympia was of particular importance. This is reflected in the fact that such information is included in the Olympic victor list found in Eusebius' Olympiad chronography. Timaeus in his Olympiad chronography also seems to have noted the addition of events to the Olympic program. Further, IG II² 2326 probably comes from an *Olympionikai*. The obvious conclusion is that most, perhaps all, *Olympionikai* included information about changes in the program of events at Olympia. This no doubt holds true for *Olympionikon anagraphai*, because it would be extraordinary if the stripped-down version of the Olympic victor list found in Olympiad chronographies contained more information about the history of the Olympics than works dedicated solely to the Olympic Games and Olympic victors.

3.6. LISTS OF ATHLETES WITH MULTIPLE OLYMPIC VICTORIES

We have seen that *Olympionikon anagraphai* offered a wide range of information in addition to a victor catalog, including historical background on athletics and on the Olympic Games, stories about Olympic

victors, and summaries of the order in which events were added to the Olympic program. This does not, however, represent the full list of the known contents of *Olympionikon anagraphai*, as it is nearly certain that information about athletes who won multiple Olympic victories was a normal part of this type of *Olympionikai*. The victor catalogs of *Olympionikon anagraphai* probably included notes about athletes who won the *periodos* or who won multiple victories at the same Olympiad (particularly those athletes who won both the wrestling and the *pankration*). *Olympionikon anagraphai* also seem to have contained separate lists of athletes who won multiple Olympic victories, presumably because in many cases those victories were won over the course of more than one Olympiad and so were scattered through the victor catalog. Consolidating their names into a separate list made tracking their exploits easier.

Athletes who won multiple victories at Olympia were a subject of special interest from an early date.⁹⁸ Thucydides, for example, who evinces little interest in athletics, mentions two such athletes by name.⁹⁹ The victor catalogs in Phlegon Fl2, POxy 222 and 2082, and Eusebius' *Chronographia* all include information about athletes who won multiple Olympic victories, either at a single festival or over the course of multiple Olympiads. This information must also have been offered by *Olympionikon anagraphai*, since it is *a priori* unlikely that Olympiad chronographies and Olympiad chronicles contained more information about the Olympic Games and Olympic victors than works that offered information only on these subjects. Further, the Eusebian Olympic victor list contains three basic types of information above and beyond the names of *stadion* victors and chronographic data: additions to the Olympic program, stories about famous athletes, and notes on multiple victories won by the same athlete. The first two types of information were also found in *Olympionikon anagraphai*, and it is virtually certain that the third was as well.

The Eusebian Olympic victor list is particularly helpful because it is preserved in its entirety. The notes on multiple victories found in this

⁹⁸ There was a special term for athletes who won multiple victories on the same day, *paradoxonikai* (Regner 1939, 237).

⁹⁹ See Appendix 8.

list include four separate categories of successful athletes: (1) those who won the *periodos* (e.g., Antenor in the 118th Olympiad), (2) those who won the wrestling and *pankration* at the same Olympiad (e.g., Capros in the 142nd Olympiad), (3) those who won multiple victories at the same Olympiad (e.g., Phanas in the 67th Olympiad), and (4) those who won multiple victories over multiple Olympiads (e.g., Philombrotos in the entry for the 26th Olympiad). It would appear that all of this information was contained in *Olympionikon anagraphai* and that the observations on the first three categories of victors were incorporated into the victor catalogs in those works. The following fragment, which seems to come directly from the victor catalog in Eratosthenes' *Olympionikon anagraphē*, is of great importance in this regard:

Eratosthenes in the [numeral missing] book of his *Olympic Victors* under the heading of the 116th Olympiad says: "Astyanax of Miletus (won) the *periodos* uncontested, the sixth to do so." (FGrH 241 F8; see Appendix 3.2 for the Greek text)

Phlegon's victor catalog for the 177th Olympiad, which is closely based upon the victor catalogs in *Olympionikon anagraphai*, contains notes on athletes winning multiple victories at the same Olympiad. Phlegon twice mentions the fact that Hecatomnos of Miletus won three events (the *stadion*, *diaulos*, and *hoplites*) in a single Olympiad. The entry for the 77th Olympiad in POxy 222 is similarly structured.¹⁰⁰

It is striking, however, that the standard victor catalog in POxy 222 makes no mention of multiple victories won over multiple Olympiads,

¹⁰⁰ The athlete who won the *diaulos* at the 77th Olympiad, [. . .] γης Ἐπιδάμνιος, is probably the same person who is recorded as winning the *hoplites* in that Olympiad, [. . .] γιος Ἐπιδάμνιος. The latter is followed by the word δῖς in POxy 222. This must mean that the winner of the *hoplites* won two victories at the same Olympiad or two victories in the same event over multiple Olympiads. Insofar as athletes such as Astylos who won multiple victories in the same event over multiple Olympiads are not marked out in POxy 222, it seems likely that [. . .] γιος Ἐπιδάμνιος won twice at the 77th Olympiad and that he is therefore identical with [. . .] γης Ἐπιδάμνιος. In addition, the entries for the preceding and subsequent Olympiads show no sign of an athlete from Epidamnus winning the *hoplites*, so it is not clear when [. . .] γιος Ἐπιδάμνιος could have won another *hoplites* victory. For full discussion of this issue, see Jannell 1927. The victor catalog in POxy 2082 is slightly anomalous in that it lists all the victories won by each athlete in the *periodos* games. Olympic victor lists were produced in substantial numbers for centuries, so a certain amount of variation is to be expected.

e.g., those of Dandis in the 76th and 77th Olympiads. The explanation for this seeming oddity must be that this information was presented in a separate section of narrative. The reasons for this arrangement of material are not far to seek. The victor catalogs in *Olympionikai* were circulated on papyrus scrolls, a format that made comparison of different sections of a lengthy text difficult. Information about notable victories that pertained to a single Olympiad was included in the relevant entry, hence the presence of the notes about *periodos* victors in the catalog in Eratosthenes' *Olympionikai* and of notes about multiple victories in the same Olympiad in the victor catalogs in Phlegon and *POxy* 222. It is probably safe to assume that notes on athletes winning the wrestling and *pankration* in the same Olympiad also appeared in the victor catalogs in *Olympionikon anagraphai*.

A different approach was taken for subjects that played themselves out over multiple Olympiads and hence multiple entries. It was more efficient in terms of space and more effective in terms of easy comprehension to collect this sort of information into a compact narrative than to scatter it throughout the catalog. The obvious comparandum is information about additions to the Olympic program, which was summarized separately from the victor catalog in *Olympionikon anagraphai*.

Further evidence for the existence of separate lists of athletes who won multiple Olympic victories over multiple Olympiads can be found in *IG* II² 2326. We have already seen that this inscription, probably a copy of part of Aristotle's *Olympionikon anagraphē*, gives a compact summary of the expansion of the Olympic program. After that summary ends, there is a blank space on the stone after which a new section of text begins. Only five lines of this section are preserved (13–17), and the first two, which seem to have specified the type of information that followed, are badly damaged. These five lines have been most recently and effectively restored by Ebert (based in part upon earlier suggestions by Moretti and others):¹⁰¹

¹⁰¹ Ebert 1997a, 237–52. Ebert gives a full summary of the earlier scholarship.

[δῖς τ]ῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος τῆς αὐτῆς
 [ἄνδρα]ς οἶδε νενικήκ[ασιν].
 [δευτέ]ραι καὶ εἰκ[ο]στ[ῆι Ἑλλήνων] 15
 [πρῶτ]ος Παντακλ[ῆς Ἀθηναῖος στάδιον]
 [καὶ δῖ]αυλον ἐν μ[ῆ]ρ[α]ι.

The following won twice in the same Olympiad in the men's contests:

In the 22nd Olympiad first of the Greeks Pantacles of Athens, in the *stadion* and the *diaulos* on the same day.

The Eusebian victor list records Pantacles as the *stadion* victor in the 21st and 22nd Olympiads, the first known athlete to win in successive Olympiads, and l. 17 of IG II² 2326 shows that he won the *diaulos* in the 22nd Olympiad, which gives Pantacles another distinction, first known athlete to win twice in the same Olympiad.

Ebert's reading of ll. 15–17 is virtually certainly sound, but ll. 13–14 remain problematic. There were at least two athletes who won three victories at a single Olympiad well before IG II² 2326 was inscribed, Phanas in the 67th Olympiad (512 BCE) and Astylos in the 75th Olympiad (480 BCE).¹⁰² These men could hardly have been left off a list of athletes who won multiple victories at a single Olympiad, which in turn means that δῖς is unlikely to have appeared in line 13 and that Ebert's restoration of ll. 13–14 is questionable.

Despite some lingering difficulties, it seems safe to conclude that these lines were the beginning of a register of athletes who won multiple Olympic victories. It must have included all those athletes who won multiple victories over multiple Olympiads (such as Pantacles). It is also possible that it was rather more complete and listed all athletes who won multiple Olympic victories, even if the victories in question were all won on a single day. One way or the other, what can be gleaned from IG II² 2326 fits perfectly with the evidence from the extant victor catalogs, and so it is possible to state with some certainty that *Olympionikon anagraphai* included separate lists of athletes who won multiple Olympic victories.

¹⁰² On Phanas and Astylos, see Moretti 1957, #142–4 and 196–8, respectively.

3.7. DISCONTINUED EVENTS IN THE OLYMPIC PROGRAM, THE ORDER OF EVENTS AT OLYMPIA, CONTEST RULES

A close reading of Pausanias' description of Olympia makes it possible to identify tentatively three further components of *Olympionikon anagraphai*: summaries of discontinued events in the Olympic program, accounts of the order in which events were held at Olympia, and notes on contest rules.

Pausanias' *Graeciae Descriptio* begins with Athens in Book 1 and ends with Phocis and Delphi in Book 10. The description of Olympia, which occupies much of Books 5 and 6, lies at the heart of the work, both literally and symbolically, and Pausanias expended a great deal of time and energy on his account of the Olympic Games.¹⁰³ Pausanias' sketch of Olympia is part of his description of Elis, which is structured as follows:

- History of the region of Elis from the earliest times to the Trojan War, with particular emphasis on the dynastic history of early rulers (including Oinomaos, Pelops, Augeas), Heracles' actions in Elis, and the reasons for the exclusion of Eleans from the Isthmian Games (5.1.1–3.4)
- Dorian migration to Elis under the guidance of Oxylos (5.3.5–4.4)
- Reestablishment of the Olympic festival by Oxylos' descendant Iphitos (5.4.5–6)
- History of Elis from the Trojan War to the tyranny of Aristotimos (third century) (5.4.7–5.1)
- Marvels of Elis (5.5.2)
- Description of the area between the Messenian border and Olympia (5.5.3–6.8)
- Description of the Alpheios River (5.7.1–5)
- History of the Olympic Games (5.7.6–9.6)
 - History of the Olympic Games prior to the time of Iphitos (5.7.6–8.4)
 - Expansion of the Olympic program (5.8.5–11)
 - Discontinued events in the Olympic program (5.9.1–2)

¹⁰³ On the structure of Pausanias' work, see Elsner 2001.

- Order in which events were contested at Olympia (5.9.3)
- Rules for contest organizers (5.9.4–6)
- Description of the Sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia (5.10.1–20.10)
- Description of votive offerings in the Sanctuary of Zeus (5.21.1–27.12)
- Description of statues in the Sanctuary of Zeus, with particular emphasis on statues of race-horses and athletes (6.1.1–18.7)
- Further description of the Sanctuary of Zeus (6.19.1–21.3)
- Description of Pisatis (6.21.4–22.6)
- Description of the journey from Olympia to the *polis* of Elis (6.22.7–11)
- Description of the *polis* of Elis (6.23.1–27.10)

The material on the history of the Olympic Games found at 5.7.6–9.6 is of particular interest for obvious reasons. This section is clearly demarcated as a distinct narrative segment and is probably drawn from a single source (with the addition of Pausanias' own comments). Pausanias separates off this section by means of transitions that feature strongly contrastive uses of *men/de*. As Jüthner observed, there is a prepositional phrase, emphatically placed at the beginning of the *de* clause in 5.7.6, that reads exactly like a title:¹⁰⁴

ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἔχει τρόπον τὸν εἰρημένον· ἔς δὲ τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν Ὀλυμπικὸν λέγουσιν Ἡλείων οἱ τὰ ἀρχαιότατα μνημονεύοντες Κρόνον τὴν ἐν οὐρανῷ σχεῖν βασιλείαν πρῶτον καὶ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ ποιηθῆναι Κρόνων ναὸν ὑπὸ τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων, οἳ ὠνομάζοντο χρυσοῦν γένος· (5.7.6)

On one hand, these things are as I have described, as for the Olympic Games, on the other, historians of Elean antiquities say that Cronos was the first to hold the throne in heaven and that a temple for Cronos was built at Olympia by men of that time, who were called the Golden Race.

Pausanias may well have copied ἔς τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν Ὀλυμπικὸν directly from his source. The section ends at 5.9.6 with another transition using a contrastive *men/de*:

ὁ γδότη δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς ἑκατὸν ὀλυμπιάδι ἐπανῆλθον αὖθις ἔς ἀνδρῶν δέκα ἀριθμόν, καὶ ἤδη τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου διαμεμένηκεν ἔς ἡμᾶς. (5.10.1) πολλὰ

¹⁰⁴ Jüthner 1909, 109–16.

μὲν δὴ καὶ ἄλλα ἴδοι τις ἂν ἐν Ἑλλησι, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἀκούσαι θαύματος ἄξια·
 μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς Ἐλευσῖνι δρωμένοις καὶ ἀγῶνι τῷ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ μέτεστιν ἐκ
 θεοῦ φροντίδος. Τὸ δὲ ἄλσος τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Διὸς παραποιήσαντες τὸ ὄνομα
 Ἄλτιν ἐκ παλαιοῦ καλοῦσι·

At the 108th Olympiad, they returned once again to the number of ten men, and this indeed has remained the same from that time to our day. On one hand, one might indeed see many other things in Greece, and, on the other, one might hear many things worthy of wonder. But the god bestows special care on the rites of the Eleusinians and the contest at Olympia. From of old they call the sanctuary of Zeus the Altis, a corruption of *alsos*.

Pausanias clearly signals a change of subject, and a very lengthy description of the Altis follows.

The section of text running from 5.7.6 to 5.9.6 begins with an account of iterations of the Olympics before Iphitos. This is followed by a summary of the order in which events were added to the Olympic program (5.8.5–11, the text of which is given in Section 3.5). The remainder of the section reads as follows:

(5.9.1) Contests have also been abolished at Olympia, the Eleans changing their mind and deciding to hold them no longer. For the boys' pentathlon was instituted in the 38th Olympiad, but after Eutelidas of Lacedaemonia took the wild olive for it, it was no longer pleasing to the Eleans to enter boys in the pentathlon. As for the races of the *apene* and the *kalpe*, the former being decreed at the 70th Olympiad and the *kalpe* in the following Olympiad, they made a proclamation at the 84th Olympiad concerning both of them, saying that the race of neither the *apene* nor the *kalpe* would exist in the future. When they were first instituted, the *apene* was won by Thersios of Thessaly, the *kalpe* by Pataikos of Dyme in Achaea. (2) The *kalpe* was a [race for] female horses, and the riders jumped down in the last part of the race and ran alongside the horses, grasping the bridle, just as even to my time still those do who are called *anabatai*. Both the badges of the latter are different from the *anabatai* in the race of the *kalpe* and the horses, which are male. Neither great antiquity in terms of its invention nor elegance was attached to the *apene*. There was a curse on the Eleans from old if this animal (the mule) was even born in their country. For indeed the *apene* was like the two-horse chariot race but with mules in place of horses.

(3) The order of the contests in our day, which places the victims sacrificed to the god for the pentathlon and the horse races later and those for the remaining events earlier, this order was established at the 77th Olympiad. Before that

time, the contests for men and horses were held on the same day. At the 77th Olympiad, the contestants in the *pankration* competed until nightfall because they were not summoned to the contest in a timely fashion. The cause of the delay was both the horse races and even more so the pentathlon. Callias of Athens defeated the pancratiasts; neither the pentathlon nor the horse races was to be an impediment to the *pankration* thereafter.

(4) The rules for the contest organizers in our time are not the same ones that were established at the beginning. Iphitos arranged the contest himself, and after Iphitos the descendants of Oxylos did the same. At the 50th Olympiad two men, having been chosen by lot from all of the Eleans, were entrusted with the arrangement of the Olympics, and for a considerable period afterward the number of organizers remained two. (5) At the 95th Olympiad nine *Hellannodikai* were appointed. The horse races were entrusted to three of them, it fell to three others to be overseers of the pentathlon, and the remaining contests were left to the others. At the second Olympiad after this, a tenth organizer was also added. At the 103rd Olympiad, the Eleans having twelve tribes, one man from each tribe became a *Hellannodikes*. (6) But the Eleans were hard-pressed in war by the Arcadians and lost a portion of their territory and as many demes as there were in the territory that was cut off, and so they reduced the number of tribes to eight in the 104th Olympiad and an equal number of *Hellannodikai* were chosen by them from these tribes. At the 108th Olympiad, they returned once again to the number of ten men, and this indeed has remained the same from that time to our day.

The key issue in the present context is the source of this material.

There can be little doubt that most of the information Pausanias presents in 5.1.1–5.2 and 5.7.6–9.6 was taken from earlier authors. There are, however, as is typically the case in the *Graeciae Descriptio*, no source citations. It is possible to state with some confidence that Pausanias drew upon different texts for these two parts of the narrative. The treatment of the early history of the Olympics given in 5.7.6–8.4 repeats a number of points about the development of the Games covered in 5.1.1–4.6. These two, overlapping accounts of the early history of the Olympics are, however, not in perfect agreement in regard to the sequence of rulers in Elis. At 5.1.3 Pausanias writes that Aethlios was the first ruler of Elis and that his son Endymion succeeded him, while at 5.8.1 he states that Endymion, the son of Aethlios, came to power through deposing Clymenos son of Cardys.

The information found in 5.1.1–5.2 looks very much like that found in Ephorus' treatment of Olympia (*apud* Strabo 8.3.33) and in local

histories of Elis. Pausanias takes the history of Elis down to the tyranny of Aristotimos in the third century, which is well after Ephorus' death. The most likely scenario, therefore, is that he used one of the *Eliaka* from the Hellenistic period in writing 5.1.1–5.2, possibly one that was based in part on Ephorus' universal history.¹⁰⁵

The source for 5.7.6–9.6 was probably an *Olympionikai* or a periegetic or *Peri Agonon* treatise that drew heavily on an *Olympionikai*. In the beginning of 5.7.6 Pausanias refers to Ἡλείων οἱ τὰ ἀρχαιοτάτα μνημονεύοντες (“historians of Elean antiquities”). Although this may seem to indicate a local, possibly oral source, it is actually an oblique reference to a written text. The sequence οἱ τὰ ἀρχαιοτάτα (or a close variation thereof) preceded by a genitive plural appears four other times in Pausanias (7.18.2, 8.14.12, 8.34.4, 9.18.2), in sections dealing with the history of Patras, Euboea, Arcadia, and Boeotia. The fact that the sources in question were textual in nature is evident from 8.34.4:

Πελοποννησίων δὲ οἱ τὰ ἀρχαῖα μνημονεύοντες πρότερά τῳ Ὀρέστῃ τὰ ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ γενέσθαι φασὶν ὑπὸ Ἑρινύων τῶν Κλυταιμνήστρας ἢ ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ τὴν κρίσιν . . .

Historians of Peloponnesian antiquities say that what happened to Orestes in Arcadia at the hands of the Furies of Clytemnestra took place before the trial on the Areopagus . . .

Πελοποννησίων should be construed with ἀρχαῖα, as Pausanias can hardly have meant to say that he consulted Peloponnesian antiquaries in general. Yet the genitive in all five μνημονεύοντες phrases is slightly ambiguous. Although the technically correct translation at 5.7.6 is doubtless “historians of Elean antiquities,” the reading “those of the Eleans who remember ancient things” is clearly implied. It is worth keeping in mind that Pausanias modeled the *Graeciae Descriptio* on Herodotus' *Histories* and went so far as to make regular use of Herodotean vocabulary that was by Pausanias' time overtly archaic.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁵ On Pausanias' sources in general, see Musti et al. 1982–2000, 1:xxiv–xxxv. On the sources he used for Olympia, see Jüthner 1909, 107–31 and Nafissi 2001. On *Eliaka*, see Section 3.1.

¹⁰⁶ Bowie 2001 and Musti 1996.

Herodotus relied much more heavily than Pausanias on oral sources and typically attributed information to local informants.¹⁰⁷ In his attempt to hew closely to his Herodotean model, Pausanias sometimes ascribed information he took from texts to oral sources. The ambiguity in the *μνημονεύοντες* phrases thus suits Pausanias' purposes admirably.

The implicit ascription in 5.7.6, therefore, points in the direction of a written source, and the content of the narrative stretching from 5.7.6 to 9.6 suggests an *Olympionikon anagraphē*, though the precise work on which Pausanias drew cannot be identified.¹⁰⁸ Nevertheless, that work clearly contained much of the same sort of information found in *Olympionikon anagraphai*. Two of the five components of 5.7.6–9.6 are an account of the origins of the Olympic Games and a compact summary of the expansion of the Olympic program (5.8.5–11), both of which were found in *Olympionikon anagraphai*.

The possibility that Pausanias made use of an *Olympionikon anagraphē* for 5.7.6–9.6 finds support in a detail of his account of Olympia that bears a striking resemblance to a fragment from Eratosthenes' *Olympionikon anagraphē*. At 5.13.3 Pausanias mentions that the Eleans used only the wood of the white poplar tree for sacrifices to Zeus. At 5.14.2 he returns to this point and explains the reason for this practice:

¹⁰⁷ Momigliano observed that Herodotus "preferred the accounts of living people to written documents . . ." (Momigliano 1966, 212–13). The bibliography on Herodotus' sources is immense. A good starting point can be found in Hornblower 2002.

¹⁰⁸ It can be stated with some certainty that Pausanias had a recent Olympiad chronicle at his disposal. When discussing an attack launched by bandits against Elateia during his own time, Pausanias mentions Mnesiboulos, the local leader who commanded the forces that repulsed the attack. Pausanias (10.34.5–6) states that Mnesiboulos won the *hoplites* at the 235th Olympiad (161 CE). The last *Olympionikon anagraphai* was written in the third century, Olympiad chronographies do not seem to have contained full victor catalogs, and stand-alone standard catalogs of Olympic victors probably would not have provided information about Mnesiboulos' military exploits. This leaves Olympiad chronicles. In addition, Pausanias provides more than twenty Olympiad dates for historical events. He typically specifies the year in question using an ordinal for the Olympiad year, *stadion* victor, and Athenian archon. This combination of specific Olympiad date and historical notice is precisely the sort of information found in Olympiad chronicles. Kalkmann argued that Pausanias' lengthy comments on Artemidoros of Tralleis (6.14.2–3) indicate that he used the Olympiad chronicle of Phlegon of Tralleis, who is likely to have had a particular interest in Olympic victors from his hometown (Kalkmann 1886, 107). Robert, however, showed in an analysis of Pausanias' vocabulary that he did not make direct use of Phlegon's work (Robert 1900).

It is the custom of the Eleans to use only white poplar wood for the sacrifices to Zeus and wood from no other tree. They prefer the white poplar for no other reason, it seems to me, than because Heracles brought it to Greece from Thresprotia. And Heracles himself, it seems to me, when he sacrificed to Zeus at Olympia, burnt the thighpieces of the victims on white poplar wood. Heracles found the white poplar growing on the banks of the Acheron, the river in Thresprotia, and for this reason they say that Homer calls white poplar *Acherois*.

This is a question that Eratosthenes had dealt with in his *Olympionikon anagraphe* (FGrH 241 F6 *apud* scholiast Theocritus 2 prolegomenon-anecdote 121a):

White poplar of Heracles: Eratosthenes in the first book of his *Olympic Victors* says that, upon descending to Hades, Heracles found white poplar growing on the banks of the Acheron River and crowned himself with it. Homer calls this tree *Acherois*.

If, as seems likely, the scholiast to Theocritus took the information about the Homeric word for white poplar from Eratosthenes, the two passages are virtually identical, once Pausanias' own observations are put to the side. Pausanias' comments on the white poplar are found in his description of the Altis, but it is likely he located the relevant information in the same source he used for 5.7.6–9.6. This means that the source for 5.7.6–9.6 contained exactly the same sort of information as that found in Eratosthenes' *Olympionikon anagraphe*. It is tempting to conclude, on the basis of the similarity between Pausanias 5.14.2 and Eratosthenes F6, that Pausanias used Eratosthenes' *Olympionikon anagraphe* directly. Pausanias was an antiquarian with a strong preference for material from what we would call the Classical period, and Eratosthenes' *Olympionikai* remained in circulation well into the Roman period (it is quoted by Athenaeus and Hesychius), so this scenario is far from impossible.

It is likely, therefore, that the material found in 5.7.6–9.6 of Pausanias' *Graeciae Descriptio* is indicative of the material found in *Olympionikon anagraphai*. This is a conclusion that must remain tentative, as the evidence does not permit a high degree of certainty. In addition, Pausanias could hardly have been unaware that he had covered much of the history of the Olympics earlier in Book 5 and almost

certainly elided some particulars that he might otherwise have included in 5.7.6–9.6. He has, for example, relatively little to say about Iphitos at 5.8.5, probably because he had already provided a number of significant details at 5.4.5–6. Nonetheless, it is possible to suggest that the five basic elements found in 5.7.6–9.6 of Pausanias' *Graeciae Descriptio* – a history of the Olympic Games prior to the time of Iphitos and summaries of the expansion of the Olympic program, of discontinued events, of the order in which events were contested, and of the rules for the conduct of the Games – were all included in *Olympionikon anagraphai*.

This brings us to the end of our treatment of *Olympionikon anagraphai*. We turn our attention now to Olympiad chronographies.

OLYMPIAD CHRONOGRAPHIES

The use of Olympiads and Olympic *stadion* victors to reckon time resulted in the creation of a modified version of the standard catalog of Olympic victors. This modified victor catalog, which is here called a chronographic catalog of Olympic victors, listed only the names of *stadion* winners. Comments on *periodonikai* and on athletes who won multiple victories at a single Olympiad, both of which were found in standard catalogs, were carried over, but the names of victors in events other than the *stadion* were omitted because they lacked chronographic significance. This stripped down catalog was enriched with a considerable amount of information that was exhibited in separate narrative segments in *Olympionikon anagraphai*. Brief notes about the introduction of new events into the Olympic program, about athletes who won multiple victories over multiple Olympiads, and about the exploits of famous athletes were added to the entries for the appropriate Olympiads. Other, purely chronographic information, particularly key synchronizations among various systems of dating, was also added. These catalogs were in at least some cases prefaced by a short account of the history of the Olympics.

The interdependent chronographic catalogs of Olympic victors found in the work of Sextus Julius Africanus, Eusebius, and Panodorus all began with the first Olympiad. As there is some evidence that the victor catalogs in the other known Olympiad chronographies also began with the first Olympiad, it is probably safe to assume that all chronographic catalogs began, as it were, in the beginning. The victor catalog compiled by Africanus was up to date when it appeared, but

when Eusebius and Panodoros later copied Africanus' catalog neither felt any need to update it. This was, however, a product of the fact that when Eusebius and Panodoros wrote, the use of dates based on the regnal years of Roman emperors was making Olympiad dates obsolete. It is likely that earlier compilers of chronographic catalogs of Olympic victors—Timaeus, Castor, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus—brought their catalogs down to their own time, though there is insufficient textual evidence to test this conjecture.

Chronographic catalogs were always incorporated into larger works that consisted of collections of lists of eponymous magistrates and kings that served as the bases of time-reckoning systems. These larger works are here called Olympiad chronographies. Put another way, Olympiad chronographies comprised a number of different eponym lists, one of which was a chronographic catalog of Olympic victors. The eponym lists in Olympiad chronographies were presented either consecutively, with extensive cross-references, or in the form of a table. They were arranged to facilitate the comparison of dates in various systems of time-reckoning.

The precise contents of Olympiad chronographies varied. Timaeus included only Greek material, but the spread of Roman power meant that later chronographers also exhibited lists of Roman kings, consuls, and emperors. Castor paid a great deal of attention to the chronologies of the Near Eastern kingdoms. The same was true of Christian chronographers, who also expended a prodigious amount of energy attempting to fix the dates of people and events mentioned in the Bible.¹

Olympiad chronographies enjoyed a relatively long life because Christian chronographers synchronized Biblical and Greek chronologies partly on the basis of Olympiad dates. The enduring interest in Olympiads on the part of Christian chronographers is perhaps most clear from Syncellus, a ninth-century CE Byzantine scholar. In his *Ecloga Chronographica* Syncellus establishes the date of the first Olympiad and reviews the variant opinions on the founding of the Games. He then states:

¹ On the issues in Christian of Jewish chronology, see Adler 1989, 43–71 and Wacholder 1968.

Now we have endeavored to achieve only this goal: to set forth a clear overview of the main points for the uninformed. This is not because something is said in divine scriptures about Olympiads. Rather it is because the tradition concerning the Olympiads came to be used by many Church fathers (232.12–15, trans. William Adler and Paul Tuffin)²

There are six known Olympiad chronographies (see Table 14).

These six examples represent only a portion of the Olympiad chronographies originally in circulation. We are aware of the existence of at least sixteen different chronographic studies by ancient authors that might have contained a catalog of Olympic victors, but which are too poorly known to make a judgment possible, to say nothing of works that have been completely lost.³

The analysis of the structure and contents of Olympiad chronographies is fairly straightforward because a nearly complete example of such a work is preserved in Eusebius' *Chronographia* (the first book of his *Chronika*). Most of our attention in this chapter will, therefore, be devoted to Eusebius' *Chronika* in general and the catalog of Olympic *stadiion* victors in the *Chronographia* in particular. We will begin with the Eusebian and closely related lists, i.e., the original source of Eusebius' Olympic victor list (Cassius Longinus), the intermediary from which Eusebius took an excerpted version of Longinus' list (Sextus Julius Africanus), and the version of Eusebius' list in Panodorus' revised edition of Eusebius' *Chronika*. We will then more briefly

² Syncellus mentions but does not include a list of the first 248 Olympic *stadiion* victors (233.6). This is presumably a manuscript error for 249 and is intended as a reference to the Olympic victor list of Africanus or Eusebius.

³ The sixteen chronographic works that may have contained an Olympic victor list are Andron of Alexandria (*Chronika*, possibly second or first century, *FGrH* 246), Antileon (*Peri Chronon*, possibly second or first century, *FGrH* 247), Aristion (*Synagoge Syntaxis*, between fifth and first century, *FGrH* 509), Aristonymus (*Synagoge ton Chronon*, between fourth and second century, *FGrH* 510), Autocharis (?) (*Chronoi*, unknown date, *FGrH* 249), Eretes (unknown title, possibly third century, *FGrH* 242), Euthymenes (*Chronika*, possibly third or second century, *FGrH* 243), Hagelochus (*Chronike Syntaxis*, third or second century, *FGrH* 516), Hagestratus (*Chronike Syntaxis*, third or second century, *FGrH* 517), Nicasyllus (*Chronike Syntaxis*, before first century, *FGrH* 519), Onomastus (*Chronike Syntaxis*, between fourth and second century, *FGrH* 520), Phillis of Delos (*Peri Chronon* (?), fourth century, *FHG* 4.476), Thrasyllus of Rhodes (unknown title and date, *FGrH* 253), Timocritus (*Chronike Syntaxis*, third or second century, *FGrH* 522), Xenagoras (of Heracleia?) (*Chronon*, between fourth and first century, *FGrH* 240), Xenocrates (*Chronika*, probably fourth or third century, *FGrH* 248).

TABLE 14. *Known Examples of Olympiad Chronographies*

Author	Date That Work Appeared	Title of Work	Number of Books	State of Preservation
Timaeus of Tauromenium	late 4th/early 3rd century	<i>Olympionikai etoi Chronika Praxidika</i> (<i>Olympic Victors or Praxidikan Chronological Matters</i>)	?	5 short fragments
Castor of Rhodes	1st century	<i>Kanon</i> (<i>Canon</i>)	1	20 fragments total (5 of which are lengthy) from this work and from Castor's Olympiad chronicle
Dionysius of Halicarnassus	end of 1st century	<i>Chronoi</i> (<i>Time Periods</i>)	?	9 fragments of varying length
Sextus Julius Africanus	217–221 CE	5	?	at least 55 fragments, many of which are lengthy
Eusebius	first quarter of 4th century CE	<i>Chronika</i> (<i>Chronological Matters</i>)	2	nearly complete
Panodorus	c. 400 CE	Revised version of Eusebius' <i>Chronika</i>	?	numerous lengthy fragments ^a

^aSee the footnotes to Table 5.

examine the Olympiad chronographies of Timaeus and Dionysius of Halicarnassus. A bare summary of Castor's Olympiad chronography is given here because it was very closely linked to his Olympiad chronicle and will be treated at length in Chapter 5.

In contradistinction to the practice in much of the rest of the book, no attempt has been made to collect all of the extant fragments of the Olympiad chronographies of Sextus Julius Africanus, Eusebius, and Panodoros in the relevant appendices. There are two reasons for this choice. First, Eusebius' Olympiad chronography is nearly complete, quite lengthy, and available in satisfactory if not ideal printed editions. It would, therefore, be otiose to reproduce that text in its entirety here. Second, Africanus' and Panodoros' works survive only in fragmentary state, and there are no good publications of those fragments. Panodoros' fragments have never been collected in a single work. Africanus' fragments were assembled by Routh in the first half of the nineteenth century, but Routh's collection is incomplete and flawed in a number of ways. Moreover, Martin Wallraff, along with Umberto Roberto and Christof Kraus, will soon publish a new and vastly improved collection of the Africanus fragments in the *Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller* series.⁴ There is little point in putting into print here what would almost immediately be an outdated text of the fragments. The most obviously relevant section of the Olympiad chronographies of Africanus, Eusebius, and Panodoros is the Olympic victor list. Eusebius copied and supplemented the Olympic victor list he found in Africanus' work, and Panodoros subsequently did the same with the victor list he found in Eusebius' *Chronika*. Panodoros' version survives complete, while the original versions of Eusebius' and Africanus' lists are lost. The complete Greek text of Panodoros' Olympic victor list is, therefore, reproduced in Appendix 4.1.

4.1. EUSEBIUS AND HIS CHRONOGRAPHIC WORK

Eusebius was born c. 260 CE, probably in Caesarea in Palestine. Caesarea was at that time the site of an important school of Biblical studies run by Pamphilos. One of the major attractions of the school was an unusually extensive library. Eusebius studied with Pamphilos

⁴ Wallraff 2006.

and the two became so closely associated that Eusebius added the patronymic Pamphili to his name. He became bishop of Caesarea sometime around 313 CE, and thereafter played a prominent role in the ecclesiastical politics of the eastern empire until his death between 337 and 340.⁵

The corpus of Eusebius' writings encompasses close to fifty titles. His most significant works include the *Praeparatio Evangelica*, *Demonstratio Evangelica*, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, *Vita Constantini*, and *Chronika*. All five of these works are in a sense apologetic. The *Praeparatio Evangelica* and *Demonstratio Evangelica* vindicate Christian beliefs and refute pagan philosophy and religion. The *Historia Ecclesiastica*, *Vita Constantini*, and *Chronika* taken together trace the development, persecution, and ultimate triumph of Christianity; highlight Constantine's role as a protector of the Church; and demonstrate the great antiquity of the Christian tradition.

The *Chronika* is of particular interest in the present context, not only because it is the sole *Olympionikai* for which we have a (very nearly) complete text, but also because Eusebius drew freely on earlier *Olympionikai* in its composition, making it an invaluable source of historiographical information. Eusebius produced at least two different editions of the *Chronika*. The first, which Eusebius completed in 311 CE, covered the period from the birth of Abraham to the death of the emperor Galerius. Fourteen years later Eusebius produced another edition, which extended down to the twentieth year of Constantine's reign (325).⁶

The *Chronika* consisted of two books, each of which had its own preface and title. The first book was known as the *Chronographia* (*Chronological Record*) and the second as the *Chronikoi Kanones kai Epitome Pantodapes Historias Hellenon te kai Barbaron* (*Chronological Canons with an Epitome of Universal History both Greek and Nongreek*) or more simply as *Chronikoi Kanones*.⁷ The *Chronographia* contained brief

⁵ An excellent introduction to Eusebius' life and work can be found in Barnes 1981, 93–271, as well as Winkelmann 2003. Both Barnes and Winkelmann draw heavily on Mosshammer 1979, which remains essential.

⁶ On the editions of the *Chronika*, see Burgess 1997.

⁷ On the individual books in the *Chronika*, the format of the work, and its textual history, see Mosshammer 1979, 29–83, as well as R. W. Burgess', "A Chronological

treatments of a number of different chronological systems used in the ancient Mediterranean world and provided the lists of kings and magistrates on which those systems were founded. A catalog of *stadion* victors for the first 249 Olympiads was found in the section on Greek chronology.

The *Chronographia* represented the raw material, what Eusebius called the “timber,” for the *Chronikoi Kanones*, which consisted of a chronological table in which major events between 2016 BCE and 325 CE were briefly described and dated according to a variety of different time-reckoning systems. The table was organized around multiple, parallel columns of numerals. Each column was dedicated to the time-reckoning system of a particular people, which for the most part consisted of the names of kings and their regnal years. The columns, called *fila regnorum*, were placed in the margins, so that there was space in the middle of each page, the *spatium historicum*, to enter brief historical notices, which were placed next to the appropriate years.⁸ The alignment of the columns was such that there were in effect rows running horizontally, which made it possible to compare how the same year was expressed in different dating systems simply by reading from left to right. Eusebius claimed that this arrangement was his own invention, and it directly reflected his desire to show that the Biblical tradition considerably antedated anything Greek.

Some idea of what the table looked like can be had from Figure 3, which shows sections 44 a–b of Helm’s edition of Jerome’s translation of the *Chronikoi Kanones*. These sections of text cover the years equivalent to 1506–1488 BCE.

Up to the year corresponding to 521 BCE,⁹ the table was laid out in a double-page format with two separate *spatia historica*. The left page was reserved for sacred history, the right page for secular history. The

Prolegomenon to Reconstructing Eusebius’ *Chronici Canones*: The Evidence of Ps-Dionysius (the Zuqnin Chronicle),” forthcoming in the *Canadian Journal for Syriac Studies*. On the intricacies of properly citing Jerome’s translation of the *Chronikoi Kanones*, see Burgess 2002. The translation of the title of the second book of the *Chronika* supplied here is taken from Mosshammer.

⁸ The term *spatium historicum* was also used by Varro to describe human history after the first Olympiad.

⁹ On the importance of this date to Eusebius, see Burgess 2002, 20.

sections of the table for the years after 521 were laid out in a single-page format with a *spatium historicum*, probably divided into two columns for sacred and secular notices, in the middle of the page.

The *Chronikoi Kanones* included a substantial number of different time-reckoning systems, but two systems in particular were strongly emphasized: Olympiads and Eusebius' own invention, years (numbered from the birth) of Abraham. In the sections of the table pertaining to the years after 776, Olympiad numbers were allotted their own horizontal space, which interrupted the columns of *fila regnorum*, though the *fila* were used to designate individual years within Olympiads. Pages 92a-b of Helm's edition of Jerome's translation of the *Chronikoi Kanones*, which cover the years equivalent to 704-692 BCE, illustrate how this worked (see Figure 4).

A discussion of Eusebius' *Olympionikai* is in effect a discussion of the *Chronographia* in particular rather than the *Chronika* more generally. This is because, despite the fact that it prominently features numbered Olympiads, the *Chronikoi Kanones* does not supply the names of the victors in those Olympiads. The Olympic victor list appears only in the *Chronographia*. In addition, the two books of the *Chronika* were sufficiently different in content and format to have functionally separate identities.

Before looking at the *Chronographia* in more detail, it is necessary to form an understanding of the complex textual history of the *Chronika*. The original Greek text survives only in fragments, but a number of different translations are extant in varying degrees of completeness. The earliest translation was made by Jerome, who produced a Latin version of the *Chronikoi Kanones* in 380-1. Jerome did a great deal of literal translation, but he also added some material from Latin authors not used by Eusebius, modified some dates, and wrote a continuation covering the years 325-378. The manuscript tradition for Jerome's version of the *Chronikoi Kanones* begins very early and is exceedingly rich, and so Jerome's translation is considered to be the most reliable source for the original structure and contents of the *Chronikoi Kanones*. Jerome did not, however, translate the *Chronographia*.

An entirely separate line of transmission began c. 400 when two monks who were experts in chronography, Panodoros and Annianos, produced a new version of the *Chronika*. They heavily revised the

Eusebius (44a Helm)			
	Assyiorum	Hebraeorum	Sicyoniorum
	XIII ¹	VI	III
	XV	VII	V
	XVI	VIII	VI
5	XVII	VIII	VII
	XVIII	X	VIII
	XVIII	XI	VIII
	XX	XII	X
10	XXI	XIII	XI
	XXII	XIII	XII
	<u>DXX</u> ²	<u>XXVI</u>	<u>XIII</u>
	XXV	XVII	XV
15	XXVI	XVIII	XVI
	XXVII	XVIII	XVII
	XXVIII	XX	XVIII
	XXVIII	XXI	XVIII
	XXX	XXII	XX
20	XXXI	XXIII	XXI
25	XXXII	XXIII	XXII

The text given here comes from Rudolf Helm (ed.), *Die Chronik des Hieronymus*, 2nd ed, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1956 and is reprinted with the kind permission of Verlag Walter de Gruyter & Co. GmbH.

¹ The numeral XIII continues from the previous page the numeration of the regnal years in the *filum regnorum* of the Assyrian royal line. This is the fourteenth year of the reign of the Assyrian king Ascatades, equivalent to the sixth year of Moses' leadership of the Hebrews, the fourth year of the reign of the Sicyonian king Echyreus, the first year of the reign of the Argive king Crotopus, the first year of the reign of the Athenian king Cranaus, and the sixth year of the reign of the Egyptian king Acherres. In the Julian calendar, this year equates to 1506 BCE. As is apparent from the *fila regnorum* for Argive and Athenian kings found on the facing page, each *filum* was interrupted whenever a new king came to the throne, at which point his name and the total number of his regnal years were duly noted. For the sake of clarity some text from the bottom of page 43b has been added to the top of page 44b.

² Year (from the birth) of Abraham 520.

³ The superscript letters were added by Helm to clarify the year against which each entry in the *spatium historicum* should be read. Helm also added the line numbers in the margins, which do not appear in the manuscripts, in order to make it easier to trace rows horizontally across the page.

Chronikoi Kanones (44b Helm)			
	Argiuorum	Atheniensium	Aegyptiorum
	Argis·VIII· Crotopus· ann·XXI Agen-	Atheniensium·II· Cranaus·ann·VIII	
	I oris pa-	I	^b Cranaus indigena, ex cuius
	II storis fi-	II	filiae Attidis nomine
	III lius·VII	III	Attica uocatur
	ab Inacho ⁴		VIII
			Aegypti Cherres ann·XV. ⁵
5	III	III	^c In Creta regnauit Apteras,
	V	V	qui et urbem condidit
	VI	VI	
	VII	VII	
10	VIII	VIII	
	VIII	VIII	
		Atheniensium·III	
		Amphictyon·ann·X	
	<u>XI</u>	<u>II</u>	^d Deucalionis filius Dionysus,
15	XII	III	uerum non ille Semelae
	XIII	III	filius, cum in Atticam
	XIII	V	peruenisset, hospitio receptus
	XV	VI	a Semacho filiae eius capreae
	XVI	VII	pellem largitus est
20	XVII	VIII	
	XVIII	VIII	^e Templum Deli constructum
			ab Erysichthone, filio Cecropis
			^f Epafus, filius Ionis
			et Iouis, Memfin condidit,
25			cum in secunda Aegypto
			regnaret
	XVIII	X	
			I

⁴ This note indicates that in this year Crotopus became the eighth king of Argos, seventh in line from Inachus (the first king of Argos), and that he ruled for twenty-one years. He is identified as the son of the shepherd Agenor (and so not the son of the previous king Triopas). The corresponding entry in the *filum regnum* for Athenian kings indicates that Cranaus became the second king of Athens and that he ruled for nine years.

⁵ This note indicates that Cheres became king of Egypt and that he ruled for fifteen years.

3. Entries from Jerome's Translation of Eusebius' *Chronikoi Kanones* for the years equivalent to 1506–588 BCE from Rudolf Helm (ed.), *Die Chronik des Hieronymus*, 2nd ed, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1956. Reprinted with the kind permission of Verlag Walter de Gruyter & Co. GmbH.

formatting of the original text in order to make it more directly comparable with other Christian chronographies.¹⁰ A number of lengthy

¹⁰ On Panodoros and Annianos, see Adler 1989, 72–105; Adler and Tuffin 2002, lv–lix, lxiii–lxix; Gelzer 1880–85, 2: 189–204; and Wachsmuth 1895, 177–84. It is not clear whether Panodoros revised the entirety of the *Chronika* or only selected portions thereof. Panodoros also wrote a lengthy chronographic study in some sort of association with Annianos. (It has long been thought that Annianos revised a chronographic study by

Eusebius (92a Helm)				
	Medorum XVIII-Olymp. ¹ V	Hebraeorum Iuda VIII ²	Atheniensium X Post quem Apsander-ann-X	Romanorum XI
5	VI VII VIII XX-Olymp. VIII	X XI XII XIII	I II III III	XII XIII XIII XV
10	X XI	XIII XV	V VI	XVI XVII
15	<u>MCCCXX³ XII</u> XXI-Olymp. XIII XIII XV	<u>XVI</u> XVII XVIII XVIII	<u>VII</u> VIII VIII X Atheniensium-XX Eryxias-ann-X	<u>XVIII</u> XVIII XX XXI
20	XVI XXII-Olymp. XVII	XX XXI	I II	XXII XXIII

The text given here comes from Rudolf Helm (ed.), *Die Chronik des Hieronymus*, 2nd ed, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1956 and is reprinted with the kind permission of Verlag Walter de Gruyter & Co. GmbH.

¹ The beginning of the 19th Olympiad (704 BCE).

² The *spatium historicum* for sacred history on this page has no entries.

³ Year (from the birth) of Abraham 1320.

fragments of the Greek text of Panodoros' and Annianos' version of the *Chronika* survive in the work of Byzantine chronographers, most notably the *Ecloga Chronographica* of Syncellus (ninth century CE), and

Panodoros, but there is now a growing body of thought that the reverse was true. On this view, see Blackburn and Holford-Strevens 1999, 766, 776. The available biographical information about Panodoros and Annianos is very limited.) Panodoros' chronographic study is known largely through citations in the work of Syncellus. It seems to have been quite elaborate and to have included not only discussions of chronographic problems, but also tables of lunar and solar motion. It is possible that Panodoros revised selected portions of the *Chronika* rather than the entire text and incorporated the revised sections of the *Chronika* into his own chronographic study, so that there was but one work.

Chronikoi Kanones (92b Helm)			
	Macedonum	Lydorum	Aegyptiorum
	XXXII	XIII	VIII
5	XXXIII	XIII	VIII
	XXXIII	XV	X
	XXXV	XVI	XI
	XXXVI	XVII	XII
10		Post quem·V· Gyges· ann·XXXVI·	
	XXXVII	I	XIII
	XXXVIII	II	XIII
	<u>XXXVIII</u>	<u>III</u>	<u>XV</u>
15	XL	III ^a Mida cum apud Frygas regnaret, sanguinetauri potato extinctus est	XVI
	XLI	V	XVII
	XLII	VI	XVIII
20	XLIII	VII ^b Glaucus Chius primus ferri inter se glutinum excogitavit	XVIII
	XLIII	VIII	XX
25			Aegypti·XXVI·dynastia Amerres Aethiops·ann·XII

4. Entries from Jerome's Translation of Eusebius' *Chronikoi Kanones* for the years equivalent to 704–692 BCE from Rudolf Helm (ed.), *Die Chronik des Hieronymus*, 2nd ed, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1956. Reprinted with the kind permission of Verlag Walter de Gruyter & Co. GmbH.

in a fifteenth-century CE manuscript now in Paris (Codex Parisinus Graecus 2600).

In the mid-fifth century CE Panodoros' and Annianos' version of the *Chronika* was translated into both Armenian and Syriac. The Armenian translation survives in a single manuscript from the twelfth or thirteenth century CE.¹¹ The text of the *Chronographia* in that manuscript is very nearly complete, whereas the text of the *Chronikoi Kanones* has a number of lacunae and breaks off in the sixteenth year of Diocletian's

¹¹ There are also two handwritten copies of the Armenian manuscript of the *Chronika*, one from 1696 and one from 1793. On the textual history of the Armenian version of the *Chronika* and of both the Greek and Armenian versions of the Eusebian Olympic victor list, see Christesen and Martirosova-Torlone 2006.

reign (301 CE). The only significant remains of the Syriac version of the *Chronika* are two epitomes of the *Chronikoi Kanones*.

The standard approach to working with the *Chronographia* is to use the Armenian version to generate a general sense of structure and contents, and to rely wherever possible upon the available fragments of the Greek text. The Armenian version of the *Chronographia* is accessed by classical scholars primarily through Latin and German translations produced in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries CE. The German translation by Josef Karst is considered to be more accurate than the earlier Latin translation by Heinrich Petermann.¹²

4.2. EUSEBIUS' *CHRONOGRAPHIA*

The text of the *Chronographia* consists largely of extended quotations from earlier chronographic sources along with lists of kings and magistrates compiled on the basis of those quotations.¹³ At various points Eusebius adds his own analysis, in order to coordinate the various quotations.

There are five distinct sections in the *Chronographia*, dedicated to the Chaldaeans (under which heading Eusebius puts the Assyrians, Medes, Lydians, and Persians; pp. 4–34 Karst), Hebrews (34–62 Karst), Egyptians (62–80), Greeks (80–124), and Romans (125–143). The section on the Greeks is structured in the following fashion (the titles of the subheadings are Eusebius’):

The Greeks. How the Greeks Reckon Ancient History (80.7–124.29)

Introductory Note (80.7–18)

Epochs of the Greeks (80.19–81.15)

From Castor, on the Sicyonian Kingdom (concludes with a list of Sicyonian kings, 81.16–83.13)

From Castor, on the Argive Kingdom (concludes with a list of Argive kings, 83.14–85.28)

From Castor, on the Athenian Kingdom (concludes with a list of Athenian kings, life- and decennial-archons, 85.29–89.2)

¹² Mosshammer 1979, 58–60.

¹³ The section on the Hebrews is somewhat exceptional in that much of it consists of Eusebius’ attempt to reconcile the various divergent chronologies found in differing versions of the Hebrew scriptures.

- From Porphyry's *History of Philosophy* (intervals between key epochs, 89.3–10) Olympiads of the Greeks (89.11–103.33)
- From Diodorus' Book, on the Corinthian Kings (concludes with a list of Corinthian kings, 104.1–105.11)
- Kings of the Lacedaemonians, from Diodorus' Book (concludes with a list of Lacedaemonian kings, 105.12–106.27)
- From the Excerpts of the Writings of the Same Diodorus, on the Times of the Thalassocrats, Who Ruled the Seas (106.28–107.16)
- Macedonian Kings (concludes with a list of Macedonian kings down to Alexander the Great, 107.17–109.7)
- From Porphyry, A Philosopher Against Us¹⁴ (on Macedonian kings after Philip, concludes with a list of kings from Philip Arrhidaios to the end of the Macedonian kingdom, 109.8–114.17)
- Thessalian Kings (concludes with a list of Thessalian kings and generals, 114.18–116.33)
- Asian and Syrian Kings (concludes with a list of Antigonid and Seleucid kings, 117.1–124.29)¹⁵

The third subheading in the Greek section, which deals with the Sicyonian kingdom, is typical of the rest:

This chronology, the one now at hand, takes its beginning from the most ancient persons to list kings clearly, the Sicyonians. As there is much disagreement among the ancients who compiled the chronologies of Greek history, we will assemble, to the extent that it is possible, evidence from multiple sources that agree with one another. The chronographer Castor also deals with the reigns of the Sicyonian kings in his *Chronika*, giving them in a series. He summarizes the same material in the *Kanon*, writing out his treatment in this way.

From Castor, On the Sicyonian Kingdom

“We have here dealt with the Sicyonian kings, beginning with Egialeus, the first of the kings, and ending with Leucippos. And the kings took up a period of 959 years. And after the kings were the priests of Carnios, six of them, who held the priesthood for 33 years. After these Charidemus held the priesthood.

¹⁴ The text translated here as “A Philosopher Against Us” has been the subject of much dispute. See Croke 1983.

¹⁵ Unless otherwise noted, English translations of the Armenian version of the *Chronographia* are those of this author and are based on Karst's German.

He could not meet the expenses and fled.” This is the verbatim wording of Castor. The succession in the kingdom of Sicyon can be laid out in detail, in the following way:

Kings of the Sicyonians

The first, Egialeus, 52 years. From whom Egiala, what is now the Peloponnese, was named. They say that he ruled Sicyon as the first king in the fifteenth year of Belos, the first ruler of the Assyrian kingdom; the tale about him is that he was the son of Poseidon and Libya.

The second, Europs, 45 years. He ruled in the time of Ninos, the son of Belos.

The third, Telchin, 20 years. He ruled in the time of Semiramis.

The fourth, Apis, 25 years. From whom what is now the Peloponnese was named.

The fifth, Thelxion, 52 years.

The sixth, Egidros, 34 years,

The seventh, Thyrimachos, 45 years. During his reign, Inachos ruled as the first king of the Argives.

The eighth, Leucippos, 53 years.

The ninth, Messapos, 47 years. During his reign it happened that Joseph, who is mentioned by the Hebrews, ruled the Egyptians.

The tenth, Eratos, 46 years.

The eleventh, Plemneos, 48 years.

The twelfth, Orthopolis, 63 years.

The thirteenth Marathonios, 30 years. During his reign Cecrops the double-bodied ruled as the first king of Attica

The fourteenth, Marathon, 20 years. During his reign, Moses, the general of the Hebrews, led the exodus from Egypt, which will be shown to have taken place at this time.

The fifteenth, Chyreus, 55 years. During his reign, Danaos ruled the Argives.

The sixteenth, Corax, 30 years.

The seventeenth, Epopeus, 35 years.

The eighteenth, Laomedon, 40 years.

The nineteenth, Sicion, 45 years. During his reign, the line of Argive kings came to an end, itself stretching on 540 years.

The twentieth, Polibos, 40 years.

The twenty-first, Inachos, 40 years.

The twenty-second, Phestos, 8 years.

The twenty-third, Adrastus, 4 years.

The twenty-fourth, Poliphides, 31 years. During his reign, Troy fell.

The twenty-fifth, Pelasgos, 20 years. During his reign, Aeneas ruled the Latins.

The twenty-sixth, Zeuxippos, 31 years.

Altogether there were 26 Sicyonian kings, and they ruled for 959 years. After this, there were no more kings, but priests of Carnios.

The first to hold the priesthood, Archelaos, 1 year.

The second, Otomedon, 1 year.

The third, Theocritos, 4 years.

The fourth, Euneos, 6 years.

The fifth, Theonomos, 9 years.

The sixth, Amphichies, 12 years.

The seventh and last, Charidemos, who, since he could not bear the expense, fled.

From here to the first Olympiad, 352 years.

In all for the Sicyonian kings and priests, 998 years. (81.6–83.9 Karst; see Appendix 5.4 for Karst's German text)

Eusebius' chronographic interests are clearly front and center. He is careful to give the total number of years assigned to the Sicyonian kingdom, and synchronizes key epochs, including the exodus under Moses and the Fall of Troy, with specific kings. In addition, he notes the number of years between the end of the line of Sicyonian kings and priests and the first Olympiad, another key epoch.

4.3. THE EUSEBIAN OLYMPIC VICTOR LIST

We are now in a position to examine the Olympic victor list in the *Chronographia*. This list is preserved both in the Armenian manuscript of the *Chronographia* and in Codex Parisinus Graecus (CPG) 2600, which contains an assortment of classical texts, including a collection of excerpts from the *Chronika* in Greek. For obvious reasons the Greek version in CPG 2600 is the more valuable of the two, and we will focus primarily on that version here.

The Olympic victor list in CPG 2600 consists of three parts: an introduction, a chronographic catalog of Olympic victors, and stories about famous athletes. As we will see, the first two parts of this Olympic victor list come from the *Chronographia* while the third was added by Panodoros when he revised Eusebius' work. The text is rather lengthy and, particularly in regard to the victor catalog,

relatively straightforward in regard to format and content. In the interests of brevity, only the introductory material and the stories about famous athletes are provided in full, along with excerpts from the victor catalog located between them.¹⁶ (See Appendix 4.1 for the Greek text. Places where the translation draws upon the Armenian rather than the Greek version are indicated in bold type.)

Here it seems to me to be a good idea to add also to my account the Olympiads that have been recorded by the Greeks.

Olympiads of the Greeks First Olympiad, in which Coroibos of Elis won the *stadion*.

For it seems that from this time onward the chronology of events in Greece was accurately recorded on the basis of these Olympiads. The events that happened before this time were set down according to each man's fancy.

Concerning the Founding of the Olympic Games

It is necessary to say a few things about the games, since some, pushing their founding back to the earliest times, say that they were founded before the time of Heracles by one of the Idaian Dactyls. Next they were held by Aethlios as a test of strength for his sons. From his name the contestants were called athletes. After Aethlios, his son Epeios held the games. Next Endymion presided over the rites, next in succession Alexinos, then Oinomaïos. After him Pelops held the games in honor of his ancestor Zeus. Next came Heracles the son of Alcmene and Zeus. From the time of Heracles there were ten generations, though some say three complete [Olympiads], to Iphitos' restoration of the games. For this man was Elean, and taking thought for Greece, and wishing that the *poleis* would cease from wars, he dispatched envoys from all of the Peloponnese to consult the oracle in order to inquire about finding deliverance from the endemic warfare. The god prophesized as follows to the Peloponnesians:

O inhabitants of the Peloponnese, going to the altar,
sacrifice and do whatever the seers might say,
with the Eleans as ministers overseeing ancestral law.

To the Eleans the god prophesized as follows:

Defend your fatherland, but hold off from war,
being leaders for the Greeks in a friendship of common justice,
whenever the genial penteteric year arrives.

¹⁶ A new critical edition of the Greek text of the Eusebian Olympic victor list and a complete English translation can be found in Christesen and Martirosova-Torlone 2006, which is the source of the translation supplied here.

Thanks to this, Iphitos announced the establishment of the truce, [which was fixed by Heracles at the summer solstice, and they no longer waged war against each other], and Iphitos instituted the contests together with Lycurgus the Lacedaemonian, who happened to be a relative of his. For both of them descended from Heracles. At that time the only contest was the *stadion* race, but later the rest of the contests were added, one after another.

Aristodemus of Elis and his colleagues relate that contestants began to be recorded after the 27th Olympiad **from that of Iphitos**, whichever athletes were victors, of course. Before that time no one was recorded on account of the neglect of those who came before. In the 28th Olympiad Coroibos of Elis winning the *stadion* was the first to be registered. And this Olympiad was ordained as the first. The Greeks reckon their years from it. Polybius also relates the same things as Aristodemus. Callimachus says that, from the time of Iphitos, thirteen Olympiads passed without being registered, the Olympiad in which Coroibos was victor being the 14th. Many say that from the time of the foundation of the contest by Heracles the son of Alcmena to the first numbered Olympiad there were 459 years. The Eleans conduct a penteteteric contest, four years passing between festivals.

The Olympiads of the Greeks from the first to the 247th Olympiad, in which Antoninus son of Severus ruled over the Romans.

1st Olympiad, in which Coroibos of Elis won the *stadion*.

For this was the only contest in which they competed for thirteen Olympiads.

2nd. Antimachos of Elis *stadion*.

Romos and Romulos were born.

3rd. Androclos of Messenia *stadion*.

4th. Polychares of Messenia *stadion*.

5th. Aischines of Elis *stadion*.

6th. Oibotas of Dyme *stadion*.

7th. Diocles of Messenia *stadion*.

Romulos founded Rome.

8th. Anticles of Messenia *stadion*.

9th. Xenocles of Messenia *stadion*.

10th. Dotades of Messenia *stadion*.

11th. Leochares of Messenia *stadion*.

12th. Oxythemis of Coroneia *stadion*.

13th. Diocles of Corinth *stadion*.

14th. Desmon of Corinth *stadion*.

The *diaulos* was also added, and Hyphenos of Elis won.

15th. Orsippus of Megara *stadion*.

The *dolichos* was added, and they ran nude. Acanthos of Laconia won.

...

26th. Callisthenes of Laconia *stadion*.

The pentathlete Philombrotos of Laconia won in three Olympiads. The Carneia, a contest in singing to the *kithara*, was held in Lacedaemonia for the first time.

27th. Eurybos of Athens *stadion*.

28th. Charmis of Laconia *stadion*, who trained on a diet of dry figs. The Pisatans ran this Olympiad, the Eleans being occupied on account of a war against the Dymaiaans.

29th. Chionis of Laconia, who could jump 52 feet, *stadion*.

30th. The same, a second time.

The Pisatans rebelled against the Eleans and ran this Olympiad and the next 22 Olympiads as well.

...

114th. Micinas of Rhodes *stadion*.

Alexander died, after which his empire was divided up among many, and Ptolemy became king of Egypt and Alexandria.

115th. Damasias of Amphipolis *stadion*.

116th. Demosthenes of Laconia *stadion*.

117th. Parmenides of Mytilene *stadion*.

118th. Andromenes of Corinth *stadion*.

Antenor of Athens or Miletus, (won) the *pankration*, uncontested, a *periodonikes*, unconquered in three age groups.

119th. Andromenes of Corinth *stadion*.

120th. Pythagoras of Magnesia-on-Maeander *stadion*.

Ceras of Argos (won) the wrestling, he who tore the hooves off a cow.

...

142nd. Crates of Alexandria *stadion*.

Capros of Elis won the wrestling and *pankration*, next after Heracles, and was listed as second from Heracles.

143rd. Heracleitos of Samos *stadion*.

144th. Heracleides of Salamis **on Cyprus** *stadion*.

145th. Pyrrhias of Aetolia *stadion*.

Moschos of Colophon (won) the boys' boxing. He alone won the *periodos* as a boy. The boys' *pankration* was added, and Phaidimos of Alexandria won.

...

243rd. Isidoros of Alexandria *stadion*.

Pertinax, and then Severus, became emperors of the Romans.

244th. The same, a second time.

245th. Alexandros of Alexandria *stadion*.

246th. Epinicios, also known as Cynas, of Cyzicus *stadion*.

247th. Satornilos of Gortyn on Crete *stadion*.

Antoninus, also known as Caracalla, became emperor of the Romans.

248th. Heliodoros, also known as Trosidamas, of Alexandria *stadion*.

249th. The same, a second time. End.

Up to this point we find a register of Olympiads. And Eusebius (records) these things. Other chronographers, including Dexippus the Athenian, also make note both of the series of Olympiads and those who were victorious in those Olympiads. Dexippus, who wrote the *Chronike Historia*, which goes to the 262nd Olympiad, says that Dionysios of Alexandria won at that Olympiad.

Since the register of Olympiads cited above makes no mention of many famous athletes, we will speak of a few of the many. Furthermore, Titormos, who flourished in the time of the athlete Milon, was not an athlete but an oxherd. Milon, having made trial of Titormos' strength, and being amazed at its immensity, cried out. This is where the saying "this man is another Heracles" comes from.

Glaukos of Carystos was a boxer, who was irresistibly strong, and Cleomedes of Astypalaia, about whom there was an oracle:

The last of the heroes, Cleomedes of Astypalaia, was an unconquered boxer, as was Areios the Egyptian. Straton the son of Corragos won the wrestling together with the *pankration* at the Olympics and again in the next Olympiad. He did the same at the Nemean, Pythian, and Isthmian Games.

Euthymos of Locris was a boxer who was a source of wonder on account of his surpassing bodily strength.

Eurydamas of Cyrene was a boxer. When his teeth were knocked out by his opponent, he won, after swallowing his teeth so that his opponent would not know what had happened.

Dioxippos of Athens was an athlete who made a display of his unique strength to King Alexander. After Dioxippos took off his clothes and picked up a club, a Macedonian, one of Alexander's Companions, attacked him, wearing full armor and brandishing a spear. Dioxippos, naked, overcame him, responding to a challenge.

Cleitomachos of Thebes was a boxer who was a source of wonder because his strength made him unconquerable and because of his disciplined training. For he did not put up with even the slightest mention of sex. When he encountered erotic stories at symposia, or elsewhere, he immediately stood up and made his escape. He did this, in order that, by not ever giving way to sexual desires, the peak of his strength would not be wasted away.

The jump of the athlete Phaullos of Croton is said to have been 52 feet. He alone came from Italy to help the Greeks against the Persians, in a trireme he equipped at his own expense.

Melancomas was the fairest and biggest boxer. They say that the Emperor Titus was enamored of him. He never wounded anyone, nor struck anyone. He wore out all his opponents by staying in his fighting stance and holding up his hands.

The athlete Aurelius Helix, who lived during the reign of the emperor Severus, so surpassed his opponents that he competed in both the wrestling and *pankration*, at least in Rome. For the Eleans, being jealous of him, did not call any wrestler into the stadium. He won each of the two events, which no one else entered, clearly in the contests at Rome. In order that I might leave the rest out, I will content myself with only Nicophon of Miletus, about whom there is the following epigram:

The thick tendon of a bull, the iron shoulders of Atlas, the sacred beard of Heracles, and the leonine eyes of the Milesian giant not even Olympian Zeus looked upon without trembling, when Nicophon won the men's boxing at Olympia.

There was also in the time of Theodosios the Great a wrestler from Philadelphia in Lydia, Philoumenos by name. He is said to have struck a bronze statue and to have smashed the bronze deep inward where he struck it. And on it there was an epigram, the last line of which is:

The bronze is far weaker than my hand.

And Metagenes of Thasos won numberless victories in boxing, for he was irresistibly strong.

This is a modified version of a standard catalog of Olympic victors, adapted to chronographic purposes through the deletion of a considerable amount of information that lacked chronographic significance and the addition of synchronizations that had nothing to do with the Olympics. Victors in events other than the *stadion* were omitted

because they were not relevant to any system of reckoning time. *Stadion* victors were retained because of the tradition of identifying Olympiads by both numbers and names of *stadion* victors. Cross-referencing numbers and names helped counter the corruption of the alphabetic numerals used in Greek manuscripts. A list of Olympic *stadion* victors was, therefore, a necessity for anyone interested in Greek chronography because it was the means by which Olympiad dates could be properly checked. When Eusebius produced the *Chronikoi Kanones* he dropped the names of *stadion* victors and kept just the numbered Olympiads because the continuous numeration provided by the *fila regnorum* precluded confusion.

The trimming back of the number of listed victors was counter-balanced by the addition of supplemental chronographic information. This includes notes about the accession of Roman emperors, the foundation of Rome, the accession date of Cyrus (a means of linking Olympiads to the Persian king list and Biblical history), the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War, the death of Dareios and the capture of Babylon, and the death of Alexander (all important epochs). The Eusebian catalog of *stadion* victors also supplies a certain amount of information that was presented separately from the victor catalog in *Olympionikon anagraphai*. This includes the introduction of new events into the Olympic program (e.g., the *diaulos* in the 14th Olympiad), the names of athletes who won multiple victories over multiple Olympiads (e.g., Philombrotos in the entry for the 26th Olympiad), and stories about famous athletes (e.g., Ceras in the entry for the 120th Olympiad). The names of athletes who won the *periodos* or multiple victories at a single Olympiad (particularly those who won both the wrestling and *pankration*), which were noted in standard victor catalogs, also appear in the Eusebian catalog (e.g., Antenor in the entry for the 118th Olympiad and Capros in the entry for the 142nd).

As almost nothing survives of other chronographic catalogs of Olympic victors, it is impossible to know if the format of the Eusebian catalog was more or less standard.¹⁷ It is certain that anyone producing

¹⁷ The Eusebian list shows considerable internal variation. For example, only a few of the total number of *periodonikai* are mentioned. (For a listing of known *periodonikai*, see Knab 1980 (1934).) This may be due to the excerptor who produced the list (see

a chronographic catalog would have needed to both add to and subtract from the information found in standard catalogs. Particular kinds of information, such as synchronizations among different systems of time-reckoning, had to be added. Subtractions were driven by the irrelevance of some elements of standard catalogs and by the fact that chronographic catalogs appeared in Olympiad chronographies alongside other eponym lists. The various eponym lists in Olympiad chronographies were closely tied together, and most eponym lists were quite compact. It is thus likely that all chronographic catalogs were formatted like a standard eponym list, which is precisely what we see in the *Chronographia*. All chronographic catalogs of Olympic victors were, therefore, probably roughly similar in terms of content and structure. This means that the Eusebian catalog offers significant insight into the victor catalogs in other Olympiad chronographies.

4.4. THE SOURCE OF THE EUSEBIAN OLYMPIC VICTOR LIST

As we have seen, Eusebius assembled the material in the *Chronographia* by drawing on pre-existing texts, most of which he specifically identifies. Neither the Greek nor Armenian version of the Eusebian Olympic victor list, however, includes an ascription. This has given rise to a considerable amount of controversy over the origin of this list. Throughout the discussion that follows it is important to keep in mind that the Eusebian Olympic victor list as it has come down to us through CPG 2600 has three distinct parts: introductory comments, the catalog of *stadion* victors, and stories about famous athletes. It will be argued here that the Eusebian Olympic victor list ultimately derives from the work of an author named Cassius Longinus, who wrote an Olympiad chronicle that appeared in 212 CE or shortly thereafter. This chronicle covered the period from the first to the 247th Olympiad (209 CE) in eighteen books and listed the winners in all Olympic events. At some point between 217 and 221, Sextus Julius Africanus extracted from

below), or it may reflect the grafting together over the course of time of numerous different recensions of the Olympic victor list, each of which had its own peculiarities. On the latter point, see Appendix 17.

Longinus' chronicle a catalog of *stadion* victors and some brief comments of Longinus on the history of the Olympics. Africanus added notes on synchronisms between the first Olympiad and other systems of dating and updated the catalog of *stadion* victors by supplying the names of the winners in the 248th and 249th Olympiads. Eusebius copied Africanus' extract into the *Chronographia* and affixed some of his own observations on the chronographic dimensions of the Games. The introductory comments to the Eusebian Olympic victor list in CPG 2600 thus derive from Longinus, Africanus, and Eusebius, while the catalog of *stadion* victors derives from Longinus via Africanus. The stories about famous athletes were added by Panodoros when he revised the *Chronika*.

The nature of the evidence is such that it is more efficient to take these issues in reverse order and begin with the source of the final part of the Eusebian Olympic victor list, the stories about famous athletes. A note at the end of the catalog of *stadion* victors makes it clear that the excerpts in CPG 2600 are not derived directly from the original version of the *Chronika*:

Up to this point we find a register of Olympiads. And Eusebius (records) these things. Other chronographers, including Dexippus the Athenian, also make note both of the series of Olympiads and those who were victorious in those Olympiads. Dexippus, who wrote the *Chronike Historia*, which goes to the 262nd Olympiad, says that Dionysios of Alexandria won at that Olympiad.

Since the register of Olympiads cited above makes no mention of many famous athletes, we will speak of a few of the many. (ll. 678–85 in Appendix 4.1)

The numerous stories that follow include one about an athlete who is explicitly dated to the reign of Theodosios the Great (379–395 CE).

The “we” in question was almost certainly Panodoros and Annianos, and the excerpts in CPG 2600 likely derive from their revised version of the *Chronika*. This is most immediately evident from the fact that there is an identical corruption in the entry for the 36th Olympiad in the Olympic victor list as transmitted in CPG 2600 and in the Armenian translation of the *Chronika*. The Armenian *Chronika* was based on the revision of Panodoros and Annianos, which in turn means

that the excerpts from CPG 2600 must come from the same source.¹⁸ The Armenian translators worked with the *Chronika* because of its apologetic potential and had little interest in athletics as such. They chose to not include Panodoros' stories about famous athletes in their translation, as a result of which the Armenian version of the Eusebian Olympic victor list is significantly shorter than the Greek version in CPG 2600.

The issues surrounding the source of the catalog of *stadion* victors are considerably more complicated. Although the *Chronographia* contains a certain amount of analysis written by Eusebius, the absence of a source citation for the Olympic victor list in both the Greek and Armenian versions should not be taken as a sign that Eusebius compiled the victor catalog himself. Rather, the absence of a source citation for the Olympic victor list is part of a larger pattern of textual disturbances in the section of the *Chronographia* devoted to Greek chronologies. These disturbances can with some likelihood be traced back to Panodoros.

All of the excerpts in four of the five sections of the *Chronographia* include ascriptions. There are, however, a number of problems with source citations in the section of the *Chronographia* that deals with Greek systems of time-reckoning. There are twelve separate lists in that section, only seven of which include a clear indication of the source of the material in the list in question. Here are the headings as given in the Armenian manuscript of the *Chronographia*:

[From Castor, on the Sicyonian Kingdom]

From Castor, on the Argive Kingdom

From Castor, on the Athenian Kingdom

From Porphyry's *History of Philosophy* (intervals between key epochs)

Olympiads of the Greeks

From Diodorus' Book, on the Corinthian Kings

Kings of the Lacedaemonians, from Diodorus' Book

From the Excerpts of the Writings of the Same Diodorus, on the Times of
the Thalassocrats, Who Ruled the Seas

Macedonian Kings (down to Alexander the Great)

¹⁸ The attribution of the Eusebian excerpts in CPG 2600 to Panodoros and Annianos goes back to Alfred von Gutschmid, whose comments can be found in Schoene 1866–75, 1: 242. Gutschmid based his analysis on the fact that the author of the excerpts in CPG 2600 cited Eusebius and Dexippus, both of whom were key sources for Panodoros. He did not note the textual corruption referred to above.

From Porphyry, *A Philosopher Against Us* (Macedonian kings after Philip)
 Thessalian Kings
 Asian (Antigonid) and Syrian (Seleucid) Kings

The title for the subsection on Sicyonian kings is missing, but Castor is explicitly mentioned immediately before that subsection begins and when the quotation from his work ends, and Karst with good reason restored the title given above. The subsection devoted to the Macedonian kings has a title but lacks both an ascription and internal indications of authorship. However, Syncellus, who drew heavily on the *Chronika*, specifically cites Diodorus in his discussion of Macedonian kings (*Ecloga Chronographica* 316.10). Moreover, Diodorus is cited as the source for three lists that precede the Macedonian king list in the *Chronographia*, and so his name must have fallen out of the title for the subsection on Macedonian kings. The list of Alexander's successors in Macedonia comes from Porphyry, and it is likely that the three, related lists that follow, which are not attributed, come from the same source.¹⁹ This leaves only the Olympic victor list unattributed.

The Greek version of the Olympic victor list in CPG 2600 also lacks a source citation, but this is unsurprising as source citations are few and far between in this manuscript. Some or all of eleven of the twenty-three chronologies given in the original version of the *Chronographia* is preserved in CPG 2600, but only two of the eleven include ascriptions. Moreover, ascriptions are lacking in CPG 2600 for the chronologies of the Persians, Athenians, and Assyrians, whereas the Armenian version includes the proper citations. In the same vein, the section title "Olympiads of the Greeks" (to which a source citation for the Olympic victor list must have been attached at one point) is preserved in the Armenian text, but not in CPG 2600.

The ordering of the material in the *Chronographia* indicates that the problems with source citations stem from faulty transmission of the original text. In the preface to the *Chronographia*, Eusebius promises to provide twenty-three separate chronologies. The order in which Eusebius lists those chronologies is identical to the order in which they actually appear in the Armenian text, except in the section of the

¹⁹ On the ascriptions in the Eusebian source list, see Mosshammer 1979, 128–31.

TABLE 15. *Ordering of Greek Chronographic Material in Eusebius' Chronographia*

Preface (3.3–31 Karst)	Introduction to the Section on Greek Chronologies (80.7–18 Karst)	Actual Order in Which Lists Appear in Armenian Version of <i>Chronika</i>
Chaldaeans		Chaldaeans
Assyrians		Assyrians
Medes		Medes
Lydians		Lydians
Persians		Persians
Hebrews		Hebrews
Egyptians		Egyptians
Ptolemies		Ptolemies
Sicyonians	Athenians	Sicyonians
Argives	Argives	Argives
Athenians	Sicyonians	Athenians
Lacedaemonians	Lacedaemonians	Greek Epochs
Corinthians	Corinthians	Olympiads
Thalassocrats	Thalassocrats	Corinthians
Olympiads	Olympiads	Lacedaemonians
Macedonians	Macedonians	Thalassocrats
Thessalians	Thessalians	Macedonians
Syrians	Syrians	Thessalians
Asians	Asians	Asians
		Syrians
Aeneas/Latins		Aeneas/Latins
Roman kings after Romulus		Roman kings after Romulus
Roman emperors		(text breaks off)
Consuls		

Chronographia dedicated to Greek chronologies. That section begins with another listing of contents, which, like the preface, does not match the actual order in which the material appears in the text as transmitted. (See Table 15.)

Apart from a small divergence in regard to the Sicyonians and Athenians, the two preliminary listings of contents match perfectly. The actual order in which the chronologies appear, however, is very

different. Although it is possible that there was from the outset a mismatch between the two preliminary listings of contents and the order in which Eusebius exhibited the relevant materials, it is much more likely that this part of the text is problematic. A significant reshuffling of content is unlikely to have been due to the work of a copyist. Both the Armenian translation of the *Chronika* and the Greek excerpts in CPG 2600 are based upon the revised version of Panodoros, and it is likely that Panodoros reorganized the section on Greek chronologies and that a number of source citations, including that for the Olympic victor list, dropped out in the process.

The Olympic victor list, like the vast majority of the basic chronological information in the *Chronographia*, was almost certainly taken in large part from an earlier source. A prefatory statement at the beginning of the catalog of *stadion* victors provides valuable clues about the nature of that source:

The Olympiads of the Greeks, from the first to the 247th Olympiad, in which Antoninus son of Severus ruled over the Romans.

The catalog, however, actually goes down to the 249th Olympiad. The 247th Olympiad ran from 209 to 212 CE, and Caracalla, the Antoninus mentioned in the heading, became sole emperor in 211, so there can be little doubt that the catalog as originally compiled stopped at the 247th Olympiad. Neither the ascension of Caracalla nor the 247th or 249th Olympiads held any special significance for Eusebius, so he must have copied the catalog from an earlier source.

The identity of the author from whom Eusebius took his Olympic victor list has been debated for over four centuries. When the Eusebian Olympic victor list first came to light in the early seventeenth century CE with the discovery of CPG 2600, Joseph Scaliger, who published the *editio princeps*, attributed it to Sextus Julius Africanus. Africanus was born sometime around 160 CE, possibly in Jerusalem, and studied in the cathetical school of Heraclas in Alexandria. Africanus wrote an encyclopedic work, the *Kestoi*, that consisted of notes on a wide range of themes (warfare, medicine, agriculture, etc.), letters on religious subjects, and, most importantly, the *Chronographia*. The *Chronographia* was the first Christian chronicle of world history and was regularly

consulted by later Christian chronographers including Eusebius and Syncellus.²⁰

Scaliger had devoted many years to reconstructing the text of Eusebius' *Chronika* and was convinced that Eusebius had done little more than transcribe Africanus' chronicle. In the *Prolegomena* to his *magnum opus* on the *Chronika*, the *Thesaurus Temporum*, Scaliger wrote:

There is nothing rich, old, or excellent that (Eusebius) did not take from Africanus—for example, that most splendid monument of the Egyptian dynasties, which can never be sufficiently praised, the kings of Assyria, the victors in the *stadion*, the Sicyonian kings, the kings of the Argives, the kings of the Athenians, and much more besides. While he took all of this from Africanus, he barely mentioned him, except at those points he disagreed with his opinion²¹

Scaliger admitted that it was not obvious how Eusebius could have copied the bulk of Africanus' widely read work and recirculated it under his own name without any fear of censure. The publication in 1818 of the Armenian manuscript of the *Chronika* provided a wealth of material that undermined Scaliger's position, but his belief that the Eusebian Olympic victor list was copied from Africanus remained more or less intact. This was because the victor catalog, as Scaliger pointed out, reached down to the time of Africanus, not to the time of Eusebius. Africanus' *Chronographiai* is said by Syncellus to have ended with AM 5723, or 221 CE (*Ecloga Chronographica* 123.12–13, 251.27–9), which was the first year of the 250th Olympiad.²² This fits nicely with the terminal point of the victor catalog in the *Chronika*, which

²⁰ On Africanus and his work, see Adler 1989, 15–71; Gelzer 1880–85, 1: 19–283 and *passim*; Kofsky 2000, 38–40; and Landes 1988. Scaliger published the *editio princeps* of CPG 2600 as part of a massive chronographic study of the ancient world, the *Thesaurus Temporum*, in 1606. A second, posthumous edition appeared in 1658. On the early history of the attribution of the Eusebian Olympic victor list to Africanus, see Grafton 1983–93, 2: 536–59, 569–91 and Mosshammer 1979, 138–46. The *Thesaurus Temporum* included a register of Olympic victors compiled by Scaliger on the basis of the sources at his disposal. Scaliger wrote this register in Greek and modeled it on similar registers in ancient sources. It was, as a result, frequently mistaken for an authentic, ancient Olympic victor list up through the mid-nineteenth century.

²¹ The English translation of Scaliger's Latin comes from Grafton 1983–93, 2: 582, quoting Scaliger 1658, *Prolegomena* sig. #3 r.

²² For a discussion of the end point of Africanus' *Chronographiai*, see Gelzer 1880–85, 1: 29, 34–5, 277–80. On Africanus' *Annus Mundi* system, see Section 1.2.

ends with the 249th Olympiad. Even scholars such as Heinrich Gelzer, who argued that Eusebius made only modest use of Africanus' *Chronographiai*, continued to believe that Eusebius' Olympic victor list came from Africanus' work. Gelzer was impressed by the overlap between the end of the victor catalog and the end of Africanus' *Chronographiai*. He also believed that the sections of Africanus' *Chronographiai* that pertained to the years after 776 were organized around Olympiads and that Africanus had, as a result, good reason to include an Olympic victor list.²³

The attribution of the Eusebian Olympic victor list to Africanus stood largely unchallenged until it was attacked in detail by Alden Mosshammer in 1979.²⁴ Mosshammer made four key arguments. First, he pointed out that Scaliger's belief that Eusebius did little more than transcribe Africanus' *Chronographiai* had become unsupportable, not least because the work of Porphyry, who wrote after Africanus, is repeatedly cited in the *Chronika*. Moreover, the chronographic works of Africanus and Eusebius were differently structured and enshrined different chronologies.²⁵ Africanus was driven by an interest in eschatology, and his *Annus Mundi* system of dating put creation 5500 years before the birth of Jesus and looked forward to the end of time in AM 6000. Eusebius rejected eschatology in favor of a providentialist view of history that focused on the gradual unfolding of God's plans for humankind rather than the imminent end of the world.²⁶ He began his chronology with Abraham on the grounds that precise numbers of years could not be assigned to earlier figures, but he did estimate that creation took place roughly 5,200 years before the birth of Jesus.²⁷

Second, Mosshammer made the case that the introductory comments of the Eusebian Olympic victor list contradict the one statement about the Olympics that can be definitively attributed to Africanus. Syncellus cites the third book of Africanus' *Chronographiai* for the statement that the first Olympiad for which victors' names were recorded,

²³ Gelzer 1880–85, I: 161–9.

²⁴ Mosshammer 1979, 138–68.

²⁵ On the differences between Africanus' and Eusebius' chronologies, see also Adler 2006 and Croke 1982.

²⁶ Burgess 1999, 79–84 and Landes 1988.

²⁷ *Chronographia* 34–62 Karst as well as Adler 1989, 43–105 and Mosshammer 1979, 148.

i.e., the Coroibos Olympics, was the 14th Olympiad (*Ecloga Chronographica* 233.14–17). The introductory comments to the Eusebian victor list, however, give two variants, in which the Coroibos Olympics was either the 28th or the 14th Olympiad. The order and manner in which the variants are presented seem to indicate that Eusebius himself took the Coroibos Olympics to be the 28th.

Third, Mosshammer called his readers' attention to the fact that Eusebius provides in the *Chronographia* a list of the sources he used for the chronologies of the Near Eastern kingdoms and of Greece and that Africanus is not included in that list. This list is known only from the Armenian version, where it appears in a position that makes it look like a prescript to the Roman chronologies. This is, however, another textual problem, and it has long been recognized that it is in fact a postscript to the Greek chronologies.²⁸ It reads as follows:

All of what has been discussed has been collected from earlier records, which are here listed in order:

Alexander Polyhistor;

Abydenus, who wrote histories of the Assyrians and Medes;

Manetho's three books of Egyptian antiquities;

Cephalion's nine books named after the Muses;

Diodorus' library of forty books, in which he gives a brief epitome of history down to Julius Caesar;

Cassius Longinus' eighteen books, in which he has epitomized 138 Olympiads;

Phlegon's, the freedman of the emperor, fourteen books, in which he has epitomized 229 Olympiads;

Castor's six books, in which he has epitomized the period from Ninos, going down 181 Olympiads;

Thallus' three books, in which he has briefly epitomized the period from the Fall of Troy to the 167th Olympiad;

Porphyry, the philosopher and our contemporary, from the Fall of Troy to the reign of Claudius . . . (125.6–24 Karst)

This list applies to all the material that precedes it, with the exception of that pertaining to the Hebrews. Eusebius drew a sharp line between sacred and secular history and used a different set of sources for the

²⁸ Schwartz 1957, 507.

former, which he specifies both in the *Chronographia* (34.9–13 Karst) and in the *Chronikoi Kanones* (113a Helm). In addition, the list does not apply to the Roman material that follows since Eusebius explicitly states that he used Dionysius of Halicarnassus as a source for early Roman history, the date of Aeneas' arrival in Italy (126–131 Karst), and the kings of Rome (140–142). Mosshammer reached the reasonable conclusion that the source list is accurate and that Eusebius did not draw on Africanus for secular history in general or for the Olympic victor list in particular.

Finally, Mosshammer argued that Africanus had no particular reason to include an Olympic victor list in his work because he did not use Olympiads as the organizational framework of the later sections of the *Chronographiai*. Mosshammer was of the opinion that Africanus only took an interest in Olympiads insofar as they were necessary for synchronizing key dates.

Mosshammer's treatment of the issues served as an important corrective to the previously unquestioned belief that Africanus produced the Olympic victor list found in Eusebius' *Chronika*. The evidence for the internal organization of Africanus' work is at present too limited to decide between Mosshammer's and Gelzer's divergent views on whether Africanus used Olympiads as an organizational framework. However, Mosshammer's other points were well taken, most especially his use of the source list quoted above. Earlier scholars took the position that the list in question, like almost everything else in the *Chronika*, was copied verbatim from Africanus and that Eusebius did not update it either because he wished to conceal his reliance on Africanus or because he felt it was sufficiently obvious as to obviate the need for specific citation.²⁹ However, once one puts to the side Scaliger's obviously flawed judgment on Eusebius, according to which Eusebius copied the work of his predecessor nearly word-for-word, the absence of Africanus from the source list assumes greater importance. William Adler has recently and persuasively argued that Eusebius showed "independence and originality in his treatment of Africanus' chronicle,"³⁰ and it is extremely unlikely that Eusebius was so abjectly

²⁹ Gelzer 1880–85, 2: 79–80.

³⁰ Adler 2006, 156.

TABLE 16. *The Eusebian Source List (Chronographia 125.6–24 Karst) and Explicit Citations in the Chronographia of the Authors in that List*

Author	Cited For
Alexander Polyhistor	Chaldaeian history and kings (4–15 Karst)
Abydenus	Chaldaeian history and kings (15–20, 25–6)
Manetho	Egyptian history and dynasties (63–74)
Cephalion	Assyrian kings (28–30)
Diodorus Siculus	Corinthian, Lacedaemonian, and Macedonian kings as well as thalassocracies (104–7) and early Roman history (136–40)
Castor	Assyrian (26–7), Sicyonian, and Argive kings, Athenian kings and archons (81–9), and Roman kings and consuls (142–3)
Porphyry	Intervals between key epochs as calculated by Apollodorus (89), rulers of the Hellenistic kingdoms after Alexander (109–24)

dependent upon his predecessor as to transcribe a source list verbatim. Moreover, Eusebius was unusually scrupulous in the *Chronographia*, especially relative to most other ancient authors, in regard to citing his sources. The source list provided by Eusebius is thus a strong indication that Eusebius did not count Africanus among his sources for Greek chronology, including the Olympic victor list. That, in turn, immediately brings us back to the question of the source of the Eusebian Olympic victor list.³¹

The line of inquiry that leads to an answer to that question begins with a peculiarity of the Eusebian source list. The Eusebian source list gives the names of ten authors, only seven of whom are explicitly cited in the *Chronographia*. (See Table 16.) Cassius Longinus, Phlegon, and Thallus appear in the source list but are not cited anywhere in the *Chronographia*.

Most of the possible explanations of why these three authors are not cited in the *Chronographia* can be rapidly put to the side. Some

³¹ Mosshammer argued that the Eusebian Olympic victor list derived from Cassius Longinus via Porphyry and rejected a connection of any kind to Africanus (1979, 138–46). Mosshammer relied on the position of Longinus in the Eusebian source list in identifying Longinus as the source of the Eusebian Olympic victor list. The argumentation presented here extends and solidifies Mosshammer's invaluable work. On Porphyry, see n. 44 in this chapter.

earlier scholars believed that Cassius Longinus, Phlegon, and Thallus were on the source list that Eusebius copied from Africanus but were not cited in the *Chronographia* because their work was used in parts of Africanus' *Chronographiai* that Eusebius did not copy.³² We have just seen, however, that the Eusebian source list virtually certainly was not copied from Africanus. The text for the sections of the *Chronographia* to which the source list applies is complete, so Eusebius cannot have cited them in a now lost part of the work. Cassius Longinus, Phlegon, and Thallus were all Greek authors, and the only list in the Greek chronologies for which the source is unclear is the Olympic victor list, so the missing ascriptions in the Armenian version of the *Chronika* cannot account for all three authors. In view of the fact that there are but ten names on the list, Eusebius is unlikely to have erroneously included three sources he did not in fact use. Mosshammer believed that the Eusebian Olympic victor list came from an Olympiad chronicle compiled by Cassius Longinus and that Longinus had relied heavily on the work of Phlegon and Thallus. According to Mosshammer, Longinus acknowledged his reliance on Phlegon and Thallus, and Eusebius dutifully added their names to his source list.³³ It is, however, not clear why Eusebius would have cited his source's sources for a single author, Longinus, and not any of the other authors in his list.

The more likely explanation is that the Eusebian source list is exactly what it purports to be—a statement of the sources from which Eusebius himself acquired chronographic materials—and that Eusebius used the same sources for both books of the *Chronika*. This means that the source list in the *Chronographia* applies to the *Chronikoi Kanones* as well. The work of the three authors in the source list who are not cited in the *Chronographia* was used in the *Chronikoi Kanones*. In addition, one of those three authors was, as we will see, the source of the Olympic victor list in the *Chronographia* and hence was originally cited in a now lost ascription.

The applicability of the source list in the *Chronographia* to both books of the *Chronika* is what one would expect from the fact that Eusebius described the *Chronographia* as the “timber” with which to construct

³² Schwartz 1957, 507.

³³ Mosshammer 1979, 140–45.

TABLE 17. *Source Citations Pertaining to Secular History in Eusebius' Chronikoi Kanones*

Source(s)	Location	Cited for Information About
Castor	27g Helm	Argive Kings
Castor	45a Helm	Argive Kings
Castor	64a Helm	Sicyonian Kings
Crates, Eratosthenes, Aristarchus, Philochorus, Apollodorus	66a Helm	Homer
Porphiry	84c Helm	Hesiod
Apollodorus	84f Helm	Lycurgus
Phlegon	174d Helm	Darkness at Jesus' Death

the chronological table in the *Chronikoi Kanones*. There is also strong supporting evidence in the form of source citations in the *Chronikoi Kanones*. Eusebius rarely specifies his sources in the *Chronikoi Kanones* because of the limited amount of room in the *spatium historicum*. He had, in any case, made his sources clear in the *Chronographia*. There are source citations pertaining to secular history at only seven points in the *Chronikoi Kanones*, as listed in Table 17.³⁴

Eusebius cited sources for a handful of particularly important dates about which there was significant disagreement.³⁵ The entry at 66a Helm for Homer is nearly identical to a passage from Tatian (*ad Graecos* 31), and it is clear that Eusebius consulted Tatian and Clement of Alexandria for a few particularly complicated chronological problems. (The citation of Apollodorus at 84f Helm is probably indirect.) As neither Tatian nor Clement included an Olympic victor list in their work, they are of only passing interest here. Both Castor and Porphyry appear in the source list in the *Chronographia* and are directly cited in that part of the *Chronika*. The last citation is the most significant for present purposes because Phlegon appears in the source list in the *Chronographia* but is not cited anywhere in that part of the *Chronika*.

³⁴ The list of source citations in the *Chronikoi Kanones* given here is based on Barnes 1981, 343 n. 110, but note that Barnes overlooks the Phlegon citation.

³⁵ Mosshammer 1979, 157–68.

The Phlegon citation thus merits closer attention. In Jerome's Latin translation of the *Chronikoi Kanones*, there is the following entry in the *spatium historicum* for the third year of the 202nd Olympiad (32 CE):

Jesus Christ, in accordance with the prophecies that had been spoken in advance about him, came to his passion in the eighteenth year of Tiberius. Concerning this time we have also found in other commentaries of the Gentiles these passages quoted here verbatim: "There was an eclipse of the sun, Bithynia was devastated by an earthquake and very many buildings in the city of Nicaea collapsed." All these things coincide with those things which had happened as part of the passion of the Savior. Phlegon, who is an excellent reckoner of Olympiads, also in fact writes about these things in his thirteenth book as follows, "In the fourth year of the 202nd Olympiad there was an eclipse of the sun, great and visible everywhere, greater than any that had previously happened. At the sixth hour, the day became as dark as night so that the stars were visible in the sky, and an earthquake in Bithynia leveled many buildings in the city of Nicaea." (174d Helm)

This passage was definitely in the original Greek text of the *Chronika*, as it appears in one of Syncellus' extracts from the *Chronikoi Kanones* (*Ecloga Chronographica* 394.4–11).³⁶

The events surrounding the death of Jesus were a matter of particular concern for Eusebius, so he deviated from his normal practice of writing highly abbreviated historical notices for the *spatium historicum* and cited a specific source. This exceptional instance shows that Eusebius used Phlegon, who is included in the source list in the *Chronographia* but not cited in that part of the *Chronika*, as a source for the *Chronikoi Kanones*. The same can be said not only of the other two authors who are in the source list in the *Chronographia* but not cited there, Thallus and Cassius Longinus, but also of all of the names in Eusebius' source list. Eusebius had access to one of the great libraries of his time, and

³⁶ On the passage from Phlegon's *Olympionikai* quoted in the *Chronikoi Kanones*, see Prigent 1978. It is conceivable that Longinus quoted Phlegon and that Eusebius got the Phlegon quote indirectly. However, when Eusebius used (and then cited) authors indirectly, he seems to have used intermediaries that reproduced extensive portions of the original text. Longinus may have epitomized Phlegon, and Eusebius may have used only Longinus while citing Phlegon, but the much more economical possibility is that Eusebius used Phlegon directly.

he could have easily laid hands on all of the works on that list.³⁷ A small but important complication is that Eusebius accessed some of his sources at least partially via excerpts found in the works of other authors. The list of thalassocrats, for instance, is described as coming from excerpts taken from Diodorus (106.28–29 Karst). As we will see below, in at least some cases Eusebius used the same author both indirectly and directly, so the relationship between Eusebius and his sources was fairly complex. The intermediaries through which Eusebius got some of the work of some of the authors on his source list are not identified, but this is of little import for the moment since our goal is to try to identify the ultimate source of the Olympic victor list in the *Chronographia*. To sum up, the source list in the *Chronographia* applies to both the *Chronographia* and the *Chronikoi Kanones* and accurately represents the works on which Eusebius drew when producing the *Chronika*.

This conclusion has an important corollary: Eusebius' Olympic victor list must derive from the work of one of the ten authors on the source list in the *Chronographia*. The first four authors on the list (Alexander Polyhistor, Abydenus, Manetho, and Cephalion) can be eliminated on the grounds that their work dealt exclusively with the Near Eastern kingdoms. Diodorus, Phlegon, Castor, and Thallus can be eliminated on chronological grounds; they all died before the beginning of the third century CE, the point at which the Eusebian catalog of *stadion* victors ends. Porphyry can be eliminated on the grounds that the Eusebian victor catalog ends in the 249th Olympiad (217–220 CE), whereas Porphyry was not born until 234 CE. Olympic victor lists were normally current to the date they were compiled, and nothing epochal happened in the 249th Olympiad. Porphyry is thus unlikely to have been the original source of the Eusebian Olympic victor list. This leaves only Cassius Longinus.

The attribution of the Eusebian Olympic victor list to the Cassius Longinus mentioned in the Eusebian source list at first glance seems impossible, because he is credited with epitomizing only 138 Olympiads. As Olympic victor lists seem almost invariably to have begun with the first Olympiad, this would mean that Longinus'

³⁷ Carriker 2003, 139–48 and *passim*.

Olympiad chronicle ended in 228 BCE. In fact, Longinus' chronicle covered at least 230 Olympiads and quite possibly 247. The starting point for this line of argumentation is the fact that there are serious problems with the number of Olympiads the Armenian manuscript assigns to Castor and Thallus. There is evidence independent of Eusebius to show that Castor epitomized 179 Olympiads, Thallus at least 202, whereas the Armenian text of the Eusebian source lists gives the numbers as 181 and 167, respectively.³⁸ In addition, the 138 Olympiads given to Longinus in Karst's edition of the *Chronographia* is a printing error, as the manuscript actually reads 228, and even that number requires emendation. Mosshammer showed that the source list as originally constructed put the authors in order of the number of Olympiads covered by their works (and hence in the order in which the works in question were compiled), with Thallus out of position because the number of Olympiads assigned to his work had been corrupted at an early date.³⁹ Thallus' name had, as a result, been improperly shifted downward, which is in keeping with the generally disturbed state of the text of the Greek chronologies. As Longinus' name appears before Phlegon's, and Phlegon definitely covered 229 Olympiads, Longinus' work spanned at least 230.

Unlike the numbers of Olympiads, the number of books assigned to each work in the Eusebian source list appears to be fairly accurate. The number of books given for Manetho, Cephalion, and Diodorus are definitely correct, the three books assigned to Thallus are almost certainly correct, and the only definite error, the number of books in Phlegon's *Olympiades*, is minor (it should read fifteen or sixteen rather than fourteen).⁴⁰ It seems likely, therefore, that Longinus' work ran to eighteen books, as the Eusebian source list indicates. This is helpful in regard to the number of Olympiads covered in Longinus' work because Phlegon wrote a chronicle that covered 229 Olympiads in fifteen or sixteen books, so the eighteen books of Cassius Longinus

³⁸ See Sections 5.4 and 5.6, respectively.

³⁹ Mosshammer 1979, 144–5.

⁴⁰ On Manetho, see *FGrH* 609 and Verbrugge and Wickersham 1996, 95–120. On Cephalion, see *FGrH* 93; Drews 1965, 135–7; and Wachsmuth 1895, 149–51. On Diodorus, see the bibliography cited in n. 69 of this chapter and n. 16 of Chapter 5. On Thallus, see Section 5.6. On Phlegon, see Section 5.7.

would be appropriate for a work that dealt with an additional twenty or so Olympiads.

The work of Longinus used by Eusebius is known solely from the single reference in the *Chronographia*, but we can nonetheless be fairly certain that it was an Olympiad chronicle. The ten authors on Eusebius' list were his sources for the chronologies of the Near Eastern kingdoms and Greece. The list is divided into two sections, one which comprises the first four authors, whose work pertained to the Near East, and another that comprises the final six authors, whose work pertained in whole or in part to Greece. We know beyond doubt that three of those six authors (Diodorus, Phlegon, Castor) wrote Olympiad chronicles, and we can be fairly certain that Thallus did as well. Eusebius evidently had a predilection for Olympiad chronicles, for reasons that are easily discerned. Olympiad dates were prominently featured in the sections of the *Chronikoi Kanones* covering the years after 776. By using Olympiad chronicles, Eusebius greatly simplified the task of generating material for the *spatium historicum*. The sources he chose were organized by numbered Olympiads, so all he had to do was transcribe the material from his sources to the corresponding slots for numbered Olympiads in his own work.⁴¹ This implies that Longinus' work was also an Olympiad chronicle, and Eusebius' statement that Longinus epitomized Olympiads points in the same direction.

The identification of Cassius Longinus' Olympiad chronicle as the ultimate source of the Eusebian Olympic victor list is not the end of the matter, however, because Eusebius did not take his catalog of *stadion* victors directly from Longinus. This is evident from the prescript to Eusebius' victor catalog. As we have seen, that prescript reads, "The Olympiads of the Greeks from the first to the 247th, to the Olympiad in which Antoninus son of Severus ruled over the Romans," whereas the catalog actually covers 249 Olympiads. The disjuncture between the prescript and the catalog would be very difficult to explain if Eusebius copied the catalog verbatim from Longinus or if he extracted it from Longinus' chronicle himself. For a very long period of time, the

⁴¹ Burgess, in his discussion of the background to Eusebius' *Chronika*, reaches the interesting conclusion that "in essence what Eusebius had done was Christianize the existing Olympiad chronicle tradition." (Burgess 1999, 79–84, at 83).

true import of the disjuncture between prescript and catalog remained opaque because the possibility that Africanus himself had copied the Olympic victor list was not given due weight. Scaliger, for instance, believed that Eusebius wrote the prescript to the catalog but mistook the Antonine in whose reign the catalog ended to be Caracalla, whereas Africanus in fact meant Elagabalus (whose reign began in the 249th Olympiad). Eusebius ostensibly then compounded the problem by forgetting that Caracalla actually became sole emperor in the 247th Olympiad, not the 249th.⁴² This explanation is at best improbable, not least because Eusebius gives the proper date for Caracalla's ascension in the *Chronikoi Kanones* (213a Helm). Mosshammer was cognizant of the problem with the prescript but offered no explanation.

A satisfactory solution to the prescript problem was suggested by R. W. Burgess in 1999.⁴³ Burgess built on Mosshammer's work and argued that the victor catalog in the *Chronographia* originally came from the work of a Cassius Longinus that covered the first 247 Olympiads. As authors virtually always ended Olympic victor lists at their own times, the work from which the Eusebian catalog ultimately derives was completed shortly after the ascension of Caracalla but before the 248th Olympiad. This leaves a narrow window between December, 211 and the summer of 213 CE (when the 248th Olympiad was held). Longinus' chronicle was then excerpted by a different author, who updated it to his own time. This means that the excerptor worked

⁴² Scaliger 1658, Add. 264.

⁴³ Burgess has recently indicated that he is now inclined to reject Mosshammer's arguments and to see Africanus as the source of the Eusebian Olympic victor list (2006, 37 n. 78). Burgess takes the position that "that the list originally existed as a self-contained document with historical notices, and was therefore not compiled by Africanus an olympiad at a time from an earlier olympiad chronicle." He argues that (1) if Africanus had excerpted an Olympiad chronicle, he would have completed the list of emperors' names for the 248th and 249th Olympiad and (2) the Eusebian Olympic victor list contains too few historical references to have been source of Africanus' Olympiad dates. In regard to (1), Africanus seems to have simply summarized the information he found in Longinus' chronicle (hence the divergence between title and list) and quickly added the names of two *stadion* victors. In regard to (2), the Eusebian Olympic victor list does not represent the entirety of the information about Olympiads and Olympic victors that Africanus had at his disposal. It is a brief list of Olympic victors, an essential reference tool for any chronographer. There is, in short, no compelling reason to reject Longinus' Olympiad chronicle as the ultimate source of the Eusebian Olympic victor list and Africanus as the excerptor of Longinus' work.

after the 249th Olympiad but before the 250th, again leaving a narrow window, this time between 217 and 221. Roughly a century later Eusebius copied the Olympic victor list of this excerptor into the *Chronographia*. Eusebius did not feel any particular need to locate a more recent victor catalog because the Roman emperors became the dominant *filum* in the sections of the *Chronikoi Kanones* pertaining to the years after 70 CE, so *stadion* victors for the later parts of the third century CE and early fourth century CE were of little interest to him.

Burgess' scenario not only explains the disjuncture between pre-script and catalog, but also accounts for another peculiarity of the Eusebian victor catalog, the absence of any mention of the emperors Macrinus or Elagabalus. Up to the 247th Olympiad, the ascension of each Roman emperor is duly noted, but the names of the two emperors who came to the throne in the 248th and 249th Olympiads, Macrinus and Elagabalus, do not appear. The reason for this is now obvious. Whoever made the extract of Longinus' work simply added two *stadion* victors without bothering to change the pre-script or to insert the names of the relevant emperors.

Burgess did not suggest an identity for the excerptor, but the evidence is such as to leave little room for doubt that it was none other than Africanus.⁴⁴ The conclusion that Africanus' chronographic study contained an Olympic victor list rests on solid grounds. Africanus' chronographic study is known to have included lists of Athenian,

⁴⁴ Mosshammer believed that Eusebius had copied an excerpted version of Longinus' Olympic victor list from an earlier author, but he pointed to Porphyry rather than Africanus. According to Mosshammer, Porphyry compiled the extract from Longinus' chronicle and included it in a work of his own with the title *Chronicle* (1979, 143–6). It is now clear that Porphyry, who was born in 234, could not have made the original extract from Longinus' chronicle, because that extract was produced sometime between 217 and 221. Moreover, it is now apparent that Porphyry never wrote a treatise that bore the title *Chronicle*, though he did produce at least one work with significant chronographic content. (See Barnes 1994, Beatrice 1991 and 1992, and Croke 1983.) It remains possible that Africanus' excerpt from Longinus' Olympiad chronicle came to Eusebius through Porphyry, but this seems unduly complicated. There is at present no clear evidence that Porphyry produced a work, whatever the title, that contained an Olympic victor list. This remains a possibility, particularly since Porphyry had strong chronographic interests. There is no way to be certain because Porphyry's entire corpus was outlawed by imperial decree in the first half of the fourth century CE, and so the extant collection of fragments is not as extensive as one might hope. (For the fragments from Porphyry's corpus, see *FGH* 260.)

Argive, Corinthian, Lacedaemonian, Sicyonian, Assyrian, Egyptian, Median, and Lydian kings. A catalog of Olympic *stadion* victors would fit naturally alongside these lists. In addition, both Syncellus and the Pseudo-Joannes of Antioch preserve fragments that are nearly identical to portions of the Eusebian Olympic victor list preserved in CPG 2600 but that seem to draw on a textual tradition independent from that of Eusebius. Both Syncellus and Pseudo-Joannes made heavy use of Africanus and probably took their quotes from the Olympic victor list directly from a version that they found in Africanus' chronographic work.⁴⁵ Finally, and most importantly, Scaliger was entirely right to emphasize the importance of the overlap between the endpoint of Eusebius' catalog of *stadion* victors, the 249th Olympiad, on one hand and the endpoint of Africanus' *Chronographiai*, the first year of the 250th Olympiad, on the other. The former must derive from the latter. Gelzer showed that Africanus divided his *Chronographiai* into five books along chronological lines. The third book covered the period from Moses to the first Olympiad and ended with a discussion of how to synchronize the first Olympiad with other systems of time reckoning. The fourth book covered the period from the first Olympiad to the fall of the Persian Empire and almost certainly began with an Olympic victor list.⁴⁶ Africanus' *Chronographiai* should, therefore, be described as an Olympiad chronography.

When Africanus decided to include an Olympic victor list in his *Chronographiai*, he took the logical step of drawing upon what must have been the most recent, easily available *Olympionikai*, that of Cassius Longinus. (Given that Longinus' Olympic victor list ran down to 209 CE, it must have appeared shortly before or during the time when Africanus was working on his *Chronographiai*.) However, Africanus had to deal with a small but significant complication in that Longinus' *Olympionikai* was an Olympiad chronicle that ran to eighteen books and that probably contained the names of victors in all the events at each Olympiad. In regard to the latter feature of Longinus' chronicle,

⁴⁵ Gelzer 1880–85, 1: 163–5 and Wallraff 2006, 50–3. On the “identity” of Pseudo-Joannes of Antioch, see Roberto 2005, lxxiv–lxxvii. Roberto's work also includes a new collection of the relevant fragments.

⁴⁶ Gelzer 1880–85, 1: 26–9 and 164.

we have seen that it was proportionally the same length as Phlegon's *Olympiades*, and the latter definitely included a full victor catalog. A small note found in the Eusebian victor catalog points in the same direction. That catalog begins as follows:

1st Olympiad, in which Coroibos of Elis won the *stadion*.

For this was the only contest in which they competed for thirteen Olympiads.

As Gilbert pointed out, the note that “this was the only contest in which they competed for thirteen Olympiads” is superfluous in a list of *stadion* victors, particularly since the addition of the *diaulos* is duly recorded in the entry for the 14th Olympiad.⁴⁷ It would, however, make perfect sense in an Olympiad chronicle that provided a full victor catalog. The presence of only a *stadion* victor in the entry for the first Olympiad was potentially misleading. The reader, who would not have been able to easily turn to entries for later Olympiads for the sake of comparison, could easily conclude that the author was going to provide only the names of *stadion* victors, a common arrangement in Olympiad chronicles.⁴⁸ The note attached to the entry for the first Olympiad thus probably derives from Longinus' Olympiad chronicle. This, in turn, indicates that Longinus supplied a full catalog of Olympic victors.

The fact that Africanus turned to an Olympiad chronicle for a list of Olympic victors meant that he had to start with a lengthy and complicated source text and produce a compact and simplified version suitable for inclusion in an Olympiad chronography. Put another way, he had to produce an extract. This was by no means foreign territory to Africanus. He produced a number of such extracts, including, for example, his Egyptian king list, which he excerpted from Manetho (FII Dyn. 1 Routh). The disjuncture between the heading of the catalog of *stadion* victors produced by Africanus and the actual list is probably to be put down to the fact that the heading of the catalog accurately reflected the contents of Longinus' Olympic victor list and that Africanus rapidly updated that list in the process of producing it, but did not bestir himself either to change the heading or to add the

⁴⁷ Gilbert 1875, 8. Gilbert erroneously believed that Africanus had abbreviated the entries in the Olympic victor catalog in Eratosthenes' *Olympionikai* and then passed along a catalog of *stadion* victors to Eusebius, but his intuition remains important.

⁴⁸ See the introduction to Chapter 5.

names of the emperors in the 248th and 249th Olympiads. Alternatively, Africanus may have originally compiled the list in the 247th Olympiad and then updated it quickly and incompletely just before putting the *Chronographiai* into circulation.⁴⁹

Africanus may also have added some information to the notes in the catalog of *stadion* victors. The entry for the 114th Olympiad in the catalog of victors preserved in CPG 2600 uses the rather odd phrase “Αἰγύπτου καὶ Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐβασίλευσε Πτολεμαῖος” (“Ptolemy became king of Egypt and Alexandria”). Gelzer showed that the description of the Ptolemies as rulers of Egypt and Alexandria was introduced by the Church fathers.⁵⁰ This, in turn, means that the note on Ptolemy probably did not come from Cassius Longinus whose identity is unknown (see below) but who is unlikely to have been a Christian. Alternatively, this note and similar but less immediately recognizable material may have been added by either Eusebius or Panodorus.

When Eusebius decided to include an Olympic victor list in his *Chronographia*, he took the logical step of copying a version he found in Africanus’ work. We have already seen that Eusebius accessed a considerable amount of material from authors such as Diodorus through extracts made by other authors, so it is unsurprising that he did the same with the Olympic victor list. Moreover, Eusebius makes it clear that he drew on Africanus for source material for some parts of the *Chronika*, including extracts from Josephus (61.11–12 Karst). Eusebius was, therefore, quite content to make use of the abundant store of extracts in Africanus’ *Chronographiai*. Eusebius also consulted Longinus’ chronicle directly, since Burgess shows, through a complex examination of the dates for Roman emperors in the victor catalog and in the *Chronikoi Kanones*, that Eusebius probably took his dates for Roman emperors from the same source from which he took the victor catalog. However, Eusebius needed details of regnal lengths that were not included in the victor catalog, and so he must have also used the original, unexcerpted work. Again, this is not surprising since Eusebius accessed

⁴⁹ This is more or less the argument made by Gilbert and Gelzer (Gilbert 1875, 7; Gelzer 1880–85, I: 161–2).

⁵⁰ Gelzer 1880–85, I: 167.

other sources for the *Chronika*, including Josephus and Manetho, both indirectly and directly.⁵¹

Eusebius did not include Africanus in the list of sources that he used for Greek and Near Eastern chronology, in spite of the fact that he copied an Olympic victor list from Africanus' work, because that list derived from Longinus' chronicle. Eusebius thus cited Longinus rather than Africanus in his source list. The more charitable among Eusebius' latter-day readers may be inclined to entertain the idea that Eusebius duly noted Africanus as the intermediary source of his Olympic victor list in the now-lost title to that list, which no doubt included a source citation of some kind.

We can now turn at last to the first part of the Eusebian Olympic victor list, the introductory comments found at lines 1–48 (in the text found in Appendix 4.1). Those introductory comments can themselves be subdivided into three parts. The first part consists of a brief statement on the reasons for including an Olympic victor list in the *Chronographia* (ll. 1–8). This must have been written by Eusebius.

The second part begins with the heading “Περὶ τῆς θέσεως [τ]οῦ ἀγῶνος [τ]ῶν Ὀλυμπίων” (“On the Founding of the Olympic Games”) and continues with a brief history of the Olympics (ll. 9–37). Some of the text in these lines is also reproduced in Syncellus *Ecloga Chronographica* 231.5–23 and Pseudo-Joannes of Antioch *FHG* (4.539) 1.20. As indicated above, these authors seem to have taken their text from Africanus' version of the Olympic victor list. The text in lines 9–37 is thus likely to derive in large part from Africanus. However, Eusebius does not seem to have simply copied verbatim what he found in the relevant section of Africanus' Olympic victor list. This is apparent from the text of Pseudo-Joannes *FHG* 1.20, which reads as follows:

Ἐπ' Ἀρχεμόρῳ τὰ Νέμεα πρὸς τῶν Ἀργείων ἄγεται· ἐπὶ Μελικέρτῃ ὑπὸ Κορινθίων τὰ Ἰσθμια· ὑπὸ Δελφῶν τὰ Πύθια ἐπὶ Δελφύνῃ τῷ δράκοντι· οἱ δὲ φασιν ἐπὶ Δελφύνῃ ἀρχαίᾳ ἡρωΐδι. Ἀπὸ τῆς ἀμίλλης τῶν Ἀεθλίου παίδων ἀθλῆται ἐκλήθησαν οἱ ἀγωνισταί.

The Nemean Games are held by the Argives in honor of Archemoros. The Isthmian Games are held by the Corinthians in honor of Melicertes. The

⁵¹ Carriker 2003, 49–51, 147–8, 157–61.

Pythian Games are held by the Delphians in honor of the Pythian serpent. They say that he (was) an ancient hero at Delphi. From the contest of the sons of Aethlios the contestants were called athletes.

A nearly verbatim version of the final sentence appears in the Olympic victor list in Eusebius' *Chronographia* (l. 15), but the preceding comments are absent. If the fragment from Pseudo-Joannes does in fact derive from Africanus, then the latter's version of the Olympic victor list contained fairly detailed comments on the origins of all of the Panhellenic athletic festivals. Eusebius evidently preferred to focus solely on the Olympic Games and so edited out some of the text he found in Africanus' Olympic victor list.

Africanus may himself have copied some or all of the material prefacing his version of the Olympic victor list from Longinus. The critical piece of relevant evidence is a fragment from Phlegon's Olympiad chronicle (*FGrH* 257 F1), which contains a concise history of the Olympic Games. The fragment from Phlegon begins with the phrase *Περὶ τῶν Ὀλυμπίων* and then goes on to supply exactly the same sort of information as that found in ll. 9–37 of the Eusebian list.⁵² It is, therefore, quite credible that that information came at least in part from Longinus' Olympiad chronicle.

The third part of the introduction to the Eusebian Olympic victor list (ll. 38–48) consists of brief notes about the chronographic dimensions of the Olympiads that were probably written by Eusebius himself.⁵³ Specific sources are cited on the number of Olympiads between Iphitos and Coroibos, the interval between Heracles and Coroibos' victory is specified, and the Olympics are identified as penteteteric. These notes are unlikely to go back to Longinus. It is instructive to compare these notes to what one finds in the previously cited fragment from Phlegon, who simply states that there were twenty-eight Olympiads between Iphitos and Coroibos. The third section of the

⁵² The Phlegonian and Eusebian Olympic victor lists are not dependent upon one another and probably do not draw on the same source. The Eusebian Olympic victor list names eight mythical organizers of the Games, as opposed to the three cited by Phlegon, and one of Phlegon's three founders, Peisos, does not appear in the Eusebian version.

⁵³ Some of the text in ll. 38–48 of the Eusebian list is reproduced in Syncellus *Edoga Chronographica* 232.4–10, but the textual evidence is ambiguous as to whether Syncellus here is drawing on Africanus or Eusebius.

introduction is much more likely to have been written by a chronographer than an historian. In addition, the second section of the introduction specifies the interval between Heracles and Iphitos, so there is a certain amount of overlap between the second and third sections, as might be expected if they come from different sources. In regard to Africanus, we have already seen that he provided a number of comments about synchronizing the first Olympiad at the end of the third book of his *Chronographiai*, and Eusebius must have been aware of those comments. At the same time, as Mosshammer pointed out, Africanus and Eusebius seem to have disagreed about the number of Olympiads between Lycurgus and the Coroibos Olympics. It seems most probable, therefore, that lines 38–48 come largely from Eusebius' pen.

The only remaining relevant issue that merits consideration is the identity of the Cassius Longinus from whose work the Eusebian Olympic victor list derives. The Cassius Longinus in the Eusebian source list has long been equated with the well-known rhetorician of that name who lived c. 210–272/73 CE and with whom Porphyry studied.⁵⁴ The relatively firm date of 211–213 CE for the appearance of Longinus' Olympiad chronicle, however, eliminates this Cassius Longinus from consideration.

There is at the moment no known individual with whom Eusebius' Cassius Longinus can be identified. An immediate problem is that the Longini were a prominent plebeian family, and there are well over a dozen known men (including Julius Caesar's assassin) with the name Cassius Longinus. These men range in date from the second century BCE to the third century CE, but there is no known Cassius Longinus whose *akme* fell in the early third century and for whom literary activity is attested. The historian Dio Cassius, whose full name was Lucius Claudius Cassius Dio Cocceianus, was a companion of the emperor Caracalla before the latter became sole emperor (and hence might have ended a chronicle with Caracalla's ascension) and was writing history in the early part of the third century.⁵⁵ It is conceivable that

⁵⁴ The identification of the Cassius Longinus in the Eusebian source list as the famous rhetorician by that name goes back to Jacoby 1923–58, 2 d: 853–4. See also Wachsmuth 1895, 151–2. On this Cassius Longinus, see Brisson and Patillon 1994.

⁵⁵ On Cassius Dio, see Gowing 1992, 19–32 and Millar 1964, 5–27 and *passim*.

his rather complicated name could have been mistaken by a scribe for the common name of Cassius Longinus. The major difficulty is that Dio Cassius, in two passages in his *Historiae Romanae* written in the 220 s (72.23, 74.3), discusses his earlier historical works but makes no mention of an Olympiad chronicle. The *Historiae Romanae* is a work on Roman history in eighty books organized around consular years (there is only one Olympiad date in the surviving text, at 7.32.1), so this cannot have been the source used and cited by Eusebius.

Eduard Schwartz identified Eusebius' Cassius Longinus as the Cassius cited by the Christian apologist Minucius Felix (*akme* c. 200–240 CE).⁵⁶ Here again, however, there are difficulties that resist resolution. In the *Octavius* Minucius states:

For all those who write about antiquity, both Greek and Roman, say that Saturn was a man. Nepos knows this, and Cassius in his history, and Thallus and Diodorus say this. (21.4)

Minucius lived at the right time to have read an Olympiad chronicle that went into circulation shortly before 213 CE, and the mention of Thallus and Diodorus in this passage is encouraging, as they also appear in the Eusebian source list. The Cassius in the *Octavius* has traditionally been identified as the Roman annalist Cassius Hemina, but there is no compelling reason to believe that identification to be accurate, so Minucius' Cassius could well be Eusebius' Cassius Longinus. There is, however, a problem in that an author who must be the same as the author referenced by Minucius appears twice in the work of Tertullian (c. 160–c. 240), but with the name Cassius Severus:

Therefore, if books teach us anything, neither the Greek Diodorus nor Thallus nor Cassius Severus nor Cornelius Nepos nor any other author who writes about ancient subjects of that sort has declared Saturn to be anything else than a man. (*Apologeticum* 10.7)

The status of Saturn is clear everywhere in your literature. We read about him in Cassius Severus, in Cornelius Nepos and Cornelius Tacitus, in the Greeks as well, in Diodorus, and everyone else who compiled annals about antiquity. (*Ad Nationes* 2.12)

⁵⁶ Schwartz 1909, 1378.

The passages from Minucius Felix and Tertullian are obviously inter-dependent. Unfortunately, the direction of influence cannot be established with any certainty because the two men were active at the same time and the date when Minucius' *Octavius* was published is unknown.⁵⁷ It is, therefore, not clear if Minucius used Tertullian and subtracted Cassius' *cognomen* or if Tertullian used Minucius and added a *cognomen*. Furthermore, if Tertullian did add a *cognomen*, it is not clear whether he supplied a correct or incorrect one.⁵⁸ Even if, as some (but far from all) scholars believe, Minucius used Tertullian's work, it is possible that Tertullian erred in his citation, since the only known Cassius Severus was an orator of the Augustan period. The evidence simply does not support any definitive conclusions.

This exhausts the list of possible candidates, and so Eusebius' Cassius Longinus must remain something of a cipher. All that can be said with some certainty is that the Longinus who was the ultimate source of the Eusebian Olympic victor list was active in the first decades of the third century CE and wrote an Olympiad chronicle with a full victor listing in eighteen books that ended with the ascension of Caracalla in the 247th Olympiad.⁵⁹

This brings us to the end of our examination of Eusebius' Olympiad chronography and the related *Olympionikai* of Longinus, Africanus, and Panodoros. We will now return to the beginning, which is to say the first Olympiad chronography, that of Timaeus.

⁵⁷ The relationship between the work of Minucius Felix and Tertullian is discussed in detail in Clarke 1974, 8–12, 291–2 and Hardwick 1989, 19–23.

⁵⁸ It has also been proposed that Tertullian and Minucius Felix made use of a common source. However, this proposal has not received broad acceptance because it requires the existence of a work for which there is no evidence. See the bibliography cited in the previous note.

⁵⁹ Nothing is known about the historical notices in Longinus' chronicle. Mosshammer made a series of deductions based on the assumption that Eusebius drew solely on Longinus' chronicle for the historical notices in the *Chronikoi Kanones* pertaining to Archaic and Classical Greek history. This assumption, however, is unsupportable, as the presence of other Olympiad chronicles in Eusebius' source list makes clear. There is good reason to think that Eusebius made use of the work of all six of the authors on his source list who wrote on Greek history (Diodorus, Longinus, Phlegon, Castor, Thallus, Porphyry) in producing the historical notices for Greek history in the *Chronikoi Kanones*. This means that it is impossible to use those notices as evidence for the contents of Longinus' Olympiad chronicle. As the only reference to Longinus' chronicle is the Eusebian source list, there is no other evidence on which to draw.

4.5. TIMAEUS OF TAUROMENIUM

Timaeus wrote the earliest known Olympiad chronography with the title *Olympic Victors or Praxidikan Chronological Matters*. In this work, which probably occupied a single book, Timaeus synchronized four eponym lists: Spartan kings and ephors, Athenian archons, priestesses of Hera at Argos, and Olympic victors. These eponym lists were laid side by side, possibly in a table. The purpose and structure of Timaeus' *Olympionikai* indicate that it included only the names of *stadion* winners, not a complete catalog of Olympic victors. That victor catalog probably began with the first Olympiad and continued down to Timaeus' own time and almost certainly included notes on the addition of events to the Olympic program. Timaeus produced his *Olympionikai* as a preparatory work for his *Historiai* (*Histories*), an account of the history of Sicily. Timaeus broke new ground in the *Historiai* by making use of numbered Olympiads to date historical events.⁶⁰ The Greek and Latin texts of the five relevant fragments can be found in Appendix 4.2.

We are fairly well informed about Timaeus because his father Andromachos played a prominent role in the history of fourth-century Sicily. In 358 Andromachos led a group of refugees from Sicilian Naxos to the site of Tauromenium (modern Taormina) and set himself up as (an evidently unusually benign) tyrant (*FGrH* 566 T3). Timaeus went into exile sometime around 315 when Agathocles seized Tauromenium (F124d), and he spent the next fifty years in Athens (F34).⁶¹

A rather confused biographical entry for Timaeus in the Suda includes the only reference to the title of his *Olympionikai*:

Timaeus, son of Andromachos, from Tauromenium. The Athenians called him the Slanderer. Student of Philiscos of Miletus. He got this name from

⁶⁰ On Timaeus' life and work, see Baron 2006, 29–83; Brown 1958, 1–20; Jacoby 1923–58, 3b1: 526–37, 586–8; Meister 1989/90; Momigliano 1977, 37–66; Pearson 1987, 37–51; and Vattuone 2002. The fragments are collected in *FGrH* 566 and Mette 1978, 31.

⁶¹ The date of Timaeus' exile is not disputed by modern scholars, with the exception of Brown, who puts Timaeus' arrival in Athens somewhere between 339 and 329 (Brown 1958, 2–6).

making many censorious comments, and he got the name Gossip-Monger from recording any information he chanced upon. He wrote *Events in Italy and Sicily* in thirty-eight books, *Events in Greece and Sicily*, *Collection of Rhetorical Topoi* in sixty-eight books, *Olympic Victors or Praxidikan Chronological Matters* (Ὀλυμπιονίκας ἥτοι χρονικὰ πραξίδικα). (T1)

The titles supplied for Timaeus' two historical treatises are purely descriptive. Other sources make it clear that one of these treatises was called the *Historiai* (F11a) and occupied thirty-eight books (F35a, b). It dealt with the history of Sicily in particular and the western Mediterranean more generally and included a number of excursions on the history of mainland Greece (T6b, 8). Timaeus' other historical treatise, the precise title of which is not known, dealt with Pyrrhos' intervention in Italy (T9a, b).

This does not inspire confidence in the title the Suda gives for Timaeus' *Olympionikai*, particularly because the precise meaning of χρονικὰ πραξίδικα is unclear. It is possible that πραξίδικα is a corruption of πραξιίδιον or πραξίδιον, both diminutive forms of πράξις. It might also be a descriptive adjective of some sort, as πραξίδικα was used in the title of a second-century agricultural handbook.⁶² Finally, there was a goddess that went by the name of πραξίδικα, who seems to have functioned as some sort of exacter of punishment (Pausanias 3.22.1–2, 9.33.3). This perhaps relates to Timaeus' reputation for harshly criticizing other writers (see, for instance, T12). Daub believed that χρονικὰ πραξίδικα was an appellation added by Byzantine scholars that was the equivalent of χρονικὴ πραγματεία ("Chronological Study").⁶³

The Suda does not give a number of books for Timaeus' *Olympionikai*, which may imply that it occupied only a single book, and what is known about its contents and structure points in the same direction. The key source is Polybius:

(Polybius is charging Timaeus with using false or perhaps imaginary evidence in his account of the Locrians.)

Timaeus' defining trait and that in which he outdoes all other writers . . . is his display of accuracy with respect to chronology and with respect to registers

⁶² Jacoby 1923–58, 3b1: 546.

⁶³ Daub 1882, 21.

of names and the care he lavishes on this part of his work. . . . For this is the man who matches the ephors with the kings of Sparta starting from the earliest times and sets the lists of Athenian archons and priestesses of Argos alongside the list of Olympic victors (ὁ γὰρ τὰς συγκρίσεις ποιούμενος ἀνέκαθεν τῶν ἐφόρων πρὸς τοὺς βασιλεῖς τοὺς ἐν Λακεδαίμονι καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας τοὺς Ἀθήνησι καὶ τὰς ἱερείας τὰς ἐν Ἀργεὶ παραβάλλων πρὸς τοὺς ὀλυμπιονίκας), pointing out mistakes made by *poleis* in these registers, there being a difference of three months. And indeed it is Timaeus who discovered *stelai* in the back chambers of buildings and *proxenoi* lists on the doorjambs of temples.⁶⁴ (12.10.4–11.3 (F12))

This passage must refer to Timaeus' *Olympionikai*. It shows that this work included at minimum lists of Spartan kings and ephors, Athenian archons, priestesses of Hera at Argos, and Olympic victors, all of which could have fit comfortably into a single book. Polybius does not explicitly state that the Olympiads in Timaeus' *Olympionikai* were numbered, but Timaeus used a numbered Olympiad in his *Historiai*, so the same was virtually certainly true of his *Olympionikai*.

Polybius' comments and the title supplied by the Suda make it clear that Timaeus' *Olympionikai* was primarily chronographic in nature. It can, therefore, be safely described as an Olympiad chronography. There are no earlier known works of this type, and it is very likely that Timaeus' was the first. Although the first Olympic victor list was produced around 400, a major change occurred in the 330s, when Aristotle's numeration of the Olympiads greatly increased their utility as a means of reckoning time. The chronographic potential of Olympiads was only gradually exploited, as is evident from the fact that the canonical chronological table using Olympiads, Eratosthenes' *Peri Chronographion*, was not produced until the second half of the third century. Timaeus compiled his *Olympionikai* in the late fourth or early third century, and it is reasonable to conclude that it was the first Olympiad chronography.

It is not clear how Timaeus organized the material in his *Olympionikai*. Polybius' use of the participle παραβάλλων implies that the various lists were displayed next to each other. They were certainly

⁶⁴ The text found at Polybius 12.10.4–11.3 has been punctuated by modern authors in at least three different ways, resulting in slightly different understandings of the structure of Timaeus' work. See Walbank 1957–79, 2: 346–8.

tightly linked to one another, as is evident from Polybius' statement that Timaeus recognized errors of as little as three months. In his analysis of Timaeus' work, Momigliano reached the speculative but reasonable conclusion that Timaeus used a tabular format. One might object that Eusebius claimed that the chronological table in his *Chronikoi Kanones* was innovative,⁶⁵ but Eusebius' table included historical notices, whereas there is no evidence that Timaeus' *Olympionikai* contained anything beyond chronographic data. The parallel is, therefore, sufficiently inexact that Eusebius could well have claimed to be innovative even if there were tables in Timaeus' work. The obvious alternative is that Timaeus provided a series of lists that were extensively cross-referenced, such as those found in Eusebius' *Chronographia*.

The evidence for Timaeus' *Olympionikai* beyond the Polybius passage is limited, as none of the other extant fragments from Timaeus' corpus can be definitely assigned to this work.⁶⁶ Jacoby puts four fragments under a generic heading of "chronological":

FGrH 566 F125 *apud* Censorinus *De Die Natali* 21.1–3:

I will now indeed discuss that interval of time that Varro calls historic. For he relates that there are three distinct eras. The first extends from the beginning of mankind to the earlier flood and is called obscure (*adelon*) on account of lack of knowledge about it. The second extends from the earlier flood to the first Olympiad and is called mythical because many things recorded in tales are said to have happened during that period. The third extends from the first Olympiad to our own time and is called historical because the things that happened during this time are related in true histories. It is impossible to speak with any certainty about the number of years in the first period, whether it had a beginning or whether it always was. Even the second period is not clearly known, but it is believed to have encompassed about 1,600 years. From the earlier flood, to be sure, which they call that of Ogygos, to the reign of Inachos they compute around 400 years. From that point to the Fall of Troy they reckon 800 years. From there to the first Olympiad they reckon

⁶⁵ *Praeparatio Evangelica* 10.9.2 and *Chronikoi Kanones* 8.18–20 Helm.

⁶⁶ The assignment of material from Diodorus' work to Timaeus, and hence the identification of fragments, is a subject of ongoing and as yet unresolved debate, but as the material in question pertains primarily to Timaeus' historical treatises and not to the *Olympionikai*, this debate need not be revisited here. It is discussed in some detail in Meister 1989/90 and Pearson 1987.

a little more than 400 years. Although this period (of 400 years) represents the last years of the mythical period, nevertheless certain authors wish to define it more clearly, because it is nearest in time to the recollections of the writers. Sosibius indeed writes that it lasted for 395 years, Eratosthenes, however, says 407 years, Timaeus 417, Aretes 514, and many others have other opinions. The divergence among these authors speaks to the uncertainty involved.

F126 *apud* Clement of Alexandria *Stromata* 1.139.4:

From then (the Return of the Heracleidai) to the archonship of Euainetos in Athens, when they say that Alexander crossed into Asia, 715 years according to Phantias, 735 according to Ephorus, 820 according to Timaeus and Cleitarchus, 770 according to Eratosthenes. Duris allows 1000 years from the Fall of Troy to Alexander's crossing into Asia.

F127 *apud* Plutarch *Lycurgus* 1.1–3:

Concerning Lycurgus the lawgiver, it is generally speaking possible to say nothing that is not subject to dispute . . . Timaeus conjectures that there were two men by this name in Sparta, not alive at the same time, and that their deeds were attributed to one of the two on account of his fame. He thinks that the elder of the two existed not long after Homer . . .

F128 *apud* Plutarch *Lycurgus* 31.4:

Some say that Lycurgus died in Cirrha. Apollonothemis says that he was brought to Elis and died there, Timaeus and Aristoxenus, that he ended his days in Crete.

These fragments offer little insight into the structure and contents of Timaeus' *Olympionikai*, and in this case analogy may be the more productive approach. We have already seen that Eusebius' victor catalog gave only the names of *stadion* winners. This was because, for chronographic purposes, only the Olympiad number and *stadion* victor were significant. Timaeus probably proceeded in a similar fashion. The eponym lists that Timaeus set alongside the Olympic victor list all consisted of a single name for each year, and it would have been simpler and cleaner if the catalog of Olympic victors was similarly formatted.

Timaeus' catalog of Olympic victors also seems to have included notes on the addition of events to the Olympic program. The (rather lengthy) chain of reasoning that leads to this conclusion begins with an odd passage in Diodorus Siculus' *Bibliotheca Historica* (*Historical Library*). Diodorus, whose work will be examined in greater detail

below, sought in his *Bibliotheca* to provide a concise summary of world history from creation to the year 60. The title he gave his work reflects his approach to crafting history on such a large scale. When he wrote the *Bibliotheca* Diodorus drew heavily on the work of earlier historians. The *Bibliotheca* was, as a result, a compilation of Greek historical writing, a historical library compressed into a single work.⁶⁷

The parts of the *Bibliotheca* that covered the period after the first Olympiad were organized on an annalistic basis. Individual years were identified by means of numbered Olympiads, *stadion* victors, Athenian archons, and Roman consuls. Diodorus makes it clear that he invested a considerable amount of effort in attempting to fix the dates of historical events as accurately as possible (1.4.1–5.1). This was not necessarily the easiest of tasks, because some of the earlier historians on whom Diodorus drew, such as Ephorus, were habitually vague about dates. To address this problem, Diodorus made use of one or more chronographic handbooks.

The *Bibliotheca* includes a considerable amount of chronographic material beyond what was strictly necessary, such as the regnal lengths of Bosporan kings (see, for example, 14.93.1). Most of this material presumably originated in the chronographic handbooks that Diodorus used, and was carried over into the *Bibliotheca* by Diodorus, who was not the most thorough of editors. As one might expect, chronographic notes are typically found at the beginning or end of Diodorus' account of a particular year. When significant events with a chronographic dimension took place over the course of the year, such as the death of a Spartan king and the installation of his successor, Diodorus sometimes provides relevant information such as regnal lengths in the middle of his account for the year in question.⁶⁸

There is, however, a noteworthy exception to the pattern in which chronographic material is deployed in the *Bibliotheca*. Diodorus begins his account for the year 408 in his usual fashion:

When this year had passed, the Athenians bestowed the archonship on Euctemon, and the Romans chose Marcus Papirius and Spurius Nautius

⁶⁷ On Diodorus' life and work, see the bibliography cited in n. 16 of Chapter 5.

⁶⁸ Stylianou 1998, 25–49.

as consuls, and the 93rd Olympiad took place, in which Eubatos of Cyrene won the *stadion*. (13.68.1)

Diodorus then launches into an extended account of the battles fought that year between the Athenians and Spartans in the Aegean and in mainland Greece and the related triumphs and travails of Alcibiades. When he finishes, he turns his attention to events in Sicily. The transition between these two sections is of considerable interest:

Upon thinking all these things over, he (Alcibiades) became afraid that the Athenians, seizing a suitable occasion, would inflict punishment on him for all the wrongs he had done them. He therefore condemned himself to exile.

The two-horse chariot race was also added in this same Olympiad, and among the Lacedaemonians King Pleistonax died, having ruled fifty years. Pausanias, who ruled fourteen years, succeeded to the throne. The inhabitants of the island of Rhodes changed their abodes from Ielysos, Lindos, and Cameiros to a single *polis* now called Rhodes. Hermocrates of Syracuse, taking his soldiers with him, set out from Selinus, and upon arriving at Himera . . . (13.74.4–75.2)

This is a far from obvious place to include information about the Olympic program and the foundation of Rhodes, and it represents a striking exception to Diodorus' usual habits.

This information is almost certainly present because Diodorus changed sources when he switched focus from Greece to Sicily. Diodorus carelessly copied the chronological information included at the beginning of his source's account of events in Sicily in 408. The information was no doubt reasonably located in the source Diodorus used, but when it was copied into the *Bibliotheca* it wound up in a rather odd place. This, then, raises the question of the source upon which Diodorus was drawing.

The most contentious issues among modern-day Diodoran scholars have long been what parts of the *Bibliotheca* draw on which earlier authors and how much and what pieces of the *Bibliotheca* Diodorus

wrote himself.⁶⁹ In most places, including the section of the *Bibliotheca* just quoted, Diodorus does not cite his sources, which makes it challenging to state with any certainty what parts of the *Bibliotheca* depend on what authors. In this case, however, Diodorus' reliance on Timaeus can be established with a high degree of confidence.

Diodorus makes it clear, through repeated references, that his primary sources for the history of Magna Graecia were Ephorus and Timaeus. In the introduction to the *Bibliotheca* Diodorus attempts to establish the uniqueness of his work. He states that no one had written a satisfactory universal history, either because authors had confined themselves to the history of a particular city or people or because they had not "attached to the several events their own proper dates" (1.3.2), skipped the mythical period (i.e., the time before the Trojan War), or died leaving their work incomplete. Catherine Rubincam has shown that the complaints about dates, neglect of the mythical period, and incompleteness refer to the work of Ephorus, who began with the Return of the Heracleidai and who died before completing his work.⁷⁰ Ephorus' history was organized topically rather than annalistically, and he evidently was not terribly precise about dates.⁷¹ Timaeus, on the other hand, was famous for his chronological precision, something that Diodorus himself acknowledges (5.1.3). As we have seen, Timaeus had a demonstrated interest in the reigns of Spartan kings and in the Olympics, and Polybius makes it clear that Timaeus was also very interested in the founding of colonies and cities (12.26 (F94)). This last statement is borne out by the extant fragments of Timaeus' work (see the passages on the foundations of Massalia and Corcyra discussed below).

Given that Diodorus relied primarily on Ephorus and Timaeus for Sicilian history and in view of what is known about their approach to writing history, it is nearly certain that the chronological information that appears in the middle of Diodorus' account for 408 derives directly from Timaeus. When Diodorus turned to Timaeus for an account of the events in Sicily in 408, he found a collection of chronological

⁶⁹ On the mixture of previous and original work in Diodorus' *Bibliotheca*, see Drews 1962, Pearson 1984, Sacks 1994, and the bibliography cited therein.

⁷⁰ Rubincam 1987.

⁷¹ See the bibliography cited in n. 3 of Chapter 3.

data that he copied verbatim. This in turn offers some insight into the content of Timaeus' work. The note about the addition of the two-horse chariot race to the Olympic program indicates that Timaeus kept careful track of such things. Diodorus must have been making use of Timaeus' *Historiai* when he wrote the section of the *Bibliotheca* quoted above, but it would be very surprising if the same information on the development of the Olympic program was not also found in Timaeus' *Olympionikai*.

The inclusion of notes about the addition of events to the Olympic program in Timaeus' *Olympionikai* could be inferred on other grounds. The catalog of *stadion* victors in Eusebius' *Chronographia* shows that Olympic victor lists compiled for chronographic purposes included information of this sort. The example of the Eusebian victor catalog, which was functionally and (almost certainly) structurally similar to that provided by Timaeus, probably indicates that Timaeus integrated his notes on the Olympic program into his victor catalog and did not provide a stand-alone narrative summary of the sort preserved in IG II² 2326.

We can now turn our attention to the starting and stopping points of Timaeus' victor catalog. It is very likely that Timaeus' victor catalog began with the first Olympiad and extended down to his own time. Once again we need to proceed by inference. The Censorinus passage makes it clear that Timaeus took the first Olympiad as an important epoch (F125, quoted above), and Dionysius of Halicarnassus indicates that Timaeus' date for the foundation of Rome was expressed in relation to the first Olympiad (*Antiquitates Romanae* 1.74.1 (F60)).⁷² Moreover, given Timaeus' strong interest in chronography and in view of the fact that his history of Sicily recounted happenings before the Trojan War, it is reasonable to assume that he took his chronologies as far back as possible. Two of the lists of eponyms that Timaeus included in his *Olympionikai*, Spartan kings and priestesses of Hera at Argos, began well before the first Olympiad and were probably given in full. There is no obvious reason, therefore, why Timaeus would not have supplied a victor catalog beginning with the first Olympiad. Because

⁷² Jacoby thought it was possible that Timaeus made Olympiad 1 the fixed point for his entire chronology (Jacoby 1923–58, 3b2: 320 n. 97).

Timaeus wrote about both ancient and recent events, he had good reason to take an interest in contemporary chronology and to extend his victor catalog down to his own time. The precise date when Timaeus produced the *Olympionikai* remains uncertain, though it is commonly presumed that he wrote it after his arrival in Athens and before the *Historiai*. It is impossible, therefore, to be specific about the number of Olympiads included in Timaeus' *Olympionikai*.

The placement of the *Olympionikai* before the *Historiai* is based on the assumption that the former was a preparatory work for the latter. This is a reasonable assumption given the fact that in the *Historiai* Timaeus pioneered the practice of using numbered Olympiads to date historical events. This is evident from a pair of scholia to Pindar *Olympian V* that explain the statement that Psaumis came from “newly founded” (νέοικον ἔδραν) Camarina:

Fig a *apud* scholiast Pindar *Olympian V* 19a:

νέοικον ἔδραν εἶπε τὴν Καμάριναν ὁ Πίνδαρος. σαφηνίζει Τίμαιος ἐν τῇ δεκάτῃ. εἰσὶ δὲ οὗτοι οἱ Καμαριναῖοι, <οἱ> ὑπὸ τοῦ Γέλωνος τυράννου ἀνηϊρέθησαν, εἶτα ὑπὸ Γελῶων συνωικίσθησαν ἐπὶ τῆς [- - -] Ὀλυμπιάδος. ἡ δὲ ἄλωσις ἐγένετο κατὰ τὴν Δαρείου τοῦ Πέρσου διάβασιν.

Pindar says that Camarina is a newly founded settlement. Timaeus explains this in the tenth book. These are the Camarinaians, who were destroyed by the tyrant Gelon. Then they were resettled by the Geloans in the (the numeral has fallen out of the text) Olympiad. The destruction took place during the time of the crossing of Dareios the Persian.

Fig b *apud* scholiast Pindar *Olympian V* 19b:

Ἱπποκράτης ὑπὸ τοῦ τῶν Γελῶων τυράννου ἀνηϊρέθη, εἶτα ὑπὸ Γελῶων συνωικίσθη ἡ Καμάρινα κατὰ τὴν μβ' Ὀλυμπιάδα, ὥς φησι Τίμαιος· διὸ καὶ νέοικον εἶπε τὴν πόλιν. ἡ δὲ ἄλωσις αὐτῆς ἐγένετο κατὰ τὴν Δαρείου τοῦ Ὑστάσπου στρατείαν.

The first line of the second scholion is confused and has been plausibly emended to Καμάρινα ὑπὸ Γελώνος τοῦ τῶν Γελῶων τυράννου ἀνηϊρέθη, so the passage can be translated as

Camarina was destroyed by Gelon, the tyrant of the Geloans. Then Camarina was refounded by the Geloans in the 42nd Olympiad, as Timaeus says. For this reason Pindar calls the *polis* a newly founded settlement. The destruction of Camarina took place during the time of the expedition of Dareios the son of Hystaspes.

Hippocrates was the brother of Gelon, which may suggest why his name appeared at some point in the original text.

The numerals in these scholia are of dubious accuracy. Other fragments indicate that Timaeus' account of Camarina's refounding was probably located in a later book of the *Historiai*, most likely the twelfth. The 42nd Olympiad was celebrated in 612, whereas Gelon was active in the first half of the fifth century, so $\mu\beta'$ has been emended in various ways.⁷³

The key issue in the present context is that Timaeus used a numbered Olympiad to date the refoundation of Camarina. In his history of Sicily, which was written in the first half of the fourth century, Philistus had used a *stadion* victor to identify a particular Olympiad, presumably as a dating formula.⁷⁴ The use of Olympiad dates by historians was, therefore, not new in Timaeus' time. He is, however, the first historian known to have used a numbered Olympiad. The Olympiads were numbered by Aristotle shortly before Timaeus' literary career began, and Timaeus had a strong interest in chronography, so he is the obvious candidate to have introduced numbered Olympiads to historical accounts.

Nonetheless, one must be cautious in assessing the significance of this development. To begin with, this is the only Olympiad date found in the fragments of Timaeus' work. As we have seen, Timaeus did date the foundation of Rome by placing it thirty-eight years before the first Olympiad (F60), but this seems to reflect Timaeus' preference for dating by means of intervals from stated epochs. He expressed the date of the foundation of Massalia as being 120 years before Salamis (F71) and of Corcyra as 600 years after the Trojan War (F80). Both of these colonies were founded after 776 and the fact that Timaeus chose not to provide Olympiad dates is revealing.

There is also some reason to think that the Olympiad date for the refoundation of Camarina was something of a special case. The

⁷³ Drachmann 1903–27, 1: 144 and Jacoby 1923–58, 3b1: 553. The synchronization of the destruction of Camarina with Dareios' expedition is possibly significant. This may too derive from Timaeus, who expressed at least some colonial foundation dates by means of intervals from famous wars (see below). If Timaeus did indeed provide both an Olympiad number and a synchronization, this would be another indication that he was not heavily invested in using Olympiads to date historical events.

⁷⁴ See Section 2.1.

scholiast to Pindar's *Nemean I* states that Timaeus mistakenly identified the poem as an *epinikion* for an Olympic victory (inscr. and 25a (F142a, b)), and the scholiast to *Pythian II* says that there was some confusion in regard to the site of the victory celebrated in the poem and that Timaeus had an opinion on this subject (inscr. (F141)). *Nemean I* was written for Chromios, the general of the Syracusan tyrant Hieron, and *Pythian II* was written for Hieron himself. This indicates that Timaeus took a special interest in the *epinikia* Pindar wrote for Sicilian victors, which would make sense as these poems would by Timaeus' time have become an important source of information about prominent figures in fifth-century Sicily. Timaeus also had a strong interest in athletics in general and Olympia and the Olympics in particular.⁷⁵ His discussion of the refoundation of Camarina may, therefore, have been closely connected to a discussion of *Olympian V*, which would mean that there was an Olympic element of sorts that might account for the use of an Olympiad date at that particular place in the narrative.

This is not to say that Timaeus' Olympiad date for Camarina is meaningless, but that Timaeus seems to have used Olympiad dates very sparingly and perhaps only in parts of his work that had some connection to the Olympics. Timaeus was thus responsible for a critical first step in regard to the employment of numbered Olympiads in historical narratives, but that step was a cautious and partial one.⁷⁶

The final aspect of Timaeus' work that needs to be considered is its relationship to the work of Philochorus. Both men were resident in Athens at the same time and had similar interests. It would appear that Timaeus used a calendrical treatise written by Philochorus in writing his *Historiai*, and, as we will see, Philochorus took advantage of the possibilities opened up by Timaeus' *Olympionikai* to write the first Olympiad chronicle. There was a long-standing belief among

⁷⁵ Timaeus' interest in athletics is evident in F22, 26, 41, 118.

⁷⁶ One consideration that may have affected Timaeus' decision not to use numbered Olympiads as an organizational framework for the *Historiai* was the timing of the Olympics. The Games were held in July or August, and so a division by Olympiads cut the summer military campaign season in half. This was a distinct inconvenience, though it was not limited to Olympiad dates. (Athenian archons, for instance, took office in the early summer.) On the inconveniences of Olympiad dating, see Walbank 1957-79, 1: 35-7.

ancient Greeks, evident from Hesiod's *Works and Days*, that individual days of the year had unique characteristics that made them suitable or unsuitable for the carrying out of various tasks. Philochorus wrote a treatise called *Peri Hemeron* (*On the Days*) that explored this dimension of the calendar by means of a catalog of the rites, festivals, and birthdays of the gods and heroes, and probably mythical and historical events, associated with each day. This seems to have been a unique work in its time,⁷⁷ and was probably used by Timaeus, who had a particular interest in historical events that took place on the same day in widely separated years.⁷⁸ Timaeus noted, for instance, that a bronze statue of Apollo that had been taken from Gela by the Carthaginians and sent to Tyre was recovered by Alexander the Great "on the day with the same name and at the same hour on which the Carthaginians seized the Apollo at Gela" (Diodorus Siculus 13.108.4 (F106)). Timaeus also remarked upon the fact that the temple of Artemis at Ephesus burnt down on the same night that Alexander the Great was born (because Artemis had left the temple in order to be present at Alexander's birth) (Cicero *De Natura Deorum* 2.69 (F150a)). Timaeus needed an up-to-date source of information on the events associated with individual days in order to locate such synchronisms, and Philochorus is the only author known to have produced such a work. It is likely, therefore, that Timaeus made use of Philochorus' *Peri Hemeron*.⁷⁹

4.6. DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

Dionysius of Halicarnassus produced two *Olympionikai*, an Olympiad chronicle (*Antiquitates Romanae*) and an Olympiad chronography (*Chronoi*).⁸⁰ The *Chronoi*, which was written as a preparatory work for

⁷⁷ On the *Peri Hemeron*, see Jacoby 1923–58, 3b Suppl. 1: 366–8 and Pritchett 2001, 78–80. On Philochorus, see Section 5.1.

⁷⁸ Asheri 1991/2.

⁷⁹ Jacoby raised the possibility of a connection between Timaeus' and Philochorus' chronographic work, but felt the evidence was too tenuous to make a decision (Jacoby 1923–58, 3b Suppl. 2: 176 n. 119). Momigliano notes that the two men shared an erudite attitude toward the past and used similar scholarly methods (Momigliano 1977, 46–51). Habicht is confident that Timaeus and Philochorus knew each other (Habicht 1997, 116–19).

⁸⁰ The title of Dionysius' Olympiad chronography is variously reported. On Dionysius' life and work, see Cary 1937–50, 1: vii–xlv and Gabba 1991, 1–22, 198–9. The fragments are collected in *FGH* 251, along with valuable comments on Dionysius' work.

the *Antiquitates Romanae*, is known through nine fragments, whereas eleven of the original twenty books of the *Antiquitates Romanae* are preserved, along with numerous fragments from the remainder. Our knowledge of the *Chronoi* is to a large extent based upon the *Antiquitates Romanae*, and the two works will be treated together here. The Greek text of the relevant fragments can be found in Appendix 4.3 unless otherwise noted.

Dionysius was born in Halicarnassus in Asia Minor sometime around 60 BCE and immigrated to Rome at about age thirty (*Antiquitates Romanae* 1.7.2). Once at Rome he established himself as a teacher of rhetoric. In addition to a number of rhetorical treatises, he produced the aforementioned pair of *Olympionikai*. Dionysius states in the preface to the *Antiquitates Romanae* that “it is now 745 years from Rome’s foundation down to the consulship of Claudius Nero, consul for the second time, and of Calpurnius Piso, who were chosen in the 193rd Olympiad” (1.3.4). This gives a date of 7 BCE for the appearance of the *Antiquitates Romanae*.⁸¹ The *Chronoi* must have been finished earlier, because Dionysius mentions it in the first book of the *Antiquitates Romanae* (1.74.1–4).

The reasons why Dionysius wrote the *Antiquitates Romanae* are clearly outlined in the preface (1.1.1–6.5) and can be paraphrased as follows. The Romans have built the greatest and most durable empire the world has ever known, but Greeks remain ignorant of Roman history. Many Greeks erroneously believe that the Romans sprang from a group of wandering barbarians and slaves. As there is no good historical account of the origins of Rome written in Greek, it is worthwhile to recount the early history of Rome and to prove that the peoples who came together to found Rome were all Greeks directly or indirectly. This undertaking also provides an opportunity to present a number of moral exemplars and to show goodwill toward Rome.

The *Antiquitates Romanae* begins with the earliest periods of Roman history and extends down to the First Punic War (1.8.1). Dates of the accession of each of the seven kings of Rome are given in terms of numbered Olympiads supplemented by *stadion* victor and (in all but

⁸¹ At 7.70.2 Dionysius refers to Book 1 as having already been published, so the entirety of the *Antiquitates Romanae* did not appear at the same time.

one case) by Athenian archon. The account of the years after the overthrow of the kings (which Dionysius dated to the first year of the 68th Olympiad) is organized annalistically, and Olympiad numbers, *stadion* victors, Athenian archons, and Roman chief magistrates are duly noted. Individual years within each Olympiad are identified solely on the basis of Roman chief magistrates. The beginning of the account for the year 500/499 is typical (see Appendix 5.5 for the Greek text):

In the 70th Olympiad, in which Niceas of Opous in Locris won the *stadion*, Smyros was the archon at Athens and Postumus Cominius and Titus Lacrius took over the consulship. During the magistracies of these men, the Latin cities revolted . . . (5.50.1)

Approximately ninety lines of text follow describing the events of this year. Dionysius then moves on to the next year:

Servius Sulpicius Camerinus and Manius Tullius Longus having taken over the consulship, some of the Fidenates, having sent for soldiers from Tarquinia, seized the citadel . . . (5.52.1)

The events of this year are then recounted, in the space of roughly 300 lines.

The *Antiquitates Romanae* thus contained a complete list of Olympic *stadion* victors for the period between 508 and 264 (Olympiads 68–129). The preserved sections of the original text end in the 85th Olympiad (the last *stadion* victor listed is Crison in the 83rd Olympiad).⁸²

Dionysius invested a considerable amount of energy in synchronizing Greek and Roman chronologies so that dates in the Roman system of time reckoning could be accurately expressed in terms that were easily comprehensible to his Greek readers. Dionysius wrote up the technical foundation for the synchronisms given in the *Antiquitates Romanae* in a separate treatise, the *Chronoi*. Although we have only a handful of fragments from this treatise, we can be nearly certain that it also included an Olympic victor list of some kind. This conclusion is

⁸² Dionysius also uses Olympiad dates in his rhetorical works. He dates the births of Isocrates (*De Isocrate* 1), Demosthenes (*Ad Ammaeum* 4), and Aristotle (*Ad Ammaeum* 5) on the basis of numbered Olympiads and Athenian archons.

based upon what Dionysius says about the contents of the treatise and the extant fragments.

In the first book of the *Antiquitates Romanae* Dionysius notes that the date of the foundation of Rome was a subject of much discussion, which he summarizes in some detail. As he reaches the end of that summary, he has occasion to discuss the *Chronoi*:

With respect to the final settlement or founding of Rome or whatever it should be called, Timaeus of Sicily, making use of I know not what standard, says that it took place at the same time as the founding of Carthage, the thirty-eighth year before the first Olympiad. Lucius Cincius, a senator, puts it sometime around the fourth year of the 12th Olympiad, Quintus Fabius in (2) the first year of the 8th Olympiad. Porcius Cato does not make use of Greek chronological systems, but, being as attentive as anyone to the collection of history treated in an antiquarian manner, declares that it occurred 432 years after the Trojan War. This, according to the *Peri Chronographion* of Eratosthenes, would correspond to the first year of the 7th Olympiad. That the chronologies used by Eratosthenes are sound and how one might synchronize Roman chronology with that of the Greeks I have shown (3) in another treatise. For I did not think it proper, like Polybius of Megalopolis, to say only that I believe that Rome was founded in the second year of the 7th Olympiad, nor to let my belief rest without further examination on a single tablet kept by the high priests, the only one of its kind. Rather, I myself laid out in the open the calculations upon which I relied so that those wishing might inspect them. The precise calculations are, therefore, made clear in that treatise, and the most important points are mentioned in this work (the *Antiquitates Romanae*). (1.74.1–4)

The extant fragments of the *Chronoi* show that it contained a wide range of chronographic information:

FGrH 251 F1 *apud* Clement of Alexandria *Stromata* 1.102.1:

The history of Argos (from the time of Inachos, I mean) is the oldest portion of Greek history, as Dionysius of Halicarnassus teaches us in his *Chronoi* (ἐν τοῖς Χρόνοις). (trans. John Ferguson)

F2 *apud* Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Antiquitates Romanae* 1.74.1–75.3 (the text of 1.74.1–4 is given above):

The matter stands thus. It is agreed by nearly everyone that the invasion of the Celts, during which the city of Rome was captured, occurred during the archonship of Pyrgion at Athens, in the first year of the 98th Olympiad.

The time before the capture of the city being reckoned to the time of Lucius Junius Brutus and Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus, who first held the consulship in Rome after the overthrow of the kings, comprehends 120 years. (5) This is clear both in many other ways and from the records of those called censors. Sons receive these records from their fathers, and great care is taken to hand them down to those coming after them, just like customary rites. There are many distinguished men from families that serve as censors who preserve these records. I find in these records that, in the second year before the capture of the city, a census was taken of the Roman people, to which is attached, just like all the others, a date in this fashion, "In the consulship of Lucius Valerius Potitus and Titus Manlius Capitolinus, in the 119th year after the expulsion of the kings." (6) This means that the Celtic invasion, which we find happened in the second year after the census, occurred when 120 years had passed. If this interval of time is found to consist of thirty Olympiads, it is necessary to conclude that the first consuls to be chosen took up their office in the archonship of Isagoras in Athens, the first year of the 68th Olympiad. (1.75.1) The time from the expulsion of the kings to Romulus, the first ruler of the city, when it is reckoned up, comes to 244 years. This is known from the succession of kings and the number of years each of them ruled. For Romulus, he who founded the city, is said to have held the throne for thirty-seven years. After the death of Romulus the city was without a king for a year. Then Numa Pompilius, having been chosen by the people, ruled for forty-three years. After Numa, Tullus Hostilius reigned thirty-two years. Ancus Marcius, who held the throne after Tullus Hostilius, reigned twenty-four years. After Marcius, Lucius Tarquinius, who was called Priscus, reigned thirty-eight years. Servius Tullius, who next took the throne, reigned forty-four years. The man who killed Servius, Lucius Tarquinius, the tyrant, who was also called Superbus on account of his contempt for justice, extended his reign to the twenty-fifth year. Since the regnal years of the kings occupy 244 years, which is sixty-one Olympiads, it follows absolutely necessarily that the first ruler of the city, Romulus, took up his kingship in the first year of the 7th Olympiad, when Charops was in the first year of his decennial archonship. For the count of years requires this. It is proven in this treatise of mine to which I referred (the *Chronoi*) that each of the kings reigned the number of years given above.

F3 *apud* Clement of Alexandria *Stromata* 1.131.6:

Xanthus the Lydian says that Thasos was founded sometime around the 18th Olympiad, Dionysius sometime around the 15th. It is clear from this that Archilochus was already known after the 20th Olympiad.

F4 *apud* Suda s.v. Εὐριπίδης, τραγικός:

Euripides, tragedian, nephew of the previous Euripides, as Dionysius says in the *Chronika* (ἐν τοῖς χρονικοῖς, clearly an alternative title for the *Chronoi*). He produced an edition of Homer, unless in fact this work was written by the other Euripides. These dramas are his: *Orestes*, *Medea*, *Polyxene*.

F5a *apud* Syncellus *Ecloga Chronographica* 332.4–5

The ten kings of the Pontians ruled at about this time and lasted 218 years. Apollodorus and Dionysius write about them.

F5b *apud* Syncellus *Ecloga Chronographica* 333.17–18:

According to Dionysius, the eight kings of the Bithynians ruled from this point, lasting 213 years.

[Jacoby prints excerpts from *Antiquitates Romanae* 1.63–6, 1.70–71, 2.59, and 7.1 as fragments 6–9 in an appendix. F6 contains Dionysius' calculations concerning the founding dates of Lavinium and Alba Longa. F7 supplies regnal years for the Alban kings. F8 contains Dionysius' calculations concerning the date of Numa. F9 is a discussion of the date of an embassy from Rome to Dionysius the Elder in Syracuse. The Greek text of these fragments can be found in Appendix 4.3.]

The fact that Dionysius included a Pontic king list in the *Chronoi* is particularly important. This shows that the *Chronoi* contained the sort of chronographic raw material that we encountered in Eusebius' *Chronographia*, alongside of which an Olympic victor list would be expected. As Dionysius nowhere mentions an Olympic victor other than a *stadiion* winner, it is likely that the victor catalog in the *Chronoi* looked very much like those found in the works of Timaeus and Eusebius.

The catalog of Olympic victors in the *Chronoi* probably began with the first Olympiad and ran down to Dionysius' time. F1 shows that Dionysius had an interest in the earliest periods of Greek history, and he regularly used Olympiad 1 as an epoch, so he had good reason to include a victor catalog that began with the first Olympiad in the *Chronoi*. F5a and b mention a list of Bithynian kings that ran for well over 200 years. As the line of Bithynian kings began in 302/1, this would indicate that the material in the *Chronoi* went down through the first century, and one would presume that Dionysius' victor catalog was current when it was compiled.⁸³

⁸³ On Dionysius' list of Bithynian kings, see Jacoby 1923–58, 2d: 752.

4.7. CASTOR OF RHODES

Castor of Rhodes, like Dionysius of Halicarnassus, wrote both an Olympiad chronography (*Kanon*) and an Olympiad chronicle (*Chronikon Epitome*) in the first century. The *Kanon* occupied one book and contained a series of cross-referenced lists of kings and eponymous officials for Rome, Greece, and the Near Eastern kingdoms. The *Chronikon Epitome* occupied six books and covered the period beginning with the year corresponding to 2123/22 BCE and ending with the fourth year of the 179th Olympiad, 61/60. The sections of the *Chronikon Epitome* that dealt with the period after the first Olympiad were organized around numbered Olympiads, and there is good reason to think that both the *Kanon* and the *Chronikon Epitome* included an Olympic victor list, probably consisting solely of *stadion* victors. Detailed discussion of the relevant evidence can be found in Section 5.4.

This brings us to the end of our examination of Olympiad chronographies.

OLYMPIAD CHRONICLES

There were two different kinds of Olympiad chronicle. One kind listed winners in all events, the other only *stadion* victors. In both cases the text of the chronicle was organized around a framework of numbered Olympiads. Individual years within Olympiads were identified either by ordinal numbers or by Athenian archons or Roman consuls. Historical notices, of variable length and detail, were attached to the entry for each Olympiad.¹

The victor catalogs in Olympiad chronicles typically began with Olympiad 1 and ran down to the time they were compiled. The starting points of the historical accounts in six Olympiad chronicles are known, and five of the six began before or with 776. Insofar as the treatment of the years after 776 was organized around numbered Olympiads, the authors of these chronicles must have started their victor catalogs with the first Olympiad. The end points of five Olympiad chronicles are known, and four of the five ran up to the author's own time. The sole exception in both cases was Dionysius of Halicarnassus' *Antiquitates Romanae*. Dionysius began with the origins of Rome, but his victor catalog did not start until the 68th Olympiad (508). He also did not take his account down to his own time, but instead ended with the outbreak of the First Punic War in 264. Dionysius' work was exceptional because he tailored the Olympiad framework to fit Roman history and the existing historiographical tradition on Rome.

¹ There is insufficient evidence to decide whether an author's choice to provide a complete listing of victors or just *stadion* winners correlated with the length of the attached historical notices.

Victor catalogs in Olympiad chronicles listing winners in all events provided the names of those athletes who won multiple victories at the same Olympiad, the *periodos*, or multiple victories over multiple Olympiads. They probably provided information about new events in the Olympic program as well. The relevant textual evidence consists primarily of the entry for the 121st Olympiad found in *POxy XVII 2082* and the entry for the 177th Olympiad from Phlegon's *Synagoge* (*FGrH* 257 F12).

The entry for the 177th Olympiad in Phlegon's *Synagoge* includes notes about Hecatomnos of Miletus winning three times at that Olympiad and about Isidoros of Alexandria winning the *periodos*. The entry for the 121st Olympiad in *POxy 2082* notes multiple victories at that Olympiad, but does not single out *periodonikai* as such.² It does, however, supply the number of victories of Pythagoras of Magnesia and Nikon of Boeotia at all four *periodos* games, so both men are clearly identified as *periodonikai*. The victor catalog for the 121st Olympiad in *POxy 2082* also supplies the information that Pythagoras of Magnesia won two Olympic *stadion* victories and that Nikon of Boeotia won the *pankration* twice at Olympia. Multiple victories over multiple Olympiads are not, however, specifically mentioned in Phlegon's victor catalog for the 177th Olympiad. This may be because none of the winners he listed had a prior Olympic victory to his credit.

There were no new events added to the Olympic program in either the 121st or the 177th Olympiad, so the textual evidence is not helpful in this respect. Information about new Olympic events was included in both *Olympionikon anagraphai* and Olympiad chronographies and

² Tlasimachos of Ambracia won two different hippic events at the 121st Olympiad. These events appear one after the other in the victor list in *POxy 2082* and in the listing for the second Tlasimachos' name is replaced with τοῦ αὐτοῦ ("the same man"). Pythagoras of Magnesia won both the *stadion* and the *hoplites* at the 121st Olympiad. The listing for Pythagoras' *stadion* victory at the 121st Olympiad reads: [Πυθαγόρ]ας Μάγνης ἀ[πὸ Μαιάνδρ]ου σ[τά]διον· οὗτο[ς] ἔχει Ὀλύμπια δίδ[υς], Πύ[θ]ι[α] δίδ[υς]· ἔχει δὲ καὶ Ἰσ[θ]μ[ια] πεντάκις, Νεμέα [ἐπ]τάκις (?). The listing for his *hoplites* victory reads: [Πυθαγόρ]ας Μάγνης ἀπὸ Μαιάνδρου [όπλ]ει[τη]ν δίδ[υς]. This δίδ[υς] may indicate that Pythagoras won twice in the same Olympiad or that he won twice in the *hoplites* at different Olympiads. Pythagoras won the *stadion* at the 120th Olympiad as well, and so may have won multiple victories in the *hoplites*. (His victory in the *stadion* at the 120th Olympiad is known from the Eusebian catalog.)

was of considerable importance in regard to the underlying structure of the victor catalogs in Olympiad chronicles that listed winners in all events.³ It is nearly certain, therefore, to have appeared in such chronicles. The available evidence makes it impossible to say for certain whether it was located in the victor catalogs or in the historical notices in these works. There is some reason to think that the victor catalog in Longinus' Olympiad chronicle included a note about the *stadion* being the only event for the first thirteen iterations of the Olympics.⁴ One would in any case suspect that the most logical course of action would have been to attach information about new Olympic events directly to the list of victors for the Olympiad in question.

Neither the author of *POxy* 2082 nor Phlegon included stories about famous athletes in their victor catalogs. There is insufficient textual evidence to decide whether these stories were located elsewhere in their works or were not present at all. In his assessment of Phlegon's Olympiad chronicle Photius complains about "the inopportune care and passion he devotes to Olympiads and to the names of the contestants in those Olympiads and their deeds . . ." (*FGrH* 257 T3). This would seem to indicate that Phlegon waxed eloquent about famous athletes. On the other hand, there is no trace of stories about athletes in the historical notices from the *Synagoge* or from *POxy* 2082, and it is hard to see where else they could have been located. There is, however, little enough preserved of the historical notices from these works that it is impossible to say for certain what they did or did not contain.

The contents of the victor catalogs in those Olympiad chronicles that supplied only the names of *stadion* winners can be established with some precision because large parts of two such works – Diodorus' *Bibliotheca Historica* and Dionysius of Halicarnassus' *Antiquitates Romanae* – are extant. In both cases the only information supplied was Olympiad numbers and the names of *stadion* victors. This type of Olympiad chronicle was obviously much further removed from the model established by *Olympionikon anagraphai* than those Olympiad chronicles that listed winners in all events.

³ See Section 3.5.

⁴ See Section 4.4.

It is unlikely that the wide array of information about the Olympic Games and Olympic victors found in *Olympionikon anagraphai* was duplicated in even the most elaborate Olympiad chronicles. We have already seen that that sort of information could be found in a number of different kinds of works after the early Hellenistic period, and there was no particular reason to reproduce it in an Olympiad chronicle. A brief excursus on the history of the Olympics was, however, not out of place and had some utility, because there was considerable dispute as to whether or not the Olympics at which Lycurgus helped preside were the same iteration of the Games at which Coroibos became the first recorded Olympic victor or whether Lycurgus' Olympics were fourteen or twenty-eight Olympiads before Coroibos. Just such an excursus was found at the beginning of Phlegon's *Synagoge*, and it is a reasonable conjecture that this was a standard feature of Olympiad chronicles of all kinds. Unfortunately, it is impossible to test this conjecture. The *Synagoge* began with the first Olympiad, so the historical information on the Olympics was logically enough located at the beginning of the work. If Diodorus provided a similar brief account of the Olympics, it would likely have been located in the section of his chronicle that covered 776. Unfortunately that part of the *Bibliotheca* is not preserved. Dionysius of Halicarnassus did not begin his victor catalog until the sixth century, so the *Antiquitates Romanae* is not particularly helpful in this regard.

Olympiad chronicles were written for roughly six centuries, beginning with Philochorus' *Olympiades* c. 300 BCE and ending with Dexippus' *Chronike Historia* c. 300 CE. The basic facts about these twelve works are summarized in Table 18.

Dexippus wrote the last known Olympiad chronicle in the second half of the third century CE, and it is likely that he was the final author to produce such a work. This is perhaps most evident from the fact that in the early fifth century CE Eunapius wrote a *Chronike Historia* that was explicitly constructed as a continuation of Dexippus' work of the same name. Eunapius, however, organized his work around the regnal years of Roman emperors.⁵

The reasons for the cessation in the production of Olympiad chronicles are not far to seek. The Olympic victor list, the basis of

⁵ See Section 5.11 for more on Eunapius' work.

TABLE 18. *Known Examples of Olympiad Chronicles*

Author	Date That Work Appeared	Title of Work	Number of Books	Start/End Point of Historical Account	Nature of Victor Catalog	State of Preservation
Philochorus	first half of 3rd century	<i>Olympiades (Olympiads)</i>	2	?	?	1 testimonium
Ctesicles of Athens	Hellenistic period	<i>Archonton kai Olympionikon Anagraphe (Register of Archons and Olympic Victors)</i>	at least 3	?	?	3 short fragments
Diodorus Siculus	1st century	<i>Bibliotheca Historica (Historical Library)</i>	40	Creation/First year of 180th Olympiad (60 BCE)	Just <i>stadion</i> victors	Books 1–5 (mythological period) and 11–20 (480–302) preserved in full, numerous fragments from remainder
Castor of Rhodes	1st century	<i>Chronikon Epitome (Summary of Chronological Matters)</i>	6	Ascension of Ninos and Aigialeus (2123/2 BCE)/ Fourth year of 179th Olympiad (61/60 BCE)	Probably just <i>stadion</i> victors	20 fragments total (5 of which are lengthy) from this work and from Castor's Olympiad chronography (<i>Kanon</i>)

(continued)

TABLE 18. (continued)

Author	Date That Work Appeared	Title of Work	Number of Books	Start/End Point of Historical Account	Nature of Victor Catalog	State of Preservation
Dionysius of Halicarnassus	end of 1st century	<i>Antiquitates Romanae (Roman Antiquities)</i>	20	Beginnings of Rome/First year of 129th Olympiad (264 BCE)	Just <i>stadion</i> victors	Books 1–11 (beginnings of Rome to 85th Olympiad/441) preserved in full, numerous fragments from remainder
Thallus	1st or 2nd century CE	<i>Historiai (Histories)</i>	3	Trojan War (or earlier)/ 202nd Olympiad (29–33 CE) (or later)	Probably just <i>stadion</i> victors	8 short fragments
Phlegon of Tralleis	2nd century CE	<i>Olympionikon kai Chronikon Synagoge (Collection of Olympic Victors and Chronological Matters)</i>	15 or 16	First Olympiad/ 229th Olympiad (137–40 CE)	Full victor list	34 fragments, 2 of which are lengthy
Phlegon of Tralleis		<i>Epitome Olympionikon (Summary of Olympic Victors)</i>	2	?	?	1 testimonium

(continued)

TABLE 18. (*continued*)

Author	Date That Work Appeared	Title of Work	Number of Books	Start/End Point of Historical Account	Nature of Victor Catalog	State of Preservation
P _{Oxy} XVII 2082	second half of 2nd century CE	?	?	Preserved sections cover Olympiads 120–21 (300–293 BCE)	Full victor list	7 legible fragments from a single papyrus with approximately 120 lines of text (many of which are heavily damaged)
P _{Oxy} I 12	first half of 3rd century CE	?	?	Preserved sections cover Olympiads 106–16 (356–312 BCE)	Just <i>stadión</i> victors	6 columns of text comprising approximately 200 lines
Cassius Longinus	2 II–13 CE	?	18	?	Probably full victor list	1 testimonium
Dexippus of Athens	second half of 3rd century CE	<i>Chronike Historia</i> (<i>Historical Chronicle</i>)	at least 12	Mythical period/262nd Olympiad (269–272 CE)	?	20 fragments, 1 of which is lengthy

the Olympiad chronicle, came to an end with the termination of the Olympics in the early fifth century CE.⁶ The imposition of Roman power over the entire Mediterranean and the transition from republic to empire meant that the regnal years of Roman emperors came to represent an obvious alternative to Olympiads as a time-reckoning system. King lists had been the foundation of the chronology of the Near Eastern kingdoms for centuries, so the use of Roman emperors for this purpose was almost inevitable. In addition, the Christianization of the empire made a chronology based on iterations of a pagan festival decidedly awkward. Christians were in any case eager to demonstrate that Biblical history considerably antedated anything Greek. As a result, Christian chronographers constructed new dating systems that took their starting point from creation or from Abraham.⁷ Olympiad dates thus became increasingly problematic at precisely the same time that convenient alternatives presented themselves, and the historical chronicle organized around numbered Olympiads lost its appeal.⁸

There can be no doubt that the roster of Olympiad chronicles given above is incomplete. Olympiad chronicles rapidly became obsolete, and only the most elaborate versions seem to have enjoyed a long life. This accounts for the fact that we are aware of only two Olympiad chronicles from before the first century and that even those two are barely known. The evidence for one consists of a title in a Suda entry and for the other of three brief fragments. We are well informed about Olympiad chronicles from the Roman imperial period because

⁶ On the termination of the Olympic Games, see Gutsfeld 2003; Lennartz 1974, 13–21; Sinn 1999; and Weiler 1985/6.

⁷ See Section 1.2.

⁸ The last work of Greek historiography to date by Olympiads was the *Chronicon Paschale*, a world chronicle written in the seventh century CE. The *Chronicon Paschale* was built around the *Annus Mundi* system found in Africanus, but also included Olympiad dates. This work was compiled from earlier sources, including Eusebius' chronographic studies, so its use of Olympiad dates is not surprising. On the *Chronicon Paschale*, see Gelzer 1880–85, 2: 138–76. For a translation and notes, see Whitby and Whitby 1989. A handful of authors writing in Syriac, Armenian, and Latin, such as Jacob of Edessa (c. 640–708 CE), Samuel of Ani (twelfth century CE), and Hydatius (first half of the fifth century CE), were familiar with the Greek historiographic tradition and continued to use numbered Olympiads (without, of course, accompanying *stadion* victors) as a means of reckoning time. For a list of late writers who used Olympiads, see Grumel 1958, 211–12. On Byzantine chronography and chronicles, see Croke 1990 and Jeffreys 2003.

Christian chronographers and chroniclers made heavy use of them in synchronizing sacred and secular history.

We are now in a position to explore each of the twelve known Olympiad chronicles. We will progress from earliest to latest, though it is necessary to note that this is primarily a matter of convenience. The sources are too lacunose to allow us either to trace chains of influence from one author to the next or to write a complete, diachronic history of Olympiad chronicles.

5.1. PHILOCHORUS

Philochorus, who was born c. 340 and was active through much of the first half of the third century, was a prolific author whose interests focused on the cults, myths, and history of Athens. His works included a history of Athens (*Atthis*) and a treatise called *Peri Hemeron* (*On the Days*), which detailed the numerological, religious, and historical significance of each day of the year. Philochorus also wrote what was probably the first Olympiad chronicle, with the title *Olympiades*, in two books. As this work is known only through a reference in the Suda, little can be said about the details of its structure and contents except that individual years were almost certainly identified using Athenian archons.⁹

Philochorus' *Olympiades* is known from a single source, his biography in the Suda:

Philochorus, son of Cynos, Athenian, prophet and diviner. His wife was Archestrata. Philochorus was alive in the time of Eratosthenes, since Philochorus met Eratosthenes when Eratosthenes was young and Philochorus old. He died after being ensnared by Antigonos because he had been discredited for having inclined toward the kingdom of Ptolemy. He wrote an *Atthis* in seventeen books. It contains the deeds of Athenians and the kings and archons. It goes down to the last Antiochos, the one surnamed Theos. It is written in opposition to Demon. (He wrote) *On Prophecy* in four books, *On Sacrifices* in one book, *On the Tétrapolis*, *The Foundation of Salamis*, *Attic Inscriptions*, *On the Contests at Athens* in seventeen books, *On the Archons of Athens from*

⁹ On Philochorus' life and work, the basic source remains Jacoby's collection of fragments and comments thereupon in *FGH* 328. See also Jacoby 1949, 78–9, 83–6, 94–9, 102–7, 115–19, and 133–7. See now also Harding 1994, 32–5 and Rhodes 1990.

Socratides to Apollodoros, Olympiades in two books (Περὶ τῶν Ἀθήνησιν ἀρχάντων ἀπὸ Σωκρατίδου καὶ μέχρι Ἀπολλόδωρον, Ὀλυμπιάδας ἐν βιβλίοις β'), *Atthis in Opposition to That of Demon*, an epitome of the same *Atthis*, an epitome of Dionysios' *On Sacred Matters*, *On Sophocles' Stories* in five books, *On Euripides*, *On Alcman*, *On the Mysteries at Athens*, *Collection of Heroines* or *Pythagorean Women*, *Delian Matters* in two books, *On Discoveries*, *On Purifications*, *On Agreements*. (FGrH 328 T1; see Appendix 5.1 for the Greek text)

One alternate reading of the Greek original merits specific mention. Daub emended the text to read Περὶ τῶν Ἀθήνησιν ἀρχάντων ἀπὸ Σωκρατίδου καὶ μέχρι Ἀπολλόδωρον κατ' Ὀλυμπιάδας ἐν βιβλίοις β' ("On the Archons of Athens from Socratides to Apollodoros Organized by Olympiads in two books").¹⁰ There is no need to change the text as transmitted, particularly because other authors are known to have produced works with the title *Olympiades* (Phlegon in particular). It is in any case hard to see why a list of Athenian archons would have been organized according to Olympiads. One might argue that Olympiad numbers were noted next to the appropriate archons, but in that case one would have to explain how such a list, which covered the years 374/3 to 319/8, could have occupied two books. If the work ran to two books because there were historical notices attached to the list, then it was a historical chronicle organized by Olympiads with the individual years denoted by archon names, and hence an Olympiad chronicle. The end result is thus the same one way or the other.

As the entry in the *Suda* is the only evidence for Philochorus' *Olympiades*, relatively little can be said about its contents. Two points, however, seem clear. First, it was an Olympiad chronicle. The title highlights Olympiads rather than Olympic victors, a reflection of the contents of the work.¹¹ *Olympionikon anagraphai* focused on the Olympic Games and Olympic victors, Olympiad chronographies on the chronological ramifications of the Olympic victor list. Olympiad chronicles were historical works organized around

¹⁰ Daub 1882, 25–6. In her edition of the *Suda*, Adler accepted Daub's emendation to the entry on Philochorus (Adler 1928–38, 4: 736), Jacoby did not.

¹¹ It is impossible to tell if the title of *Olympiades* was assigned by Philochorus himself or by someone else at a later date, but its significance remains the same.

numbered Olympiads. The title *Olympiades* was thus significant, and it is surely not coincidental that an identical title was used for one of Phlegon's works, which was beyond doubt an Olympiad chronicle. In addition, the list of titles in the Suda appears to be roughly grouped by types of work. The juxtaposition of *On the Archons of Athens from Socratides to Apollodoros* and *Olympiades* indicates that they were in some way alike, which would make sense if the *Olympiades* was a historical chronicle. Finally, Philochorus also wrote *On the Contests at Athens* in seventeen books. This indicates that he had a strong interest in athletics, something one might expect from the author of an Olympiad chronicle.

Second, Philochorus probably identified individual years within Olympiads using Athenian archons. Here again the order of titles in the Suda is relevant, as is Daub's emendation. Perhaps more importantly, Philochorus' *Atthis* was organized annalistically, using kings for the earlier periods and archons for more recent ones. He apparently also produced an archon list for much of the fourth century. It would, therefore, be surprising if he did not use Athenian archons to mark years within Olympiads.

One would like to know whether or not Philochorus included a full victor list for each Olympiad, but there is no evidence on which to base a judgment. If the *Olympiades*, like many later Olympiad chronicles, began with the first Olympiad and ran down to Philochorus' time, then it must have contained only the names of *stadion* victors, because a full victor catalog and historical notices for roughly 125 Olympiads would have taken up more than two books. If Daub is correct, then Philochorus' Olympiad chronicle covered approximately fifty-five years of history in two books. Even if true, this information would not be decisive, because of the highly variable length of historical notices in Olympiad chronicles. Philochorus could have included full victor lists with short historical notices, or just the Olympiad number and *stadion* victor with longer notices.

Philochorus' *Olympiades* is the first known Olympiad chronicle, and it is likely that it was the first work of this type. Just about the time Philochorus was born, Aristotle introduced an important innovation by numbering the Olympiads. This made it much easier to use Olympiads as a means of reckoning time and hence as the

organizational framework of a historical account. In order to write such an account, it was necessary to convert all the dates found in earlier sources into numbered Olympiads. Timaeus' *Olympionikai* made it possible to do so with relative ease. Without such a work at hand, the task of calculating the equivalence of an Olympiad number and, for example, a date expressed in terms of the priestesses of Hera at Argos would have been complicated and time-consuming.

The immediate stimulus for Philochorus' *Olympiades* may well have been the appearance of Timaeus' *Olympionikai*. Although the publication dates of these two works are not known, it is generally assumed that Timaeus compiled his Olympiad chronography in preparation for the composition of his *Historiai*, so the former work may have appeared at a relatively early date. Furthermore, Timaeus and Philochorus lived in Athens at the same time, and Timaeus probably used Philochorus' *Peri Hemeron* in writing his *Historiai*. Philochorus, therefore, almost certainly knew about Timaeus' *Olympionikai* shortly after it was completed. This would mean that there was ample time for Philochorus to become acquainted with Timaeus' work, to realize the possibilities that it presented, and to respond accordingly.

It is, therefore, reasonable to conclude that the *Olympiades* was the first Olympiad chronicle, but some uncertainty remains. The textual evidence is sufficiently lacunose to leave room for doubt. In addition, the numeration of the Olympiads was an important but not necessarily necessary step, because more than one ancient author used the Athenian archon list, which was unnumbered, as the basis of an annalistic chronicle.¹² It is impossible, therefore, to preclude entirely the possibility of an earlier Olympiad chronicle.

5.2. CTESICLES

Jacoby tentatively dated Ctesicles' *Register of Archons and Olympic Victors* to the Hellenistic period, making it the next known Olympiad chronicle after that of Philochorus. Ctesicles' *Olympionikai* occupied at least three books. The three extant fragments all pertain to events in the fourth and third century, but the temporal range of Ctesicles'

¹² See the bibliography cited in n. 120 of Chapter 2.

work is not known. There is no clear evidence as to whether Ctesicles supplied a full victor catalog or just a list of *stadion* victors. The Greek text of the fragments can be found in Appendix 5.2.

Ctesicles' date is approximate because very little is known about his life or work.¹³ The suggestion that he wrote in the Hellenistic period is based on a *terminus ante quem* provided by references in Athenaeus and Diogenes Laertius and the fact that the fragments of his Olympiad chronicle discuss Xenophon, Demetrius of Phalerum, and Eumenes of Pergamum, all of whom lived in the fourth and third centuries.

The title of the work is given by Diogenes Laertius:

Xenophon's *akme* fell in the fourth year of the 94th Olympiad, and he took part in the expedition of Cyrus during the archonship of Xenainetos, in the year before the death of Socrates. He died, according to Stesicleides of Athens in his *Register of Archons and Olympic Victors* (ἐν τῇ τῶν Ἀρχόντων καὶ Ὀλυμπιονικῶν ἀναγραφῇ), in the first year of the 105th Olympiad in the archonship of Callimedes, the year in which Philip, the son of Amyntas, came to the throne of Macedon. He died at Corinth, as Demetrios of Magnesia says, obviously at an advanced age. (2.55–6 (*FGrH* 245 F3))

Wilamowitz argued that Diogenes' Stesicleides was in fact a corruption of Ctesicles, an author known from two passages in Athenaeus:¹⁴

Ctesicles in the third book of his *Chronikoi* (ἐν τρίτῃ Χρονικῶν) says that at Athens, during the 117th Olympiad, a census of the inhabitants was taken by Demetrius of Phalerum, and the number of Athenians was found to be 21,000, of metics 10,000, of slaves 400,000. (272c (*FGrH* 245 F1))

You, being violently drunk are not yet satiated, and you do not keep in mind that Eumenes of Pergamum, the nephew of King Philetairos of Pergamum, died of intoxication, as Ctesicles records in the third book of his *Chronoi* (ἐν τρίτῳ Χρόνων). (445c–d (F2))

Wilamowitz's emendation has been widely accepted, in part because of the similarity of "Stesicleides'" and Ctesicles' work, and in part

¹³ The only significant scholarship on Ctesicles remains Jacoby's collection of fragments and his comments thereupon in *FGrH* 245.

¹⁴ Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1881, 335 n. 20.

because exactly the same corruption from Ctesicles to Stesicleides occurs at Xenophon *Hellenica* 6.2.10. The variation in the titles given by Diogenes and Athenaeus is not problematic, because it is common in different citations of the same *Olympionikai*.¹⁵ In addition, Athenaeus gives the title once as *Chronikoi*, once as *Chronoi*. The precision of the title supplied by Diogenes and the internal inconsistency in Athenaeus indicates that the latter was using a short-hand description and that the former's version of the title was the technically correct one.

Although Diogenes gives the title as *Register of Archons and Olympic Victors*, the fragments make it clear that it was an Olympiad chronicle and not an *Olympionikon anagraphe* or an Olympiad chronography. Diogenes and Athenaeus refer to Ctesicles for information on the date of Xenophon's death, the number of citizens in Athens, and the drinking habits of members of the royal family of Pergamum, hardly the sort of information that would be found in other types of *Olympionikai*.

The internal organization of Ctesicles' work is evident from the fact that both Xenophon's death and Demetrius' census are dated by numbered Olympiads and from the inclusion of Athenian archons in the title. Like a number of later authors, Ctesicles built his text around numbered Olympiads with individual years identified by Athenian archons. Although one is hesitant to place too much interpretive weight on the title, the use of the term *anagraphe* may indicate that Ctesicles included a full list of victors for each Olympiad. On the other hand, F2 shows that the third book included mention of a census in the 117th Olympiad (312) and of Eumenes' death (241). If Ctesicles' Olympiad chronicle was typical, then it began with the first Olympiad. This would mean that Ctesicles covered well over a hundred Olympiads in three books, and, given the level of detail at which he seems to have worked, there would not have been room for a full victor catalog. The problem is that the starting point of Ctesicles' chronicle is not clear, so it is possible that he, like Dionysius of Halicarnassus, began at some point after the first Olympiad. There is insufficient evidence to reach a definitive conclusion.

¹⁵ See, for instance, Section 5.7 on Phlegon's *Olympionikai*.

5.3. DIODORUS SICULUS

The next three Olympiad chronicles of which we are aware, those of Diodorus Siculus, Castor of Rhodes, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, are all products of the first century. All three in a sense respond to the imposition of Roman rule over the entire Mediterranean that resulted from Pompey's eastern campaigns (67–3 BCE). Diodorus, like many of his contemporaries, seems to have seen those campaigns as an epochal event. In the preface to his Olympiad chronicle, the *Bibliotheca Historica* (*Historical Library*), he remarks on “the supremacy of this city (Rome), a supremacy so powerful that it extends to the bounds of the inhabited world . . .” (1.4.3). Diodorus says that he undertook to record “the common affairs of the inhabited world as though they were those of a single *polis* . . .” (1.1.3), starting with creation and ending with the first year of the 180th Olympiad (60 BCE). Despite the claim to universal coverage, Diodorus primarily focuses on Greece and Sicily until he comes to the First Punic War, when more attention is given to Rome.¹⁶

The unusual title speaks to the purpose of the work, which was to provide a convenient summary of events described in detail in other, more specialized histories. Even this summary, however, ran to forty books. Fifteen of the forty are preserved in their entirety. These are Books 1–5, which cover the geography, ethnography, and mythology of Asia and Europe in the period before the Trojan War, and Books 11–20, which recount the events of 480–302.

Although the treatment of earlier periods is organized topically, Diodorus built the later sections of the *Bibliotheca* around an annalistic framework based on numbered Olympiads. For the first year in each Olympiad, he gives the Olympiad number along with the name of the appropriate *stadion* victor, Athenian archon, and Roman consuls. When the account for the first year of an Olympiad ends, the arrival of the next year is noted through citation of the next Athenian archon

¹⁶ On Diodorus and his work, see the work cited in n. 69 of Chapter 4 as well as Ambaglio 2002; Green 2006, 1–47; Meister 1990, 172–81; and Stylianou 1998, 1–140.

and Roman consuls. (For a representative sample of Diodorus' text, see Section 1.4.) In its complete form the *Bibliotheca* thus supplied the names of Olympic *stadion* victors in the first 180 Olympiads. In its current form the text gives the names of *stadion* victors in the 75th through the 119th Olympiads. Diodorus' work is sufficiently well-known and accessible to require no further discussion here.

5.4. CASTOR OF RHODES

Castor wrote two distinct, but closely related, *Olympionikai* at some point in the first century. The *Kanon* (*Canon*) was an Olympiad chronography in a single book that contained a series of cross-referenced lists of eponyms and kings for Rome, Greece, and the Near Eastern kingdoms. The *Chronikon Epitome* (*Summary of Chronological Matters*) was an Olympiad chronicle in six books that covered the period beginning with the accession of Ninus as king of Assyria and of Aigialeus as king of Sicyon in the year corresponding to 2123/2 and ending with the fourth year of the 179th Olympiad (61/60). Just as was the case with Eusebius' *Chronographia* and *Chronikoi Kanones*, Castor's *Kanon* supplied the raw material for the *Chronikon Epitome*. The sections of the *Chronikon Epitome* that dealt with the period after 776 were organized around numbered Olympiads, and there is good reason to think that both the *Kanon* and the *Chronikon Epitome* included an Olympic victor list that consisted solely of *stadion* victors and that stretched from Olympiad 1 down to the first century. Individual years within Olympiads were probably identified using Athenian archons and Roman consuls. These conclusions are based largely on the twenty extant fragments, which include unusually long stretches of text preserved in the Armenian translation of Eusebius' *Chronographia*.¹⁷ The Greek and Armenian (in German translation) text of the fragments can be found in Appendix 5.4.¹⁸

¹⁷ The basic work on Castor remains Jacoby's collection of fragments and his comments thereupon in *FGrH* 250. See also Helm 1924, 10–13; Mosshammer 1979, 40, 62, 100, 112, 130–31, 135, 140, 144–6, 159, 162, 167, 182–3; Schwartz 1894/5; and Wachsmuth 1895, 139–42.

¹⁸ On the use of the German translation of the Armenian *Chronika*, see Section 4.1.

Two of the extant Greek fragments supply a title for Castor's Olympiad chronicle:

From this (a fire spread) to the agora called Zeuxippos after King Zeuxippos, under whom, in the 38th Olympiad, Megarians migrated to Byzantium. They named the agora in his honor, just as the Megarians who colonized Cyzicus named the Stoas of Charidemos after him. The latter, too, is said to have reigned over the Greeks, as Castor recorded in his *Chronikon Epitome* (ἐν Ἐπιτομῇ χρονικῶν). (Joannes Laurentius Lydus *De Magistratibus Populi Romani* 244.22–7 (FGrH 250 F2a))

Iasos was the son of Argos and Ismene, the daughter of Asopos, and it is said that he was the father of Io. But Castor, who wrote the *Chronika* (τὰ χρονικά), and many of the tragedians say that Io was the daughter of Inachos. Hesiod and Acusilaus say that she was the daughter of Peiren. ([Apollodorus] *Bibliotheca* 2.5–1–5 (F8))

In his analysis of the fragments, Jacoby concludes that the original title of the work was *Chronikon Epitome*. F8 and some of the Armenian fragments make it clear that it was frequently referred to as the *Chronika*.

Castor also produced an Olympiad chronography the title of which is known from its citation in Eusebius' *Chronographia*:

but also Castor in the first, abridged book of his *Chronika* reports . . . Since he also in his *Kanones* puts it this way . . . (For the translation of the remainder, see the next fragment.) (26.8–30 Karst (F1))

Syncellus preserves the original Greek text of the second part of this passage:

But others claim that after Sardanapalos, Ninos also held sway over the Assyrian domain. For example, Castor says the following at some point in his *Kanon* (ἐν τῷ κανόνι): “First in our sequence are the Assyrian kings, who ruled from the time of Belos. But because the traditions about the years of Belos' reign are vague, we mention his name, but we have commenced our chronography from Ninos. And we have concluded with the Ninos who succeeded Sardanapalos to the throne.” (*Ecloga Chronographica* 243.13–20 (F1a), trans. William Adler and Paul Tuffin)

Elsewhere in the *Chronographia* Eusebius mentions both a *Chronika* and some sort of summary version of the same work:

The chronographer Castor also deals with the reigns of the Sicyonian kings in his *Chronika*, giving them in a series. He summarizes the same material in the *Kanon* (Kurzen Abriß). (81.11–14 Karst (F2))

As Jacoby points out, the Kurzen Abriß of F2 must be the *Kanon* of F1 and 1A.

The nature of the relationship between the *Chronikon Epitome* and *Kanon* has been the subject of considerable scholarly discussion and requires careful attention. We will begin by looking at the relevant textual evidence. There are twenty extant fragments from the *Chronikon Epitome* and *Kanon*. These fragments need to be considered collectively because the assignment of individual fragments to a specific work is difficult due to the overlap between the *Kanon* and the *Chronikon Epitome*. The most important fragments are those from Eusebius' *Chronographia*, in which Castor is both summarized and quoted at length. Eusebius used Castor as a source for the lists of Assyrian, Sicyonian, and Argive kings, of Athenian kings and archons, and of Roman kings and consuls found in the *Chronographia* (F1–5, respectively). He also cites Castor twice in the *Praeparatio Evangelica*, both times via Sextus Julius Africanus, once for the date of Cyrus' accession to the Persian throne (10.10.4–5 (F6)) and once for the chronology of Athenian kings (10.10.7 (F7)). The remaining thirteen fragments are summarized in Table 19.

The date of Castor's literary activity can be inferred from the facts that his chronicle stopped at 61/60 BCE (see T2, below) and that he is cited by Josephus, who was born in 37/8 CE.¹⁹ Castor's *Olympionikai* and Diodorus' *Bibliotheca* were thus written at roughly the same time, and both authors began their chronicles with the earliest known periods, stopped at the same year, and probably responded to the same stimulus, the imposition of Roman rule over the entire Mediterranean basin. Nonetheless, Castor's *Olympionikai* and the *Bibliotheca* have less in common than one might think and a comparison of the two is helpful in making sense of Castor's decision to compile two separate *Olympionikai* and of the seemingly strange admixture of subject matter

¹⁹ The ancient biographical tradition on Castor is limited to a single, confused entry in the Suda (s.v. Κάστωρ (FGrH 250 T1)).

TABLE 19. *Sources and Subjects of the Shorter Fragments of Castor's Olympionikai*

Fragment number in Jacoby <i>FGrH</i> 250	Original Source	Nature of Reference
2A	Joannes Laurentius Lydus <i>De Magistratibus Populi Romani</i> 244.22–7	Zeuxippos as king
8	[Apollodorus] <i>Bibliotheca</i> 2.5.1–5	Io as daughter of Inachos (whom Castor listed as first king of Argos)
9	Augustine <i>De Civitate Dei</i> 21.8	Unusual celestial event
10	Joannes Laurentius Lydus <i>De Magistratibus Populi Romani</i> 10.8–12	Date of Aeneas' arrival in Italy
11	John Malalas <i>Chronographia</i> 157.8–21	Details of Croisos' expedition against Cyrus
12	Josephus <i>Contra Apionem</i> 1.184–5	Date of Battle of Gaza
13	Josephus <i>Contra Apionem</i> 2.83–5	Antiochos' reasons for plundering the temple in Jerusalem
14	Pseudo-Justinus Martyr <i>Cohortatio ad Gentiles</i> 9d–10b Morel	Date of Moses
15	Plutarch <i>Moralia</i> 266c–e	Relationship between Roman customs and Pythagorean doctrines
16	Plutarch <i>Moralia</i> 282a	Habit of Romans of distinguished lineage of wearing crescents on their shoes traced to belief in afterlife beyond moon
17	Plutarch <i>Moralia</i> 363b	Sacrificial customs of Egyptian priests
18	Vita-argumentum-scholion Euripides <i>Phoenissae</i> section 1 ll. 4–6	Oedipus exposed both of his sons
19	Stephanus Byzantius <i>Ethnica</i> s.v. Βοιωτία	Boeotia named after a cow that guided Cadmos

in the fragments of Castor's work, ranging from the date of Aeneas' arrival in Italy to Egyptian sacrificial customs.²⁰

Diodorus asserted that he wanted to write the history of the entire inhabited world as if it were a single *polis* (1.13). This was an ambitious statement of purpose, but in practice Diodorus made two choices that greatly simplified the task in front of him. First, he focused largely on Greece and Rome, and when he discussed Eastern peoples, he did so in distinct sections of text that were only loosely connected to the rest of the work (1.9.5). Second, he relied on the preexisting chronographic framework of Eratosthenes and Apollodorus, and, because that framework began with the Trojan War, did not attempt to supply precise dates for earlier periods (1.5.1).²¹

Castor in a sense carried out the unfulfilled program of Diodorus by bringing together the history of the Greeks, Romans, Assyrians, Egyptians, and Jews in a single chronicle with a strong chronological framework throughout. In his analysis of the fragments of the *Chronikon Epitome* in Eusebius' *Chronographia*, Mosshammer concluded that most came from Book 1 of the *Chronikon Epitome*, which ran from 2123/2 to 754/3.²² This indicates that the *Chronikon Epitome* was organized chronologically throughout, probably by kings and regnal years down to 776, and by numbered Olympiads thereafter.

In order to produce a chronicle of the sort found in the *Chronikon Epitome*, Castor needed to be both historian and chronographer. This duality is evident from the fact that Eusebius sometimes describes Castor as a historian (F1b, 6), sometimes as a chronographer (F2). As a historian, he needed to synthesize a wide range of potentially relevant sources into a single, compact text. The use of the word *Epitome* for his chronicle is hence quite appropriate. As a chronographer, he confronted a series of challenges. These challenges all had their root in the fact that, when Castor began his work, there were extant chronologies

²⁰ Wacholder claims that Castor wrote the *Chronikon Epitome* specifically to refute the chronology in Pseudo-Apollodorus that gave Eastern history greater antiquity, but Greeks had ignored such claims for centuries (Wacholder 1968).

²¹ Sacks claims that Diodorus' statement at 1.5.1 may be a polemic aimed at Castor, but it is likely that Diodorus did not have access to Castor's work (Sacks 1990, 65–6). On this point, see Jacoby 1902a, 75–80.

²² Mosshammer 1979, 135.

for the Near Eastern kingdoms that began 1,000 years or more before the earliest possible date for the Trojan War, the starting point for most Greek chronological systems. The gap could easily be ignored in histories that focused on either Greece or Rome on one hand or the Eastern kingdoms on the other, but it was something of an embarrassment to a Greek author writing a chronicle that united the history of the two. Like Diodorus (1.9.5), Castor refused to cede temporal priority to non-Greeks and did not adopt the atemporal approach for earlier periods favored by Diodorus.²³ As a result, Castor needed to extend the chronological framework that he inherited from Eratosthenes and Apollodorus back into the period before the Trojan War. His solution was to construct a list of the kings of Sicyon that had Ninos, the first dateable king of Assyria,²⁴ and Aigialeus, the first king of Sicyon, both ascend their respective thrones in the year equivalent to 2123/2.

The choice of Sicyon as the seat of the earliest kings in Greece may seem rather odd, but it was in fact quite sensible. To begin with, the chronology of the kings of more obvious sites, Sparta, Argos, and Athens, was firmly established by Castor's time and did not reach far back enough to be of use. In addition to being helpfully obscure, Sicyon offered a certain amount of raw material from which a suitable king list could be constructed. There was an inscription at Sicyon that gave a history of music and that seems to have included a list of Sicyonian kings.²⁵ Castor had access to the material in this inscription through a literary source, probably a local history written by Menaechmus of Sicyon.²⁶ He revised the material derived from the inscription, adding names to the list in order to lengthen it suitably.²⁷

²³ Ephorus simply accepted that non-Greeks were of more ancient origin than Greeks (*FGrH* 70 F109). A good introduction to Greek interaction with Eastern systems of time reckoning can be found in Drews 1965.

²⁴ Castor took the position that Belos was king before Ninos, but that it was impossible to assign a date to his reign. See *FGrH* 250 F1.

²⁵ See Appendix 16.

²⁶ On Menaechmus, see Appendix 15.

²⁷ Castor could not simply push the dates of the entire Sicyonian king list backward because of the need to preserve important, preexisting synchronizations involving figures in the list such as Adrastus.

The compilation of a revised list of Sicyonian kings did not exhaust the chronographic work Castor needed to do. He had to place figures from Greek myth into his newly created chronological framework. He also needed to collect other lists of eponyms and kings pertinent to the times and places covered in the *Kanon* and *Chronikon Epitome*. This included at a minimum lists of Assyrian and Argive kings, Athenian kings and archons, and Roman kings and consuls. Because these lists were in general circulation by the time Castor was writing, he must have had little difficulty in assembling them. Finally, he needed to synchronize his newly created chronology of Greece in the pre-Trojan War period with the extant chronologies of the Eastern kingdoms.

For reasons that are now obvious, when Castor decided to write a “universal” chronicle and to push the date of the earliest Greek kings back in time, he in effect committed himself to constructing the requisite synchronized chronographic framework. He supplied that framework in the *Kanon* in the form of a series of lists of eponyms and kings. In the *Chronikon Epitome* he offered a historical account that drew freely upon the chronographic materials in the *Kanon*.²⁸ There are clear parallels for this arrangement in Dionysius of Halicarnassus’ *Chronoi* and *Antiquitates Romanae* and Eusebius’ *Chronographia* and *Chronikoi Kanones*.

There was considerable overlap between the *Kanon* and the *Chronikon Epitome* because the information about eponyms and kings found in the *Kanon* would have been noted in appropriate places in the historical account contained in the *Chronikon Epitome*. Some sense for how this worked can be had from Diodorus. The *Bibliotheca* did not contain compact lists of kings and magistrates, but did give the names of Olympic *stadion* victors, Roman consuls, and Athenian archons and the names and regnal years of a number of different lines of kings. The relevant names and figures were scattered under the appropriate annalistic entries in the *Bibliotheca*. The text in Castor’s *Chronikon Epitome* must have been crafted along the same sorts of lines, which meant that

²⁸ The description of the relationship between the *Chronikon Epitome* and the *Kanon* offered here is similar to that found in (Helm 1924, 10–13), with one exception. Helm places the *Kanon* in the beginning of the *Chronikon Epitome*. This, however, conflicts with the explicit statement in F1 that cites both the *Kanon* and Book 1 of the *Chronikon Epitome* for the same material. See also Croke 1982.

much of the information in the *Kanon* was also found in the *Chronikon Epitome*.

When Eusebius was collecting chronographic materials, he used both Diodorus and Castor. As the material he needed from Diodorus (king lists for places such as Corinth, Sparta, and Macedonia) was embedded in a long chronicle, he accessed Diodorus via excerpts made by a later author. Eusebius did not, however, need to locate an excerpted version of the *Chronikon Epitome* because chronographic raw materials in the form of eponym lists could be found in the *Kanon*. This is reflected in F2, from the *Chronographia*, which is worth quoting again (cf. F1 and 1A, given above):

The chronographer Castor also deals with the reigns of the Sicyonian kings in his *Chronika*, giving them in a series. He summarizes the same material in the *Kanon*. (81.11–14 Karst (F2))

Eusebius used the *Chronikon Epitome* as well as the *Kanon*, in part because the former contained supplementary information on kings and magistrates not found in the latter, and in part because he relied on the *Chronikon Epitome* as his source for the history of the “legendary” period, i.e., the time before the Trojan War.²⁹ Castor was the obvious place to turn for the history of this period. Eusebius needed to locate specific dates for events in order to place them in his synchronized chronological table, and Castor was the first Greek writer to extend the chronographic framework back beyond the Trojan War and to assign specific dates to events and persons from that period.

The preceding discussion makes it possible to appreciate just how much effort Castor expended in writing the *Chronikon Epitome* and the *Kanon*. It should come as no surprise that these works were a key source not just for Eusebius, but also for other writers such as Varro, Plutarch, and Sextus Julius Africanus. Castor did, however, take the easy path in one respect: in the sections of his work that dealt with the period after 776, he kept to the preexisting system of dating by numbered Olympiad. This is apparent from a quotation from the *Chronikon Epitome* found in Josephus’ *Contra Apionem*. Josephus wanted to show that the Greeks had long been acquainted with the Jews, and to

²⁹ Mosshammer 1979, 135.

that end cited relevant passages by Aristotle and Hecataeus of Abdera. Hecataeus was sufficiently obscure that Josephus made certain that there could be no doubt as to when he wrote:

First I will clarify his date. For he (Hecataeus) mentions the battle near Gaza that Ptolemy fought against Demetrios. This battle was fought in the eleventh year after the death of Alexander, in the 117th Olympiad, as Castor relates. For, under the heading of this Olympiad, he says, “in this (Olympiad) Ptolemy the son of Lagos in a battle near Gaza defeated Demetrios the son of Antigonos, who was known as Poliorcetes.” Everyone agrees that Alexander died in the 114th Olympiad. (F12 *apud* Josephus *Contra Apionem* 1.184–5)

Other sources show that the Battle of Gaza was fought in late 312 or early 311, the first year of the 117th Olympiad.³⁰ As a result, this passage, the only fragment that speaks to the internal organization of the sections of the *Chronikon Epitome* pertaining to the period after the first Olympiad, does not shed any light on how Castor identified individual years within the Olympiads.³¹

We can, however, be fairly certain that he used Athenian archons and Roman consuls for this purpose. The end of the list of Athenian kings and life and decennial archons that Eusebius took from Castor reads as follows:

After this it was decided to choose leaders annually. And Creon was the first annual archon in the 24th Olympiad. After that each archon held office for a year. (*Chronographia* 88.25–7 Karst (F4))

Eusebius tacked a note onto the end of this statement: “the names of whom it is in no way necessary to list” (88.27–8). Castor must have supplied the names of the annual Athenian archons, information that Eusebius did not copy. Eusebius also drew on Castor for a list of Roman kings and consuls (F5). The names of Athenian archons and Roman consuls were frequently used to mark individual years within numbered Olympiads, and the presence of lists of Athenian archons and Roman consuls in Castor’s work strongly suggests that he did just that.

³⁰ For a listing of the ancient sources on the Battle of Gaza, see Clinton 1834, 2: 188. For discussion, see Wheatley 1988 and 2003.

³¹ Given its contents, F12 can be assigned to the *Chronikon Epitome* (and not the *Kanon*) with a high degree of confidence.

The final question to be asked about Castor's *Chronikon Epitome* and *Kanon* is in the present context the most important: did they include a list of Olympic victors, and if so, how complete was the list? It would be difficult to believe that Castor wrote a historical chronicle that was organized in part around Olympiads and assembled a range of esoteric chronographic material such as Sicyonian and Argive king lists, but did not include an Olympic victor list in either the *Chronikon Epitome* or the *Kanon*. In addition, Castor's work appears in a section of a list of sources in Eusebius' *Chronographia* that seems to consist entirely of Olympiad chronicles (see below).

It is, however, unlikely that Castor's Olympic victor list consisted of anything more than the names of *stadion* victors. This judgment is based on what is known about the length of the *Chronikon Epitome* and the *Kanon* and the vast geographical and chronological scope of the *Chronikon Epitome*. Much of the relevant information is preserved in the source list given by Eusebius in the *Chronographia*:³²

All of what has been discussed has been collected from earlier records, which are here listed in order:

Alexander Polyhistor;

Abydenus, who wrote histories of the Assyrians and Medes;

Manetho's three books of Egyptian antiquities;

Cephalion's nine books named after the Muses;

Diodorus' library of forty books, in which he gives a brief epitome of history down to Julius Caesar;

Cassius Longinus' eighteen books, in which he has epitomized 138 Olympiads;

Phlegon's, the freedman of the emperor, fourteen books, in which he has epitomized 229 Olympiads;

Castor's six books, in which he has epitomized the period from Ninos, going down 181 Olympiads;

Thallus' three books, in which he has briefly epitomized the period from the Fall of Troy to the 167th Olympiad;

Porphyry, the philosopher and our contemporary, from the Fall of Troy to the reign of Claudius . . .

(125.6–24 Karst (T2))

³² On the Eusebian source list, see Section 4.4.

Eusebius gives two separate sets of figures in describing his sources, one for the number of Olympiads covered by Cassius Longinus, Phlegon, Castor, and Thallus, another for the number of books in seven of the ten works in the list. We have already seen that the former figures are problematic, whereas the latter figures appear to be largely correct. There is no independent evidence for the number of books in Castor's Olympiad chronicle (the only book of the *Chronikon Epitome* that is specifically cited is the first). Nonetheless, the figures for book numbers in the Eusebian source list are sufficiently accurate as to support the provisional conclusion that the *Chronikon Epitome* did indeed run to six books.

The *Kanon* was but one book long. When Eusebius quotes Castor for the Assyrian king list, he specifically cites the first book of the *Chronikon Epitome* and then cites the *Kanon*, without a book number (F1). The Armenian manuscript gives the title of the latter as a plural, but the fragment of the same passage in Syncellus shows that Eusebius used a singular, ἐν τῷ κανόνι (F1a). There must, therefore, have been only a single book in the *Kanon*.

The historical account in the *Chronikon Epitome* began with the reigns of Ninos in Assyria and Aigialeus in Sicyon, both of which Castor placed in the year corresponding to 2123/2 (F1–2). The point at which Castor chose to terminate the *Chronikon Epitome* can be established with some accuracy on the basis of Castor's list of Roman kings and magistrates, as preserved by Eusebius. This list ends with the consuls Marcus Valerius Messala and Marcus Piso, whose magistracies are synchronized with the archonship of Theophemos in Athens (61/60) (*Chronographia* 142.21–143.1 Karst (F5)). Theophemos was archon in the fourth year of the 179th Olympiad, which conflicts with the statement in the Eusebian source list that the *Chronikon Epitome* ended with the 181st Olympiad. The information on the number of Olympiads covered by individual works in the Eusebian source list is suspect, so the date suggested by the names of the consuls and archon is to be preferred.

The *Chronikon Epitome* was thus six books long and covered the history of most of the Mediterranean basin for over 2,000 years. We can be fairly certain that Castor contented himself with the names of *stadion* victors, simply because a full Olympic victor list would have

occupied an inordinate amount of space in the *Chronikon Epitome*. Such a list would have occupied virtually the entirety of the *Kanon*, which also contained a number of other eponym and king lists. It is thus likely that there was a list of *stadion* victors in the *Kanon* and that the names of *stadion* victors were given along with Olympiad numbers in the relevant sections of the *Chronikon Epitome*. This would mean that the later parts of the *Chronikon Epitome* were organized more or less along the lines of what we see in Diodorus' *Bibliotheca* and that the *Chronikon Epitome* was, therefore, an Olympiad chronicle and the *Kanon* an Olympiad chronography.

Given that the eponym lists in the *Kanon* and the historical account in the *Chronikon Epitome* began in the third millennium, the Olympic victor lists in these works no doubt began with Olympiad 1. The continuation of the *Chronikon Epitome* and some of the eponym lists in the *Kanon* down to Castor's own time presumably means that Castor did the same in regard to his Olympic victor lists.

5.5. DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

The last of the three Olympiad chronicles written in the aftermath of the imposition of Roman rule over the Mediterranean was produced by Dionysius of Halicarnassus at the end of the first century. Dionysius proceeded in an almost identical fashion to Castor in that he compiled both an Olympiad chronography (*Chronoi*) and an Olympiad chronicle (*Antiquitates Romanae*). These works are examined in detail in Section 4.6.

5.6. THALLUS

The source list from Eusebius' *Chronographia*, quoted above as Castor T2, includes not only Castor, but also the name of the next two Olympiad chronographers we will consider, Thallus and Phlegon. The eight extant fragments show that Thallus wrote a work with the title *Historiai* (*Histories*) in three books that covered, at minimum, the period between the Trojan War and the 202nd Olympiad (29–32 CE). The *Historiai* seems to have placed considerable emphasis on events in the eastern Mediterranean and definitely had strong euhemerist

tendencies. It was, as a result, particularly favored by later Christian apologists. The inclusion of Thallus' *Historiai* on the list of Olympiad chronicles is based primarily on its appearance in the Eusebian source list. In view of the fact that the *Historiai* recounted the events of more than 800 years in three books, it almost certainly included only the names of *stadion* victors.³³ The Greek and Latin texts of the relevant fragments can be found in Appendix 5.6.

Thallus is a shadowy figure who can be placed no more precisely than the first or second century CE. A *terminus post quem* comes from Syncellus who, quoting Africanus, says that Thallus mentioned the darkness that accompanied the death of Jesus:

A most terrible darkness fell all over the world, the rocks were torn apart by an earthquake, and many places both in Judaea and the rest of the world were thrown down. In the third book of his *Histories* (ἐν τρίτῃ τῶν ἱστοριῶν), Thallus dismisses this darkness as a solar eclipse. In my opinion, this is nonsense. (*Ecloga Chronographica* 391.6–10 (FGrH 256 F1), trans. William Adler and Paul Tuffin)

As conventionally dated, this event should be placed in the 202nd Olympiad.

A *terminus ante quem* is provided by the citations of Thallus' work in Theophilus (*Ad Autolyicum* 3.29 (F2–3)), who was bishop of Antioch in the second half of the second century CE. It is possible to read F1 (quoted above) as anti-Christian, which would suggest that Thallus belongs in the second rather than the first century.

The remainder of Thallus' biography rests on a web of speculation. There are two men by the name of Thallus who were active in the first century CE who may have been the author of an Olympiad chronicle. One is Tiberius Claudius Thallus, an imperial freedman, who is known from epigraphic evidence and who has been equated with the Thallus who is mentioned in passing by Suetonius as the private secretary of Augustus (*Aug.* 67.2). There is, however, no particular reason to identify Augustus' secretary as the author of the *Historiai*. The other Thallus exists only through emendation. Tertullian lists a

³³ On Thallus, see the collection of fragments and the comments thereupon in FGrH 256 as well as Laqueur 1934; Mosshammer 1979, 136, 140–45; and Wachsmuth 1895, 146–7.

series of authors who were criticized by Josephus, including Thallus (*Apologeticum* 16.5–6 (T₃)). On this basis an emendation of the text of Josephus' *Antiquitates Judaicae* 18.167 has been suggested. The text as transmitted reads:

καὶ γὰρ ἦν ἄλλος Σαμαρεὺς γένος Καίσαρος δὲ ἀπελεύθερος· παρὰ τούτου δάνεισμα μυριάδας ἑκατὸν εὐρόμενος τῇ τε Ἀντωνίᾳ καταβάλλει τὸ ὀφειληθὲν χρέος . . .

Hudson emended the beginning of this passage to read: καὶ δὴ τις ἦν Θάλλος Σαμαρεὺς γένος, Καίσαρος δὲ ἀπελεύθερος γενόμενος, which would yield:

For there was a certain Thallus, a Samaritan and a freedman of Caesar. From him he (Agrippa) borrowed a million *drachmai* and repaid the money owed to Antonia (the mother of Germanicus and Claudius) . . .³⁴

This Thallus is then equated with the homonymous author of the chronicle on the grounds that a Samaritan would have been likely to mention an eclipse in the Levant. Both identifications are obviously tenuous at best.

The source list in Eusebius' *Chronographia* specifies the start and end points of the historical account in the *Historiai* and the number of books it contained:

Thallus' three books, a brief compendium from the Fall of Troy to the 167th Olympiad. (125.22–3 Karst (T₁))

The Fall of Troy was a critical epoch for Greek chronographers and historians and would have been a natural starting point for the *Historiai*. One possible complication is that Theophilus claims that Thallus mentioned the Assyrian king Belos and placed him 322 years before the Trojan War (F₂–3). This is most easily explained by assuming that Thallus wrote some sort of preface to his chronicle. Wachsmuth suggested a different solution, that the Greek text of Eusebius had been corrupted before the Armenian translation was made and that Eusebius had written ἀπὸ Βήλου βασιλέως, not ἀπὸ Ἰλίου ἁλώσεως.³⁵ As

³⁴ Hudson 1720, 2: 810.

³⁵ Wachsmuth 1895, 146–7.

Wachsmuth pointed out, the fact that Porphyry's work, the next title in the Eusebian source list, began with the Fall of Troy may have confused a copyist. All things being equal, it seems preferable to accept the text as transmitted, but Wachsmuth's reading of the evidence should be kept in mind.

The number of books that the Eusebian source list assigns to Thallus' work is almost certainly correct, the number of Olympiads certainly incorrect. Syncellus cites the third book of the *Historiai* for the eclipse that took place in the 202nd Olympiad (29–32 CE, F1). Because Thallus began with the Trojan War or earlier, we can conclude that the first three books of the *Historiai* covered, on average, more than 300 years each. Thallus was quoted by Theophilus in the second half of the second century, so the *Historiai* cannot have extended much past the 202nd Olympiad, which Thallus treated in the third book. There are, therefore, not likely to have been many more than three books. In addition, we have seen that the number of books assigned to the sources in Eusebius' list is generally accurate. We have also seen that the number of Olympiads assigned to each work is corrupt and that, when corrected on the basis of other evidence, the sources are listed in order of the number of Olympiads covered by each work.³⁶ Mosshammer concludes that "Thallus' number was corrupted early, and his name was accordingly entered after Castor's."³⁷ This would fit nicely with the fact that Thallus' work made mention of an event in the 202nd Olympiad. The terminal point of Thallus' chronicle cannot, therefore, be derived from Eusebius' list since it is impossible to know its original position therein.

The primary reason for identifying the *Historiai* as an Olympiad chronicle is its appearance in a section of the Eusebian source list that consists largely if not entirely of such works.³⁸ In addition, in the *Praeparatio Evangelica* (10.10.4 (F7)), Eusebius mentions Thallus in a list of authors who were "careful about Olympiads." Some idea of the contents of the *Historiai* can be had from the extant fragments. They show that Thallus offered a euhemerist interpretation of early history.

³⁶ See Section 4.4.

³⁷ Mosshammer 1979, 145.

³⁸ See Section 4.4.

In addition, the fragments indicate a strong interest in the Eastern kingdoms, and Eusebius describes both Thallus and Castor as writers of Syrian history (*Praeparatio Evangelica* 10.10.7–8 (F5a)). This may, however, be more a product of the interests of the Christian writers who used Thallus than of the character of the original work.

Insofar as Thallus covered at least a millennium in three books, it is unlikely that his *Historiai* included a full victor list, and Mosshammer with good reason suggested *POxy* I 12 as a possible parallel.³⁹ Given the starting point of Thallus' historical account and the analogies of other Olympiad chronicles, the Olympic victor list in the *Historiai* probably began with the first Olympiad and ended with the time it was compiled.

5.7. PHLEGON

Phlegon, originally from Tralleis in Asia Minor, was a freedman of Hadrian and worked in the imperial household. Phlegon wrote roughly half a dozen works, including two *Olympionikai*. One of the two was an Olympiad chronicle in fifteen or sixteen books with the title *Olympionikon kai Chronikon Synagoge* (*Collection of Olympic Victors and Chronological Matters*). There are thirty-four extant fragments of the *Synagoge*, two of which are unusually lengthy. Phlegon listed the winners in all events for Olympiads 1 to 229. Individual years within each Olympiad were numbered, and may also have been identified by means of Athenian archons and Roman consuls. The *Synagoge*, which probably began with an introductory section on the history of the Olympic Games, recounted events in much of the Mediterranean basin.

There are no extant fragments that are specifically attributed to Phlegon's other *Olympionikai*, which was a work in two books that the *Suda* calls *Epitome Olympionikon* (*Summary of Olympic Victors*). Jacoby assigned all the known fragments from Phlegon's *Olympionikai* to the *Synagoge*, though the source citations are sufficiently vague that some fragments may have come from the *Epitome Olympionikon*. The

³⁹ Mosshammer 1979, 136.

Epitome Olympionikon is known only through its mention in the Suda, so very little can be said about its structure or contents. It was probably either an abridged version of the *Synagoge* or a bare list of Olympic victors.⁴⁰ The Greek and Latin texts of the fragments can be found in Appendix 5.7.

The Suda entry for Phlegon offers valuable, albeit slightly confused, information, about his life and literary output:

Phlegon, of Tralleis. Freedman of Caesar Augustus, some say of Hadrian. Historian. He wrote: *Olympiads* (*Olympiades*) in sixteen books, which recounts the things happening everywhere up until the 229th Olympiad; the same things in eight books; *Sicilian Ecphrasis*; *On Long-Lived People and Wonders* (*Peri Makrobion kai Thaumasion*); *On the Festivals of the Romans* in three books; *On the Places in Rome and the Names by Which They Are Known*; *Summary of Olympic Victors* (*Epitome Olympionikon*) in two books, and other things. (s.v. Φλέγων (FGrH 257 T1))

This information is nicely supplemented by Photius, a ninth-century CE Byzantine scholar, who notes in his *Bibliotheca* (see below) that Phlegon wrote a work called *Olympionikon kai Chronikon Synagoge* that was dedicated to Alcibiades, one of Hadrian's bodyguards. Photius, along with the superscription to Phlegon's work in Codex Palatinus Graecus 398 (F1, see below) and two references in the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (*Aug.* 1.16.1, 10.20.1), describes Phlegon as a freedman of Hadrian, so there can be no doubt on that score. Moreover, Phlegon had access to the imperial household in Rome, as he states in the *Peri Makrobion* (97) that he saw a 136-year-old man who was presented to the emperor Hadrian. The belief mentioned in the Suda that he was a freedman of Augustus no doubt stemmed from a misunderstanding of the appellation ἀπελευθερος καίσαρος (freedman of Caesar).

The official title of Phlegon's lengthier Olympiad chronicle was almost certainly that given by Photius, whose observations on Phlegon's work were written as part of an annotated bibliography and thus were likely to be fairly precise. Phlegon's Olympiad chronicle is cited as the *Olympiades* in the Suda and in Constantius Porphyrogenitus (F17).

⁴⁰ On Phlegon, see the collection of fragments and the comments thereupon in FGrH 257 as well as Fein 1994, 193–9; Hansen 1996, 1–22; Jüthner 1909, 62–3; and Wachsmuth 1895, 147–9.

Stephanus of Byzantium gives the title on seven different occasions, six times as *Olympiades* (F2, 3, 14, 18–20, 22) and one time as *Chronika* (F15). Celsus gives the title twice as *Chronika* (F16d, e). Although the word *Olympiades* does not seem to have appeared in the formal title, it was a useful shorthand for the work because it highlighted a key feature of Olympiad chronicles, the use of numbered Olympiads as the organizational framework.

The questions revolving around the number of *Olympionikai* that Phlegon wrote and the length of each are surprisingly complex. The Suda lists three different *Olympionikai*, one in sixteen books, one in eight, and one in two. Phlegon almost certainly produced only two, not three such works. The extant fragments make it clear that Phlegon wrote an *Olympionikai* in at least fifteen books, and one can see the utility of a two-book epitome of such a work. The existence of an eight-book version, however, is *a priori* unlikely. In addition, the three *Olympionikai* are curiously separated in the list of Phlegon's works, with two at the beginning and one at the end. The author of the Suda probably used a source in which two different *Olympiades* by Phlegon were listed, but in which the number of books in the epitome had been corrupted from β' to η'.⁴¹ When he later came across a reference to a two-book version of an *Olympiades* of Phlegon, the author of the Suda added it to the end of his list of titles as a separate work, creating a phantom, third *Olympionikai*.

This is, not, however, the end of the problem, because the number of books in the *Synagoge* is unclear. The Suda assigns it sixteen books, the Eusebian source list fourteen (T4).⁴² The number in the Eusebian source list must be wrong, because the fifteenth book of Phlegon's *Synagoge* is cited no fewer than six times in Constantius Porphyrogenitus and Stephanus of Byzantium (F17–22). There are, however, no citations of a sixteenth book, so one can either decide, with Wachsmuth, that there were only fifteen books, or take the sixteen books of the Suda entry as accurate.⁴³ Phlegon stopped at the 229th Olympiad (137–40 CE) and the citations from the fifteenth book show that this part of

⁴¹ Müller 1878–85, 3: 602.

⁴² See Section 4.4.

⁴³ It is also possible that a continuation was published later under Phlegon's name, thus bringing a sixteenth book into existence.

the *Synagoge* dealt with the actions of Hadrian, which might indicate that there was no sixteenth book. Nonetheless, Phlegon's account of his own time, particularly since he worked in the imperial household, may have been detailed enough to consume more than one book.

The internal organization of the *Synagoge* emerges clearly from its description in Photius' *Bibliotheca*. The *Bibliotheca* is a sixteenth-century CE appellation that is widely used in place of the rather lengthy title chosen by Photius himself, "Inventory and Enumeration of the Books That We Have Read of Which Our Beloved Brother Tarasios Requested a General Analysis."⁴⁴ Photius' title does have the advantage of accurately describing the contents of the work, which was meant to be a sort of annotated bibliographic guide. The *Bibliotheca* contains numbered descriptions of 280 books. Entry 97 describes Phlegon's *Synagoge*:

Read the *Collection of Olympic Victors and Chronological Matters* of Phlegon of Tralleis, a freedman of the emperor Hadrian. The work is dedicated to a certain Alcibiades, who was one of those assigned to the bodyguard of Hadrian. It begins with the first Olympiad, because, as nearly all say, earlier events were not accurately or truthfully recorded, but each writer has his own opinion and they do not agree amongst themselves, even those who have been eager to obtain credit for writing about them. Phlegon, therefore, makes the first Olympiad the start of his work, as we have said. He goes down, as he himself says, to the time of Hadrian.

I have read as far as the 177th Olympiad, in which Hecatomnos of Miletus won the *stadion* and the *diaulos* and the *hoplites*, winning three times, Hypsicles of Sicyon *dolichos*, Gaius of Rome *dolichos*, Aristonymidas of Cos pentathlon, Isidoros of Alexandria wrestling, winning the *periodos* without having suffered a fall, Atyanas son of Hippocrates of Adramytteion boxing, Sphodrias of Sicyon *pankration*, Sosigenes of Asia boys' *stadion*, Apollopheanes of Cyparissiae boys' wrestling, Soterichos of Elis boys' boxing, Calas of Elis boys' *pankration*, Hecatomnos of Miletus *hoplites*, he who was crowned three times in the same Olympiad, for the *stadion*, *diaulos*, and *hoplites*, Aristolochos of Elis four-horse chariot, Hagemon of Elis horse race, Hellanicos of Elis two-horse chariot, the same man four-colt chariot, Cletias of Elis two-colt chariot, Callipos of Elis colt race.

⁴⁴ On Photius and his work, see Treadgold 1980, 1–51, 81–96 and Wilson 1994, 1–21.

Lucullus was laying siege to Amisus, and having left Murena with two legions to carry on the siege, he himself set out with three other legions to Cabeira, where he went into winter quarters. And he ordered Hadrian to wage war on Mithridates, and upon attacking Hadrian was victorious. And there was an earthquake in Rome that destroyed much of the city. And many other things happened in this Olympiad. And in the third year of this Olympiad the census of the Romans reckoned their number as 910,000. And upon the death of Sinatrouches the king of the Parthians, Phraates succeeded to the throne, the one called Theos. And Phaidros the Epicurean was succeeded by Patron. And Vergilius Maro the poet was born in this year, on the ides of October. In the fourth year Tigranes and Mithridates, having collected 40,000 infantry and 30,000 cavalry, arranging them in the Italian fashion, attacked Lucullus. And Lucullus won, and 5,000 of Tigranes' men fell in battle and a larger number was taken prisoner, without taking into account the rest of the general rabble. And Catulus dedicated the Capitoline in Rome, and Metellus, having set out to make war in Crete, having three legions, came to the island, and defeating Lasthenes in battle, he was acknowledged as imperator, and he shut the Cretans within their walls. And Athenodoros the pirate, having enslaved the Delians, shamefully maltreated the images of the so-called gods, but Gaius Triarius, having repaired the damaged parts of the *polis*, fortified Delos.

I have read as far as this Olympiad in five books. The style is neither excessively mean nor does it preserve with exactitude the Attic character. Otherwise, the inopportune care and passion he devotes to Olympiads and to the names of the contestants in those Olympiads and their deeds and to oracles overwhelm the reader and leave space for almost nothing else in the work to make itself known, and make the account unpleasant and furnish it with nothing charming. He also makes excessive use of all kinds of oracles. (*Bibliotheca* Codex 97 (T3 and F12))

The entries in Photius' *Bibliotheca* vary widely in format and content. Warren Treadgold has shown that Entry 97 is one of a group that includes precise summaries of the contents of the work in question and an assessment of the author's style. Photius evidently copied verbatim the beginning of the last entry he read, the one for the 177th Olympiad. The repeated use of καί ("and") at the beginning of sentences in the historical notices probably indicate that Photius summarized the material that followed the victor list, so we do not have a verbatim extract from Phlegon's historical notices.

Photius leaves little doubt that the *Synagoge* was organized around numbered Olympiads.⁴⁵ He also makes it clear that Phlegon supplied a full victor list for each Olympiad. The historical notices were sufficiently long that they must have required some sort of internal divisions. In the fragment from Photius, the historical notices for the 177th Olympiad are organized annalistically and the individual years are numbered. A quotation from Eusebius' *Chronikoi Kanones*, preserved in the Latin translation of Jerome, confirms that Phlegon numbered the years within Olympiads (174d Helm (F16a); see Section 4.4 for the text).

It is possible that Phlegon also supplied the names of the Athenian archon and Roman consuls for each year. Photius provided a summary of Phlegon's historical account, rather than a verbatim quotation, and so may not have taken the time to copy what was for him superfluous information. The quote from Eusebius is brief and comes from a section of Eusebius' *Chronikoi Kanones* that is organized by numbered Olympiads, so the absence of an archon or consul name is not conclusive. It may be significant that Phlegon dates some of the events and people highlighted in his *Peri Thaumasion* by means of Athenian archons and Roman consuls. The fragments of the *Synagoge* (F9 and 13 in particular; see below) show that it contained some of the same sort of information as that found in the *Peri Thaumasion*, and it has been suggested that Phlegon compiled the latter work on the basis of material he came across in doing the research for the *Synagoge*.⁴⁶ It is, therefore, easy to imagine that Phlegon supplied the names of the Athenian archon and Roman consuls for each year.

A fragment of Phlegon's *Olympionikai* that is preserved in Codex Palatinus Graecus 398 gives a history of the founding of the Olympics and supplies valuable information about the beginning of the historical account in the *Synagoge*. Cod. Pal. Gr. 398 is a ninth-century CE manuscript currently at the Universität Bibliothek at Heidelberg. It is divided into six distinct sections, three of which are devoted to geographical treatises, one to Hesychius of Miletus' history of Constantinople, one to collections of letters, and one to collections of

⁴⁵ Nine other fragments of the *Synagoge* include Olympiad numbers (F4–11, 13).

⁴⁶ Hansen 1996, 21.

wonder-tales. Phlegon's work appears with the wonder-tales. The fragment of his *Olympionikai* is appended to the texts of his *Peri Thaumasion* and *Peri Makrobion*,⁴⁷ presumably because the beginning of the *Olympionikai* was included in the original manuscript from which the compiler of Cod. Pal. Gr. 398 worked.⁴⁸

The fragment begins as follows:

On the Olympics by Phlegon the freedman of Hadrian

It seems proper to me to discuss the reason on account of which the Olympic Games were founded. The reason is as follows. (F1)

The remainder of the text can be found in Section 2.3 and need not be repeated here.

On the Olympics (Περὶ τῶν Ὀλυμπίων) was either yet another alternate title for the *Synagoge* or, more likely, a heading for the comments on the history of the Olympics.⁴⁹ The text as preserved is unlikely to be the very beginning of the *Synagoge*, in part because one would expect some sort of proem, and in part because the dedication to Alcibiades mentioned by Photius is nowhere to be found. That said, the fact that the *Synagoge* began with the first Olympiad strongly suggests that the text in Cod. Pal. Gr. 398 immediately followed the proem and thus is the beginning of the historical account in the *Synagoge*. There were competing versions of the founding of the Olympics, and some confusion as to whether or not Lycurgus and Iphitos organized the Olympiad in which Olympic victors began to be registered or whether their work at Olympia dated to an earlier period.⁵⁰ A summary history of the Olympics was, therefore, almost a prerequisite for an Olympiad chronicle.

Phlegon used at least fifteen books to narrate the history of the first 229 Olympiads, but he did not devote an equal amount of space to

⁴⁷ The Suda lists *Peri Thaumasion* and *Peri Makrobion* as a single entity, though they are transmitted separately in the manuscript tradition. On the relationship between the two, see Hansen 1996, 17–18.

⁴⁸ On Cod. Pal. Gr. 398, see Diller 1952, 3–10.

⁴⁹ See Section 4.4. It is worth noting that the text found in Cod. Pal. Gr. 398 might also conceivably come from the *Epitome Olympionikon*, or may have been found in both of Phlegon's *Olympionikai*.

⁵⁰ See Section 2.8.

each Olympiad. Instead Phlegon's notices became considerably more detailed as his account neared his own time. This is evident from Photius' statement (T3 and F12) that he had read up to Book 5, which brought him to the 177th Olympiad (72 BCE). The first five books thus spanned 700 years or more than a century each on average. The remaining ten books covered fifty-two Olympiads, or about twenty years each on average.

The *Synagoge* took up fifteen or sixteen books, even though the account for earlier periods was relatively brief, because at least some of the historical notices provided detailed information about the history of and peoples and places in much of the Mediterranean. The extract from Photius shows that for the 177th Olympiad Phlegon wrote about the Third Mithridatic War, the number of troops involved in that war and the number of casualties they suffered, an earthquake at Rome and the returns of a census there, succession in the royal line of Parthia and at the Epicurean school at Rome, the birth of Vergil, the dedication of a major building at Rome, and fighting in Crete and Delos. The wide geographical range covered in the *Synagoge* is evident from the fact that Stephanus of Byzantium cites this work no fewer than twenty-three times as a source of information on the names of cities, peoples, and regions from places ranging from Spain (F28) to Italy (F31) and Sicily (F21), the Black Sea (F15), Libya (F22), and Egypt (F26).

Photius says that Phlegon had a particular interest in oracles, a statement that is confirmed by the fragment from Cod. Pal. Gr. 398, which contains no fewer than four oracles. In addition, Phlegon's fascination with marvels was not limited to his *Peri Thaumasion*, as the following fragments from his *Olympionikai* make clear:

And Phlegon relates that in the 124th Olympiad the body of Lysimachos of Macedon, lying unburied for several days, was guarded by a dog, who fended off wild beasts from the corpse, until Thorax of Larissa happened by and buried him. (F9)

Tarrachine: *polis* in Italy. Phlegon under the heading of the 181st Olympiad says that a baby born to a slave girl responded to someone greeting him on the forty-ninth day after his birth, from which the seers prophesized destruction. (F13)

The eclipse recorded by Phlegon in his account of the 202nd Olympiad would fit under the same heading (F16).

Although we are quite well-informed about Phlegon's *Synagoge*, we know nothing about his *Epitome Olympionikon* except that it occupied two books. There are no identifiable fragments of this work, and the only evidence for its existence is its mention in the Suda entry. The *Epitome* was likely either an abridged version of the *Synagoge* or a bare list of Olympic victors. The latter possibility is perhaps slightly more likely than the former. By Phlegon's time, there were roughly 2,000 recorded Olympic victors. A bare victor list could, therefore, easily have taken up two books. Moreover, Phlegon would have needed a copy of the full Olympic victor list in order to write the *Synagoge*. He would no doubt have found it convenient to have a compact list at his disposal and may have produced and published a stand-alone standard catalog of Olympic victors that covered the first 229 Olympiads.

Grenfell and Hunt, the original editors of the Oxyrhynchus papyri, came to the conclusion that two of the three *Olympionikai* they discovered were copies of Phlegon's work. They linked POxy XVII 2082 to the *Synagoge*, and followed Carl Robert in attributing POxy II 222 to the *Epitome*. The evidence (treated in detail in Appendix 17) does not, however, support these conclusions. The temptation to assign fragments of unknown derivation to known authors should, in this case at least, be resisted.

5.8. POxy XVII 2082

Among the numerous important papyrus finds from Oxyrhynchus in Egypt are three different *Olympionikai*, POxy I 12, II 222, and XVII 2082. Oxyrhynchus was a regional capital during the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, a prosperous but unremarkable city. It has nonetheless contributed substantially to our knowledge of classical literature because the trash heaps of the ancient town survived intact into the late nineteenth century CE. The nearly complete absence of rain and the blanket of sand that built up over the course of time created perfect conditions for the preservation of the papyri that the residents of Oxyrhynchus dumped in the garbage. Two British classicists,

Bernard Grenfell and Arthur Hunt, recognized the potential of the site and began excavating the ancient trash heaps in 1897. Papyri, mostly in fragmentary condition, were picked out, collected in baskets, and shipped to Oxford for analysis. The publication of the resulting finds, which include literary texts, private letters, shopping lists, tax returns, and magic spells, currently runs to seventy volumes with more to come. *POxy* 222 has already been discussed in Section 3.5. *POxy* 2082 will be treated in this section, *POxy* 12 in the next.⁵¹

POxy 2082 dates to the second half of the second century CE and contains an Olympiad chronicle that deals with both Greek and Roman history. There are eleven extant fragments of this papyrus, all of which are heavily damaged. Only the first seven fragments are sufficiently intact to permit meaningful translation.⁵² The preserved sections of the text pertain to the early part of the third century and read as follows (see Appendix 5.8 for the Greek text):

F1

A dispute broke out between the generals of the Athenians, Charias the commander of the hoplites and Lachares the commander of the mercenaries. Charias seized the acropolis [----] after the expedition and prevented food reaching the people [----] in the war [----] but Lachares with the mercenaries [----]

F2

[----] established [----] and expelled Charias and the soldiers of the Peiraeus. After overpowering the men who had seized the acropolis with Charias, he sent them away under a truce, but Charias and Peithias and Lysander the son of Calliphon and Ameinias took refuge in the temple [of Athena]. They held an assembly and sentenced them all to death [----] on the motion of Apollodoros. The soldiers of the Peiraeus also captured the Peiraeus with the [men] from the city [----]

F3

[----] besieged [them] in the Peiraeus. Cassander the king of the Macedonians fell ill and died in Pella on the [twenty-first] day of the intercalary month of Artemisios. He was succeeded by Philip, the eldest of his sons, who was king

⁵¹ For a good introduction to the excavations at Oxyrhynchus and the subsequent work with the material found there, see Parsons 1990 and Parsons 1997.

⁵² On *POxy* XVII 2082, see Hunt 1927 and *FGrH* 257a.

for [4] months [----] the historian Diyllus the son of Phanodemos [ended] [----] year, Philip [the king of] the Macedonians [----] died [----].

F4

[----] and the golden [statue] of Athena, and from [this loot] he provided pay for the mercenaries [----]

121st Olympiad (296 BCE)

[Pythagoras] of Magnesia-on-Maeander *stadion*. He won twice at the Olympic Games, and twice at the Pythian Games. He also won five times at the Isthmian Games and seven (?) times at the Nemean Games. Apollonios of Alexandria *diaulos*. Pas[.]cho[.] of Boeotia *dolichos*. Timarchos of Mantinea pentathlon. Amphiareos of Laconia wrestling. Callippos of Rhodes boxing. Nicon of Boeotia, *pankration*. He won twice at the Olympic Games and twice at the Pythian Games, and four times each at the Isthmian and Nemean Games. Sosiades (?) of Tralleis boys' wrestling. Antipater of Ephesus boys' *stadion*. Myrceus of Cleitor (?) in Arcadia boys' boxing. [Pythagoras] of Magnesia-on-Maeander *hoplites*, for the second time. Archidamos of Elis four-horse chariot. Pandion of Thessaly horse race. Tlasimachos of Ambracia two-horse chariot. The same man, four-colt chariot.

F5

[----] the men of Thurii [----] the country [----] Agathocles [----]

F6

[----] *hoplites*. Carteros of [.] in Thessaly four-horse chariot. M[.] of Crannon horse race. [.] of Thessaly two-horse chariot. [Belistiche] of Macedonia four-colt chariot. She is the *hetaira* of Ptolemaios [Philadelphos].

F7

[In the first] year the Romans [----] fought [----]. (Translation from <http://www.attalus.org/translate/fgh.html#257.0>, with modifications)

Although the text is less connected than one might wish, the basic structure is clear. It was built around numbered Olympiads, for each of which a full victor list was given. The years within individual Olympiads were numbered, and historical notices were attached to each year.

It is worth noting that Arthur Hunt tentatively identified *POxy* 2082 as a copy of Phlegon's *Synagoge*. This attribution is, however, questionable (see Appendix 17).

5.9. *POxy I 12*

POxy I 12 contains six columns of writing with short lacunae at the top and bottom of each column. The lacunae are the result of the papyrus being cut down when a money-account was written on the back. The text of the Olympiad chronicle written on the front is dated by Grenfell and Hunt to the first half of the third century CE on the basis of the handwriting style.⁵³ It pertains to events in the fourth century and reads as follows (the Greek text can be found in Appendix 5.9):

[Column 1]

In the second of these years, Dion was murdered by the tyrant Dionysius at Syracuse. In the third, the Tiburtines surrendered, having been defeated in battle by the Romans.

In the 107th Olympiad, Smicrinus of Taras won the *stadion*, and the archons at Athens were Aristodemos, Thessalos, Apollodoros, and Callimachos. In the third of these years in Rome censors were chosen from the people for the first time.

In the 108th Olympiad, Polycles of Cyrene won the *stadion*, and the archons at Athens were Theophilos, Themistocles, Archias, and Euboulos. In the first year of this Olympiad, the philosopher Plato died and Speusippos succeeded him as head of the school. In the second year, Philip [lacuna due to cutting down of papyrus]

[Column 2]

In the 109th Olympiad, Aristolycos of Athens won the *stadion*, and the archons at Athens were Lyciscos, Pythodotos, Sosigenes, and Nicomachos. In the

⁵³ On *POxy I 12*, see Grenfell and Hunt 1898, Jacoby's comments at *FGH* 255, and Johanson 1978–9. The chronology of events found in *POxy 12* is idiosyncratic in some places. Johanson believed that this, along with the brevity of the supplied historical notices and the fact that the original scribe was corrected in some places by a second hand, indicated that *POxy 12* is a school text, not a copy of a major work. This is possible, but it is equally possible that Jacoby was right in believing that it was a mediocre copy of an epitome of a larger treatise. Johanson also made an effort to identify the sources on which *POxy 12* drew, though the effort proved futile. Soltau dated *POxy 12* to the end of the second century CE without expressly stating the criteria he used (Soltau 1899). It would appear that he relied on similarity in the handwriting in *POxy 12* and in a Plato papyrus written c. 200 CE. Grenfell's and Hunt's date is supported in Bilabel 1922, 36 and remains preferable.

second year of this Olympiad, Dionysius II, tyrant of Sicily, having fallen from power, sailed to Corinth and remained there, teaching letters. In the fourth year, the eunuch Bagoas murdered Ochus, the king of the Persians, and established the youngest of Ochus' sons, Arsēs, as king, while he himself controlled everything.

In the 110th Olympiad, Anticles of Athens won the *stadion*, and the archons at Athens were Theophrastos, Lysimachides, Chairondes, and Phrynichos. In the first of these years, the Samnites arrayed themselves for battle against the Romans. In the second year, the Latins, having banded together, attacked the Romans. In the third year, Philip, the king of the Macedonians, defeated the Athenians and Boeotians in the famous battle at Chaeronea; his son Alexander fought alongside him and distinguished himself. And at that time Isocrates the rhetor died, having lived about ninety years [lacuna due to cutting down of papyrus, text for this entry continues in next column]

[Column 3]

the eunuch Bagoas killed Arsēs, the king of the Persians, along with his brothers, and he established Dareios the son of Arsames, who belonged to the royal family, as king in Arsēs' place. And at that time the Romans fought against the Latins. In the fourth year, the assembly of the Greeks met and chose Philip to be supreme commander in the war against the Persians.

In the 111th Olympiad, Cleomantis of Cleitor won the *stadion*, and the archons at Athens were Pythodelos, Euainetos, Ctesicles, and Nicocrates. In the first of these years, Philip the king of the Macedonians was murdered by Pausanias, one of his bodyguards, and his son Alexander succeeded him. Having assumed power, Alexander first subdued the Illyrians, Paeonians, and other barbarian tribes who had revolted. Next he captured Thebes by assault and razed it. In Rome, the priestesses of Vesta, who are virgins for life, were accused of in chastity and [lacuna due to cutting down of papyrus, text for this entry continues in next column]

[Column 4]

In the second year, Alexander the king of the Macedonians crossed over to Asia and defeated the generals of Dareios the king of the Persians in a battle by the Granicus River. In the third year, the same Alexander arrayed himself for battle against Dareios at Issus in Cilicia, and again defeated him. He killed many thousands of the Persians and their allies, and he captured many prisoners and much booty. And at that time, Alexander the Molossian

crossed over to Italy in aid of the Greeks who lived there. In the fourth year the Romans made the Campanians citizens of Rome [----] without a vote [----].

In the 112th Olympiad, Gryllos of Chalcis won the *stadion*, and the archons at Athens were Nicetes, Aristophanes, Aristophon, and Cephisophon. In the first year of this Olympiad, Alexander the son of Philip captured Tyre, and he seized Egypt, where the natives willingly received him on account of their hatred of the Persians. And then he ordered [lacuna due to cutting down of papyrus, text for this entry continues in next column]

[Column 5]

He journeyed to the shrine of Ammon, and on his journey he founded the *polis* of Paraitonion. In the third year, Alexander met Dareios in battle again, at Arbela, at which Alexander was victorious. And at that time, Dareios was murdered by his close friends, and the empire of the Persians came to an end, having lasted 233 years from its founding by Cyrus.

In the 113th Olympiad, Criton of Macedonia won the *stadion*, and the archons at Athens were Euthycritos, Hegemon, Chremes, and Anticles. In the four years of this Olympiad Alexander performed the rest of his exploits, conquering the peoples in Asia.

In the 114th Olympiad, Micinas of Rhodes won the *stadion*, and the archons at Athens were Hegesias, Cephisophon, Philocles, and Archippos. In the first year of this Olympiad, King Alexander died, having reigned for thirteen years, having lived for thirty-three years. In the second year, Ptolemy the son of Lagos, having been sent to Egypt, made himself ruler of the country. In the [lacuna due to cutting down of papyrus]

[Column 6]

In the 115th Olympiad, Damasias of Amphipolis won the *stadion*, and the archons at Athens were Neaichmos, Apollodoros, Archippos, and Demogenes. In the first of these years, Antipater, having succeeded to the kingship in Macedonia, arrayed himself for battle against the Greeks at Lamia and defeated them. The Romans arrayed themselves for battle against the Samnites and were defeated. In the second year, Antipater, having crossed over to Asia against Perdiccas, made the second partition amongst the successors of Alexander, in which Ptolemy again took part. In the third year, the Romans arrayed themselves for battle against the Samnites and were victorious and recovered all those of their number having been taken prisoner in the previous battle.

In the 116th Olympiad, Demosthenes of Laconia won the *stadion*, and the archons at Athens were Democleides, Praxiboulos, Nicodoros, and Theodoros. In the first of these years Antipater died and Polyperchon took over the government [lacuna due to cutting down of papyrus]

[Three unreadable fragments follow.]

The format is sufficiently familiar at this point and the text sufficiently self-explanatory to require little comment. The text is built around a framework of numbered Olympiads, supplemented by *stadion* victors and Athenian archons. Individual years within Olympiads are designated by ordinal numbers. The historical notices attached to each Olympiad are relatively brief and cover a wide range of events in both the Greek and Roman worlds.

Grenfell and Hunt, who published the papyrus, concluded that “the materials are too scanty to attempt to trace the authorship of our fragment,”⁵⁴ and no significant progress has been made on this front since then. The strong interest on the part of the author in the history of the Macedonians and Romans and in events in Egypt indicates that the author of *POxy* 12 wrote for a local, Hellenized audience that was part of the Roman power structure. This does not, however, help attribute the text to a known author.

5.10. CASSIUS LONGINUS

The Olympiad chronicle of Cassius Longinus has been discussed in Section 4.4, so a rapid summary of the facts is all that is necessary here. Cassius Longinus wrote an Olympiad chronicle that appeared between 211 and 213 CE and that covered Olympiads 1–247 in eighteen books. This work probably contained a full listing of Olympic victors. Very little can be said about the Cassius Longinus who wrote this Olympiad chronicle except that he lived in the early third century and was probably not the individual of this name who was the teacher of Porphyry. Details about the structure and contents of this work are also lacking.

⁵⁴ Grenfell and Hunt 1898, 26.

5.11. DEXIPPUS

With Dexippus we come to the end of the series of Olympiad chronicles that began with Philochorus. In the second half of the third century CE, Dexippus produced the *Chronike Historia* (*Historical Chronicle*). The structure and contents of this work are fairly well known because one of the twenty extant fragments is a detailed description written by Eunapius of Sardis, who produced a continuation of the *Chronike Historia* in the fifth century CE.⁵⁵ The *Chronike Historia* was organized annalistically, using the Egyptian king list for earlier periods and numbered Olympiads after 776. Individual years within Olympiads were identified by Athenian archon and Roman consuls. Dexippus painted on a broad canvas. The *Chronike Historia* began well before the first Olympiad, went down to the death of the emperor Claudius in the 262nd Olympiad (269–72 CE), and described events throughout the Roman Empire, in at least twelve books. There is not enough evidence to allow us to determine whether Dexippus included a full list of Olympic victors or just the names of *stadion* winners, though the latter possibility seems more likely.⁵⁶ The Greek text of the relevant testimonia and fragments can be found in Appendix 5.11.

Dexippus was born into a wealthy family in Athens and enjoyed a distinguished political and literary career. Many of Dexippus' biographical details come to us through an inscription cut on the base of a statue erected by his sons (*IG II² 3669* (*FGrH* 100 T4)):⁵⁷

Upon the approval granted by the Council of the Areopagus and by the Council of the 750 members and by the people of Athens, the children (erected the statue for their father) Publius Herennius Dexippus, the son of Ptolemaios, from the deme of Hermos, the rhetor and historian, and the sacrosanct priest, because of his merits in having held the office of *basileus* among the *thesmothetai* and having held the office of eponymous archon and

⁵⁵ See Liebeschuetz 2003 for a clear, concise overview of Eunapius' work. See also Blockley 1981–3, 1: 1–26 and Rohrbacher 2002, 64–72.

⁵⁶ On Dexippus, see the collection of fragments and the comments thereupon in *FGrH* 100 as well as Altheim 1948, 175–92; Blockley 1971; Brandt 1999; Buck 1984; Millar 1969; and Paschoud 1991.

⁵⁷ On *IG II/III² 3669* see Sironen 1994, 17–19. It was cut in 270 CE or later on a reused base.

having served as the president of the *panegyris*-festival and having been the *agonothes* of the Great Panathenaic Games at his own expense.⁵⁸

The land of Cecrops has brought forth men excelling in courage, in speech and in counsel; one of them is Dexippus, who observed the age-long history and wrote it exactly. Some of the events he witnessed himself, some he gathered from books, and thus made his way to the manifold path of history. O most famous man, who, spreading out his boundless insight, closely examined the doings of times long gone by! His fame is much talked of all around Greece, the fame which was given to Dexippus by the new-blown praise on account of his *History*. And this is the reason why (his) children have repaid their famous father by erecting a statue formed of stone. (trans. Errki Sironen)

Dexippus was born early in the third century CE and probably lived until the 270s or early 280s. His birth date can be established from the facts that his father was an ephebe during the reign of Commodus (180–92 CE) and that his sons were ephebes in 254/5 CE.⁵⁹ These dates suggest that Dexippus was born in the first decade of the third century. The date of his death cannot be given precisely, but the biographical entry for Dexippus in the Suda (T1) puts his *akme* in the reigns of Valerian, Gallienus, Claudius II, and Aurelian (250–75), and in his *Lives of the Sophists* (4.3.1 (T2)) Eunapius implies that Dexippus was active during the reign of the emperor Probus (276–82).

When his sons wrote the honorary inscription for their father, they highlighted the *Chronike Historia*, which evidently helped make Dexippus famous in much of Greece.⁶⁰ The inscription calls the work *Historia*, but the full title was probably *Chronike Historia*. This is the appellation supplied by Eunapius:

At this time those who were most distinguished among the rhetoricians at Athens were Paulos and the Syrian Andromachos. It so happened that he

⁵⁸ The list of magistracies in *IG II/III*² 3669 indicates that Dexippus held office as a religious official and served as chief organizer of the most important festival held in Athens.

⁵⁹ Dexippus' father's ephebic dates are known from *IG II*² 2116, those of his sons from *IG II*² 2245. On this subject, see Millar 1969.

⁶⁰ The title of Dexippus' historical treatise given in *IG II/III*² 3669 is inexact, but it is described as a work that recounts both contemporary and distant events, which rules out Dexippus' other known histories.

(Porphyry) was at the height of his powers in the time of (the emperors) Gallienus, Claudius, Tacitus, Aurelian, and Probus. In those days there lived also Dexippus, who composed the *Chronike Historia* (ὁ τὴν χρονικὴν ἱστορίαν συγγράψας), a man overflowing with every kind of learning and logical power. (*Vitae Sophistarum* 4.3.1 (T2))

The same title for Dexippus' Olympiad chronicle is given in Codex Parisinus Graecus (CPG) 2600 (F2). Two other titles are known for this work. It is cited by Stephanus (F3, 4, 5b) and by the *Etymologicum Magnum* (F5a) as the *Chronika*, and Photius (*Bibliotheca* Codex 82.11–16 (T5)) calls it *suntomos historikos*, though this is more probably a description than a title.

The *Chronike Historia* had a strong annalistic structure. The sections that pertained to the years after 776 were organized around numbered Olympiads, with the individual years identified using Athenian archons and Roman consuls. This is apparent from the description of its structure and contents supplied by Eunapius, who in the early fifth century wrote a continuation of the *Chronike Historia*. The proem of Eunapius' history reads as follows:

Proem

The *History* (ἱστορία) was written by Dexippus of Athens around a framework of Athenian archons, from the date when the Athenians had archons. He also reckons by means of Roman consuls, though his work begins before both Roman consuls and Athenian archons. The chief principle of the *History* is to avoid earlier events and those subjects that belong to the realm of poetry and to rely upon plausibility and what is more persuasive to the reader. Dexippus collects the later and better attested material and organizes it with an accuracy fitting for history and with rather unerring judgment. He at any rate arranges and enumerates years by means of Olympiads and archons within each Olympiad. He provides his work with a preface that is full of beauty and, going forward, he exhibits the nobler events in the main body of the work. He omits mythological material and that which is excessively ancient, returning it like an old and untrustworthy drug to those who concocted it. He reckons up Egyptian chronology and compresses into a brief account the first and earlier deeds of the leaders of each people and sets out the leaders and the fathers of history in a clear fashion and almost always provides evidence concerning each untrustworthy statement uttered by various earlier writers. He at any rate collects history from many, varied sources, making his own compact and coherent narrative just like bringing certain beautiful

and useful items of all different kinds together into a single perfume shop. He rapidly runs through and arranges in his account all the events that in the general judgment of all men are worthy of mention and those associated with men famed for their excellence. Coming at last to Claudius, he ends his work in the first year of Claudius' reign, in which he both began his rule and died, ruling the Romans for one year (though others give him a second year).

Then he tabulates the total number of Olympiads and all the consuls and archons who held office in those Olympiads, marking out years by noting thousands, as if struggling anxiously to deliver over to readers an account covering an excessively large number of years.

Having studied this work, I have learned these things from Dexippus himself and have come to grasp the extent and degree of the danger in writing history on an annalistic basis. He admits to his readers that the chronology of events is not precise, but some believe one thing, others another, and he openly accuses himself, just as I do, of writing an annalistic account that wanders and is full of contradictions, just as if it were an assembly meeting without anyone presiding. This immediately calls to mind the Boeotian proverb, "this is not the right way to play the flute." I have also been thinking with respect to these things that the goal of history and its noblest aim is to write with an eye to the truth, bringing forward past events as much as possible without emotion. The precise calculations of chronology are of no help in this, intruding of their own accord, like uncalled witnesses. . . . This is particularly true since Dexippus himself says that while all or most chronologies differ from each other, there is general agreement concerning conspicuous and famous deeds. For who is so well-known to all those who are readers and writers of accounts as Lycurgus the Lacedaemonian? The testimony of the god openly calling him divine on account of his legislation is common knowledge. But who, once these things have been said, can agree with anyone else about the date of his legislation? . . . I have deliberated and taken counsel about things of this sort and others as well, and I recommend the same to those who are zealous about and feel a compelling interest in chronology. Precision about hours and days is fitting for managers and accountants of the rich, and, by Zeus, those at any rate gaping at the heavens, and everyone who is clearly preoccupied with numbers. But I myself publicly declare from afar to my readers that I approached this task confident in my ability to write about both those things that happened in the past and that are now happening. I have avoided dating events by year and day, like an inappropriate statement, and I have instead identified years using the reigns of the

emperors, judging this to be more accurate.⁶¹ (Eunapius *Fragmenta Historica* 207.18–211.8 (F1))

Eunapius is vague about how Dexippus handled the periods before the first Olympiad, but it is likely that he wrote annalistically throughout the *Chronike Historia* and used the Egyptian king list for the years before 776. Eunapius specifically points out that reading Dexippus' work taught him the dangers of writing history on an annalistic basis, and he says that Dexippus made his own calculation of Egyptian chronology. This fits with the following fragment of the *Chronike Historia* from Syncellus:

According to the Egyptian histories, with whom Dexippus also agrees, the bird known as the phoenix appeared at this time (the reign of Claudius, 41–54 CE), after having been sighted 650 years before. (*Ecloga Chronographica* 407.3–4 (F11), trans. William Adler and Paul Tuffin)

Dexippus was strongly committed to an annalistic structure for the *Chronike Historia*, and his clear interest in Egyptian history and chronology probably derived from his desire to use the Egyptian king list for the years before 776.

The *Chronike Historia* also contained an appendix with a list of the Olympiads, consuls, and archons. Eunapius is not precise about the format of this list, but it was probably a synoptic, synchronistic table. It was apparently divided into millennia and may have served as a sort of index to the work as a whole.⁶²

In their dedicatory inscription, Dexippus' sons praised him for writing "age-long history," and the *Chronike Historia* certainly covered a great deal of time. It started well before the first Olympiad, perhaps going as far back as the Flood, and went down to the death of the emperor Claudius during the 262nd Olympiad (270 CE). The temporal boundaries of the *Chronike Historia* are most clearly known from a passage in the *Historia Ecclesiastica* of Evagrius Scholasticus (c. 535–c.600 CE):

(Evagrius is listing important sources for secular history. He mentions the work of Charax, Theopompos, Ephorus, Dionysius of Halicarnassus,

⁶¹ On the proem to Eunapius' *Chronike Historia*, see Blockley 1981–3, 2:129–30.

⁶² Blockley 1981–3, 2:129 n. 8.

Polybius, Diodorus Siculus, Cassius Dio, and Herodian, and then continues as follows.) Nicostratos, the sophist from Trapezus, records events from (the time of the emperor) Philip, the successor of Gordian, to the shameful expedition of Valerian and Odainathos of Palmyra against the Persians. Dexippus also wrote at great length on the same subject, beginning with the mythical period and ending with the reign of Claudius, the successor of the emperor Gallienus. He included the matters relating to the doings of the Carpoi and other barbarian tribes which invaded Greece and Thrace and Ionia. (5.24 (T6))

It is not clear exactly what Evagrius meant by the mythical period, but Syncellus cites Dexippus as a source for the settlement of Rhodes in the aftermath of the Return of the Heracleidai (F9), which puts the beginning of the historical account in the *Chronike Historia* considerably earlier than the first Olympiad. Evagrius may well have meant that Dexippus began with the Flood, because Greek chronographers had since Hellenistic times divided human history into three periods: the “obscure” period (from creation to the Flood), the mythical period (from the Flood to the first Olympiad), and the historical period (everything after the first Olympiad).⁶³ This would fit with Dexippus’ interest in the Egyptian king list, which would have been quite useful for the period before the Trojan War.

Evagrius, along with Photius (Cod. 82 (F5), cf. Cod. 77) and Eunapius, states that the end point of the *Chronike Historia* was the death of the emperor Claudius. Further information is found at the end of the list of *stadion* victors in the Eusebius extracts in CPG 2600:⁶⁴

And indeed Dexippus, who wrote the *Chronike Historia* (τὴν χρονικὴν ἱστορίαν) which goes to the 262nd Olympiad, says that Dionysios of Alexandria won at that Olympiad. (ll. 680–82 (F2))

The 262nd Olympiad ran from 269 to 272 CE, and Claudius died in 270 CE, so Dionysios was the last *stadion* victor mentioned by Dexippus.

The *Chronike Historia* occupied at least, and probably not many more than, twelve books. There is no explicit statement in the ancient

⁶³ On the divisions of human history used by Greeks and Romans, see Censorinus *De Die Natali* 21.1, who quotes Varro on the Greek chronographic tradition. See also Section 1.2 and n. 25 of Chapter 1.

⁶⁴ On CPG 2600, see Section 4.3.

sources about the length of the *Chronike Historia*, but the twelfth book is cited by Stephanus Byzantius (s.v. Ἑλουροί (F5b)) and in the *Etymologicum Magnum* (s.v. Ἑλουρος (F5a)). The Helouroi were a Scythian tribe, and they were probably mentioned in Dexippus' account of the Gothic invasions that began in the second quarter of the third century CE. This would indicate that Dexippus was already close to his own time in the twelfth book.

The twenty extant fragments of the *Chronike Historia* show that Dexippus' interests ranged across the entire Roman empire.⁶⁵ We have already seen that the *Chronike Historia* made mention of the Gothic invasions (F5a, b), the settlement of Rhodes (F9), and the appearance of the phoenix in Egypt (F11). The *Chronike Historia* is also cited as a source of information about people and places in Illyria (F3) and Alexander's physical and intellectual training (F10). Dexippus is mentioned as a source fourteen times in the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (F13–21, 23) for information about various emperors.

The relevant evidence does not make it possible to decide whether Dexippus included a full Olympic victor list or just the names of *stadion* victors, but there is some reason to incline toward the latter possibility. The fact that the *Chronike Historia* covered at least 1,300 years of historical events in not much more than twelve books and dealt with the entirety of the Roman empire makes it unlikely that this work could accommodate a full list of Olympic victors.

This brings our survey of Olympiad chronicles to an end.

⁶⁵ The assignment of some fragments to specific works is problematic because there was overlap between the *Chronike* and Dexippus' other historical treatises. The presentation here follows Jacoby's work without further consideration since the reassignment of a fragment or two is not significant for present purposes.

CONCLUSION

We have now completed our examination of *Olympionikai*. As a full conspectus of the conclusions reached above can be found in Section 1.4, there is no need to review the preceding discussion. Clarification of the relationship between the numerous *Olympionikai* we have encountered would be desirable, but, for reasons detailed in Appendix 17, this is not possible beyond a very simple point. It is, however, worthwhile to return in a more informed manner to a subject treated in Section 1.1, the reasons that Olympic victor lists repay careful attention. There are five issues that merit consideration.

First, the understanding that *Olympionikai* were a distinct form of literary expression, along with familiarity with each of the three distinct types of *Olympionikai*, makes it possible to study with greater effectiveness all the extant examples of such works, some of which are texts of considerable importance. A good example can be found in Diodorus Siculus' Olympiad chronicle. The fact that the *Bibliotheca* is an *Olympionikai* has been largely ignored in the relevant scholarship. This has obscured a factor that must have influenced many of Diodorus' authorial choices. Speaking more generally, modern scholars interested in any individual *Olympionikai* are likely to benefit substantially from a general knowledge of *Olympionikai* as a group, or more precisely, as three closely related subgroups.

The second reason that Olympic victor lists hold interest for modern scholars is that Olympiad chronicles were one of the basic sources of information used by literate ancient Greeks. Roughly half the known *Olympionikai* are Olympiad chronicles, and there can be no doubt that *Olympionikai* of this type were produced regularly and

circulated widely. This is apparent from the fact that the Oxyrhynchus finds include two very different Olympiad chronicles (POxy I 12 and XVII 2082). The popularity of the Olympiad chronicle was due to the fact that it served an important purpose. By the time Philochorus compiled the first Olympiad chronicle in the early Hellenistic period, Greeks were settled across much of the Mediterranean basin and Near East. Communication across such a large space was highly imperfect and, in most cases, relatively slow. This meant that what in the modern day might be differentiated into news and recent history tended to run together and that there was a need for some way to disseminate information on contemporary happenings in the Greek (and, later, the Roman) world.

Olympiad chronicles were used to deliver information of this sort because the format was ideally suited for a running account of important events that needed to be periodically updated. The structure of the Olympiad chronicle was inherently episodic, so new versions could be produced by simply extending the victor catalog and adding the appropriate historical notices. Even ambitious authors, who wanted to generate a text that was largely their own, had the luxury of working within a predefined framework and the advantage of being able to incorporate material from earlier Olympiad chronicles, which were identically organized, with great ease.

Olympiad chronicles were thus in some ways akin to historical almanacs or the year-end editions of modern-day news magazines that offer a summary of the year's major happenings, though the comparison cannot be pushed too far. It would appear that some Olympiad chronicles were intended, like almanacs, to serve as relatively long-lived reference works, whereas others, like special editions of a news magazine, were expected to be more ephemeral. The format of the Olympiad chronicle was highly flexible in that the catalog of Olympic victors could be brief (just *stadion* winners) or relatively long, and the same was true for the attached historical notices. Olympiad chronicles could, therefore, be massive works overflowing with historical information of all kinds or bare summaries of significant events in the distant and recent past. Those Olympiad chronicles that approximated the latter were an ideal medium for circulating a combination of news and history rapidly and relatively inexpensively. At the same time, those

works rapidly lost currency, whereas Olympiad chronicles with richer content remained potentially useful for extended periods.

The differentiation between Olympiad chronicles that were, in effect, disposable and those that were meant to serve as possessions forever is evident in the preserved texts. The two Olympiad chronicles that have been transmitted in manuscript form – those of Dionysius and Diodorus – are substantial works of twenty and forty books, respectively. The two Olympiad chronicles from Oxyrhynchus, however, are much more compact works. This is particularly evident in *POxy* I 12, which covers the events of each Olympiad in the space of ten to fifteen lines. Little energy was invested in preserving the Oxyrhynchus Olympiad chronicles for posterity, and they survive by grace of good fortune and a cooperative climate. *POxy* I 12 was, in fact, recycled for its papyrus. The text of the Olympiad chronicle was written on the front side of the scroll between 200 and 250 CE, and the papyrus was cut down and its back used for a money account before the end of the third century.

Regardless of their temporal orientation, Olympiad chronicles seem for the most part to have offered a type of historical account that placed a premium on the compilation of information. As R. W. Burgess and Michael Kulikowski note in a forthcoming work on Latin chronicles, “the heart of these works . . . is the placing of everything in its proper place in relation to everything else. It is the reader who brings the hypotaxis and the syntax and makes the connections and derives from these lists the information he requires for his own purposes.”¹ Here again, Diodorus offers an interesting example. The absence of thoroughgoing, independent analysis in the *Bibliotheca* has been regularly commented upon and has not done Diodorus’ reputation any good.² One should, however, keep in mind that Diodorus produced a particular, well-established type of work, the function of which was, at least in part, to keep readers informed about recent history. This not unnaturally had an effect on the structure and contents of Olympiad chronicles of all kinds, even those versions that were intended to serve

¹ *Mosaics of Time: The Origins and Development of the Latin Chronicle Tradition from the First Century BC to the Sixth Century AD*, Chapter 1, Section 3.

² See the bibliography in n. 16 to Chapter 5.

as historical reference works, and is yet another reason why *Olympionikai* need to be treated as a group.

The nature and function of Olympiad chronicles mean that they offer a glimpse of what Greeks knew about the world around them. In addition, the contents of these works are potentially revealing, because they reflect not only the predilections of the authors and the established expectations of Olympiad chronicles, but also the desires of their audience. Even a cursory examination of the contents of the extant Olympiad chronicles reveals a consistent interest in particular kinds of material, such as details of religious practice. Olympiad chronicles can, therefore, open a valuable, albeit prismatic, window onto the classical world.

The third reason why *Olympionikai* repay close study springs from the important systematizing function they fulfilled. As discussed in Section 1.1, texts that systematize knowledge reflect a particular worldview in the way they organize material. In the case of *Olympionikai*, the listing of a series of victors stretching back to 776 helped create an unbroken link between past and present and literally put the Olympics at the center of things. The structure of *Olympionikai* struck a particular chord after the imposition of Roman rule on much of the Mediterranean basin. In the centuries that followed Greeks sought to maintain their pride in their Hellenic ethnicity while acknowledging the reality of Roman political domination. This was accomplished in part through “creative engagement with the past,” and Greeks found numerous ways to connect themselves to the glorious achievements of their ancestors. Athletics, which had long been a touchstone of Hellenic identity, was a favored means of doing so. A spate of recent scholarship has documented a surge in athletic activity in Greek communities generally and at Olympia in particular in the first through third centuries CE.³ In this context the Olympic victor list was a significant cultural document, and the choice to write an *Olympionikai* must in at least some cases have been more than a matter of convenience. It is a little remarkable, for instance, that Diodorus Siculus, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and Castor of Rhodes all chose to inscribe the

³ See, for instance, Newby 2005; Scanlon 2002, 40–63; van Nijf 2001; and van Nijf 2004. The phrase “creative engagement with the past” comes from p. 8 of Newby’s work.

history of non-Greeks, including the Romans, within a framework of Olympiads.

Jason König has recently explored the interpretive ramifications of the choice to use the Olympic victor list as a framework in the particular case of Phlegon's *Synagoge*.⁴ König points to Pausanias' description of dozens of victor statues at Olympia and how that description commingles victors from a wide range of times and places. This helps Pausanias conjure an image of a Panhellenic community of lasting duration, an image that forms part of an ambivalent stance toward Roman supremacy. König suggests that similar concerns can be uncovered in Phlegon's *Olympionikai*. He ascribes Phlegon's interest in Olympic victor lists to their potential as "vehicles for meditation on the place Greek tradition holds within the Mediterranean world . . ." and makes the case that "the surviving fragments suggest a preoccupation with the way in which Greek autonomy is circumscribed and defined by Roman control."⁵ König proposes that the contents of the surviving entry from the *Synagoge*, that for the 177th Olympiad, reflect Phlegon's interests in the complicated relationship between Greeks and Romans. The historical notices in that entry juxtapose the statements that Metellus arrived in Crete with a sizeable army and put the inhabitants under siege (τειχήρεις κατέστησε) and that Gaius Triarius restored the damage done to Delos by pirates and fortified (ἐτείχισε) the island. The position of these statements and their phrasing invite the reader to consider whether the Romans should be viewed as conquerors or protectors or both.

This approach to Phlegon's *Olympionikai* opens up intriguing new interpretive vistas and provides some sense of how much remains to be done with this and similar works. At the same time, König's analysis highlights the importance of a detailed understanding of the collective history of Olympic victor lists. König claims that Phlegon wrote that games were not held at Olympia for twenty-seven Olympiads after Heracles, which he believes was a gesture on the part of Phlegon "advertising his ability to extend the genre of Olympic time-keeping

⁴ König 2005, 1–44 and 158–204. König's discussion includes a strong theoretical treatment of the importance of systematizing texts that is the basis of the relevant points made both here and in Section 1.1.

⁵ König 2005, 178, 174.

beyond its usual limits and to apply it to a period whose dates were even more hotly disputed than those of the early Olympiads.”⁶ In fact, what Phlegon wrote was that there were twenty-seven Olympiads between Iphitos and Coroibos, though his phrasing is decidedly unclear.⁷ Like most other compilers of Olympic victor lists, Phlegon found it necessary to account for the divergence in the accepted dates of Lycurgus and the Olympiad in which Coroibos became the first registered Olympic victor. In addition, König notes the fact that Phlegon includes a long genealogy for Lycurgus, which he believes “is perhaps meant to remind us of the precision of Olympic dating, by contrast with the system of generational calculation on which many ancient accounts of early historical and mythological events rely.”⁸ We have, however, already seen that Lycurgus’ genealogy is probably supplied because it was critical to the calculation of the date for the first Olympics. These difficulties are a salutary reminder that *Olympionikai* are sufficiently complex so that even talented scholars such as König will go astray without a thorough understanding of Olympic victor lists as a particular form of literary expression.

The fourth reason that Olympic victor lists merit careful study is the information they supply about chronology; the fifth reason, the information they supply about athletics. The preceding discussion has shown that the chronology built into the early parts of the Olympic victor list is unreliable; any inaccuracies in that list have potentially serious consequences. It is not possible to undertake a thorough-going examination of all the relevant issues here. A single example, however, may help provide some idea of the nature and range of subjects on which the study of Olympic victor lists might have an impact. That example involves athletic nudity and so also helps illustrate the importance of the Olympic victor list for the study of Greek athletics.

The date at which athletic nudity was introduced into Greece has been debated at great length and without clear resolution.⁹ There can

⁶ König 2005, 175.

⁷ See *FGI* 257 F1 in Appendix 5.7 for the Greek text.

⁸ König 2005, 175.

⁹ For a good introduction to the evidence and scholarship on Greek athletic nudity, see Golden 1998, 65–9.

be no doubt that ancient Greeks competed nude in athletic contests from a very early date, probably the late Bronze Age or earlier.¹⁰ The contests in question were, however, held in the context of initiatory rites that were by definition separate from everyday life.¹¹ Athletic nudity as part of rites of passage was common in the Mediterranean basin, and what set the Greeks apart from their neighbors was the incorporation of athletic nudity into their daily routine.¹² The latter type of nudity, which Larissa Bonfante has termed civic nudity, is of great interest, and one would like some sense of when it made its first appearance in Greece. A clear *terminus post quem* of the middle of the eighth century can be derived from Homer. There is no sign of athletic nudity of any kind in Homer, and four passages from the Homeric poems (*Iliad* 23.683–5 and *Odyssey* 18.25–31, 66–9, and 24.87–89) clearly describe athletes as clothed in loincloths. The artistic evidence, primarily in the form of vase paintings, provides a secure *terminus ante quem* of the first half of the sixth century.¹³

An array of literary sources has been brought forward in the attempt to narrow down the resulting period of roughly 200 years. Those sources fall into two groups. One group, consisting of passages from Thucydides and Plato, describes the introduction of athletic nudity as a relatively recent event:

The Lacedaemonians were the first to strip naked and, having openly disrobed, to anoint themselves with oil after exercising in the nude. But long ago, even at the Olympic Games, athletes competed with loincloths around their genitals, and it is not many years (οὐ πολλὰ ἔτη) since they stopped. And even now among the non-Greeks, especially among those in Asia Minor, who hold contests in boxing and wrestling, the competitors still wear loincloths. (Thucydides 1.6.5)

¹⁰ Koehl 1986, Koehl 1997, and Koehl 2000.

¹¹ Greek initiation rites are best documented in Crete. The relevant ancient sources include Aristotle F611.15 Rose, Dosiadis *FGrH* 458 F2, Ephorus *FGrH* 70 F149, Nicolaus *FGrH* 90 F103, and Plato *Laws* 636d. For modern accounts, see Burkert 1985 (1977), 260–62; Scanlon 2002, 74–7; and the bibliography cited therein.

¹² Bonfante 1989.

¹³ On the artistic evidence for Greek athletic nudity, see Hollein 1988, 71–103; Legakis 1977, 370–88; McDonnell 1991; McDonnell 1993; and Stewart 1997, 24–42.

But since we have begun to speak, it is necessary for us to proceed to the difficult part of the law, begging our listeners to not act as is their habit but to be serious, and reminding them that it was not long ago (οὐ πολλὸς χρόνος) that it seemed shameful and ridiculous to the Greeks, just as it does now to many of the non-Greeks, for men to be seen nude, and that when the Cretans first and then the Lacedaemonians began to exercise in the nude, it was possible for wits to mock the entire affair. (*Republic* 452c)

The other group of sources ascribes the introduction of athletic nudity to Orsippos of Megara in the 15th Olympiad (720). The earliest of the relevant texts is an inscription from Megara, *CIG* 1050 (= *IG* VII 52), which is dated on the basis of letter forms to the second century CE or later.¹⁴ The extant version seems to be a copy of an earlier original that had become worn due to exposure to the elements. The text is in the local Doric dialect, so that Orsippos appears as Orrhippos:

Heeding the prophetic voice at Delphi, the Megarians erected me here, a magnificent monument to warlike Orrhippos. When enemies cut off much of the territory of the state, he freed its farthest boundaries. First of the Greeks he was crowned nude at Olympia, as previously competitors wore loincloths in the stadium.¹⁵

Pausanias evidently saw this inscription, or its predecessor, when he passed through Megara, as his description of the agora includes the following note on Orsippos:

Near the grave of Coroibos Orsippos has been given honorable burial. Whereas the athletes previously wore loincloths in the contests in accordance with long-established custom, he won the *stadion* at the Olympic Games running naked. They say when Orsippos was later serving as general, he annexed a piece of land from the neighboring territory. It seems to me that he

¹⁴ On *CIG* 1050, see the discussions in *CIG* and *IG*, as well as Figueira 1985, 271–3 and Hicks and Hill 1901, 3–4.

¹⁵ The Greek text of *CIG* 1050 reads as follows:

Ὀρρίππῳ Μεγαρήs με δαίφρονι τῇδε ἀρίδῃλον
μᾶμα θέσαν, φάμα Δελφίδι πειθόμενοι·
ὃς δὴ μακίστους μὲν ὄρους ἀπελύσατο πάτρῃ
πολλὰν δυσμενέων γὰν ἀποτεμνομένων,
πρᾶτος δ' Ἑλλάνων ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ ἐστεφανώθη
γυμνός, ζωννυμένων τῶν πρὶν ἐνὶ σταδίῳ.

intentionally slipped off his loincloth at Olympia, knowing that a naked man is able to run more easily than one wearing a loincloth.¹⁶ (1.44.1)

The date when the original version of *CIG* 1050 was inscribed cannot be established directly, but there is good reason to think that this took place in the late sixth or early fifth century. The fact that Orsippos' tomb was in the agora and Pausanias' use of the verb θάπτω indicate that Orsippos had been given honors appropriate to a hero, at the behest of the Delphic oracle.¹⁷ Orsippos' heroic status was based on his roles as successful general and Olympic victor. The establishment of cults for successful athletes was common in the late sixth and early fifth century and relatively rare prior and subsequent to that time.¹⁸ In addition, the epigram itself appears to have been written in the fifth century. Although the original attribution to Simonides is now considered to be questionable, it would fit comfortably among other fifth-century epigrams and may have been written by Philiadon, a Megarian epigrammist of some note who was active during the period of the Persian Wars.¹⁹ Finally, athletic nudity first became an important trait separating Greek from barbarian in the aftermath of the Persian Wars, and it would have made sense for the Megarians to highlight their role in the introduction of athletic nudity at that time.²⁰

Like most inscriptions erected for athletic victors, *CIG* 1050 contains no information as to the date of Orsippos' triumph at Olympia. Orsippos is, however, attached to a specific Olympiad in a number of later sources, the most important of which is the relevant section of the Eusebian Olympic victor list:

Τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτῃ Δέσμων Κορίνθιος στάδιον.

Προσετέθη καὶ δίαυλον· καὶ ἐνίκα Ὑπηγνος Ἡλεῖος.

Πεντεκαίδεκάτῃ Ὀρσιππος Μεγαρεὺς στάδιον.

Προσετέθη δόλιχος· καὶ γυμνοὶ ἔδραμον. ἐνίκα Ἀκανθος Λάκων

¹⁶ Pausanias states that the grave of Orsippos was next to the grave of Coroibos, but the Coroibos in question was an Argive and not the same person as the Elean Olympic victor. On the Argive Coroibos, see Musti et al. 1982–2000, 1: 436.

¹⁷ Figueira 1985, 271–3.

¹⁸ On athletic hero cults, see Bohringer 1979 and Kurke 1993.

¹⁹ On Philiadon, see Peek 1938.

²⁰ On the importance of athletic nudity as an ethnic marker, see Bonfante 1989.

14th. Desmon of Corinth *stadion*. The *diaulos* was also added, and Hyphenos of Elis won.

15th. Orsippos of Megara *stadion*. The *dolichos* was added, and they ran nude. Acanthos of Laconia won.

The entry for the 15th Olympiad at first glance seems to indicate that Acanthos the Lacedaemonian was the first athlete to run nude, in the newly established *dolichos*. This would contradict the claim that Orsippos was the nude pioneer at Olympia. Closer analysis, however, suggests a simple resolution. The format of the Eusebian catalog is such that the *stadion* victor is always listed first and (where applicable) is followed by innovations to the Olympic program in a consistent format: Προσετέθη <name of event>, καὶ ἐνίκᾱ <name and home town of victor>. There were two major innovations in the Olympiad in which Orsippos won the *stadion*: the *dolichos* was added and athletes competed in the nude. The question was how to accommodate both of these innovations. Consistency of format was achieved by inserting καὶ γυμνοὶ ἔδραμον between Προσετέθη and ἐνίκᾱ. The price was a certain degree of ambiguity about the subject of ἔδραμον. It is unlikely that the implied “they” should be applied only to the competitors in the *dolichos*, for two reasons. First, there is epigraphic evidence that predates and is independent of this list of Olympic victors that Orsippos won the *stadion* and was the first athlete to be crowned nude at Olympia. Second, it is inherently improbable that an athletic festival that consisted of three footraces would have been arranged so that competitors in one of the three events did something strikingly new and different than the competitors in the other two races. The introduction of nudity must have been the result of a decision taken by the organizers of the Olympics and must have been applied to all the running events simultaneously.²¹ The ambiguity in the listing of

²¹ The honorary inscription for Orsippos states that “πρῶτος δ’ Ἑλλάνων ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ ἐστεφανώθη.” The order of events at the early Olympics and the point at which victors were crowned (immediately after each event or all together at a later point in the festival) are not clear and changed over the course of time. (See Lee 2001.) It is clear, however, that the *stadion* had special prominence at Olympia. The victor in the *stadion* was, therefore, almost certainly the first victor at the 15th Olympiad to be crowned. Orsippos was not the first man to run nude at Olympia (this was a distinction shared by all the athletes in the first race held at the Olympiad in question) nor was he the only

Olympic *stadion* victors and the close association of athletic nudity with Spartans evident in the passages from Thucydides and Plato quoted above led to a certain amount of confusion. Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Antiquitates Romanae* 7.72.3), for example, states that Acanthos of Sparta was the first to run nude at Olympia, in the 15th Olympiad.²²

The date supplied for Orsippos in the Olympic victor list has inspired a variety of different accounts of the development of athletic nudity in ancient Greece, based upon the idea that the practice of running nude at Olympia was introduced in 720 (the 15th Olympiad). In addition, a great deal of effort has been invested in trying to reconcile the statements of Thucydides and Plato, which imply that athletic nudity was a relatively recent innovation in the late fifth century, with the date of 720 for nudity at Olympia transmitted in the Olympic victor list. For reasons that are now obvious, Orsippos cannot be securely placed in the 15th Olympiad, which means that the divergence between Thucydides and the Olympic victor list is not necessarily as great as it might seem. The inscription at Megara is probably accurate in that Orsippos was the first athlete to be crowned at Olympia after competing in the nude. This was an occurrence of some note, and the memory of it is likely to have been preserved in Orsippos' hometown. The inscription, which seems to predate the initial compilation of the Olympic victor list, does not, however, offer any hint as to precisely when Orsippos ran nude, and victoriously, at Olympia. An author who worked on the Olympic victor list, presumably Hippias, assigned Orsippos a date, but he did so on the basis of decidedly imperfect sources. The vase paintings indicate that athletic nudity was common by the first half of the sixth century, and Orsippos must have won at latest during that period. This leaves a broad stretch of time in which Orsippos' victory might fall, and Thucydides' and

nude victor at the Olympics in which he competed (a distinction that Orsippos shared with Acanthos and one other, unnamed athlete). He was, however, the first Greek to receive an Olympic crown for winning an event in the nude, and this is precisely the achievement that is commemorated in his honorary epigram.

²² There are a number of other passages in the ancient sources on the introduction of athletic nudity at Olympia. However, they do not provide significant additional information and in many cases contain garbled versions of earlier narratives. Krause 1972 (1838), 339–43 lists all the relevant sources. Sweet 1987, 124–9 contains most of the relevant texts in English translation.

Plato's statements may well indicate that it should be placed later rather than earlier.

The history of athletic nudity in ancient Greece cannot, therefore, be written properly without a keen awareness of the complexities of *Olympionikai*. The same can be said of any subject to which *Olympionikai* and the information they supply is relevant. My goal in this conclusion has been to show that the number of such subjects is considerable and that *Olympionikai* are, as a result, texts of no little importance. The preceding study is, in a sense, only a beginning, one that will hopefully make *Olympionikai* more easily accessible to other scholars and facilitate future research on this rich body of texts.

APPENDICES

Appendices 1.1–5.11 contain the text of most of the known fragments of *Olympionikai*. The three *Olympionikai* that survive largely intact are reproduced only in part. Eusebius' Olympiad chronography, the *Chronographia*, contains twenty-one separate lists of eponyms and kings. Only one of those lists, the Olympic victor list, is given here, along with short, representative samples from Diodorus Siculus' and Dionysius of Halicarnassus' Olympiad chronicles. The fragments of the *Olympionikai* of Panodoros and Sextus Julius Africanus are not supplied here, for reasons outlined in the introduction to Chapter 4. Testimonia about the lives of authors are included only in cases in which they are immediately relevant to the author's *Olympionikai*. Unless otherwise specified, all ancient Greek texts are based on the editions used by the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*. In the interests of brevity, critical apparatuses are not supplied. The requisite textual editions for the vast majority of the works cited here can be located with ease using the search function at <http://www.tlg.uci.edu/>. Critical apparatuses can also be found in Jacoby's *Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker*, which, along with Müller's *Fragmenta Historicum Graecorum*, offers excellent commentaries on virtually all of the passages supplied.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

- Appendix 1.1: Scopas
- Appendix 1.2: Tiberius Claudius Polybius
- Appendix 1.3: Aristodemus of Elis
- Appendix 2: Hippias of Elis

- Appendix 3.1: Aristotle's *Olympionikon Anagraphe*
- Appendix 3.2: Eratosthenes' *Olympionikon Anagraphe*
- Appendix 3.3: The Aristotelian *Pythionikai*
- Appendix 3.4: *POxy* II 222
- Appendix 3.5: *IG* II² 2326
- Appendix 4.1: The Eusebian Olympic Victor List
- Appendix 4.2: Timaeus of Tauromenium
- Appendix 4.3: Dionysius of Halicarnassus
- Appendix 5.1: Philochorus
- Appendix 5.2: Ctesicles
- Appendix 5.3: Diodorus Siculus
- Appendix 5.4: Castor of Rhodes
- Appendix 5.5: Dionysius of Halicarnassus
- Appendix 5.6: Thallus
- Appendix 5.7: Phlegon
- Appendix 5.8: *POxy* XVII 2082
- Appendix 5.9: *POxy* I 12
- Appendix 5.10: Cassius Longinus
- Appendix 5.11: Dexippus
- Appendix 6: A Catalog of Olympic Victors Before Hippias?
- Appendix 7: Aristotle on the Foundation of the Olympic Truce and
of the Olympic Games
- Appendix 8: Olympiads and *Pankration* Victors in Thucydides
- Appendix 9: More on the Accuracy of Hippias' Olympic Victor
Catalog
- Appendix 10: The Olympic Victor List and the First Messenian War
- Appendix 11: Memorization and the Olympic Victor List
- Appendix 12: Hippias' Calculation of the Date of 776
- Appendix 13: The Spartan King Lists
- Appendix 14: Variant Olympiad Dating Systems
- Appendix 15: Menaechmus of Sicyon's *Pythikos*
- Appendix 16: The Sicyonian *Anagraphe*
- Appendix 17: Relationships between *Olympionikai*

APPENDIX I. I

SCOPAS

FGrH 413 T1 apud Pliny Historia Naturalis 1.8:

de lupis; unde fabula versipelli<um>.... ex auctoribus... externis... Euanthe; apoca qui Olympionicas.

[Note: *apoca* has been variously emended, to Scopa, Agriopa, Apolla, Harpocra.]

F1 apud Pliny Historia Naturalis 8.82:

mirum est quo procedat Graeca credulitas: nullum tam inpudens mendacium est, ut teste careat. item [---]as, qui Olympionicas scripsit, narrat Demaenenum Parrhasium in sacrificio, quod Arcades Jovi Lycaeο humana etiamtum hostia faciebant, immolati pueri exta degustasse et in lupum se convertisse, eundem X anno restitutum athleticae certasse in pugilatu victoremque [victoria] Olympia reversum.

TIBERIUS CLAUDIUS POLYBIUS

FGrH 254 F1 apud Syncellus Ecloga Chronographica 104.5–12:

Ἡ τῶν Ἀράβων βασιλεία διαδεξαμένη τὴν τῶν Χαλδαίων διήρκεσεν ἔτη σιέ . . . ταύτην Ἀσσυρίων μὰ διεδέξαντο βασιλεῖς . . . διαρκέσαντες ἔτη ὅλα αυξ' ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου αὐτῶν Βήλου ἕως τοῦ μὰ Κονκολέρου τοῦ καὶ Σαρδαναπάλου, ὡς συμφωνοῦσι πολλοὶ τῶν ἐπιστήμων ἱστορικῶν, Πολύβιος καὶ Διόδωρος, Κεφαλίων τε καὶ Κάστωρ καὶ Θάλλος καὶ ἕτεροι.

F2 apud Eusebius Chronographia ll. 38–44 in Appendix 4.1:

Ἱστοροῦσι δὲ οἱ περὶ Ἀριστοδήμον τὸν Ἡλείον, ὡς ἀπ' εἰκοστῆς καὶ ἑβδόμης Ὀλυμπιάδος [ἐξ Ἰφίτου ἀγῶνος] ἤρξαντο οἱ ἀθληταὶ ἀναγράφεσθαι, ὅσοι δηλαδὴ νικηφόροι· πρὸ τοῦ γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἀνεγράφη, ἀμελησάντων τῶν προτέρων· τῇ δὲ εἰκοστῇ ὀγδόῃ τὸ στάδιον νικῶν Κόροιβος Ἡλείος, ἀνεγράφη πρῶτος. καὶ ἡ Ὀλυμπιάς αὕτη πρώτη ἐτάχθη· ἀφ' ἧς Ἕλληνες ἀριθμοῦσι τοὺς χρόνους. τὰ δ' αὐτὰ τῷ Ἀριστοδήμῳ καὶ Πολύβιῳ ἱστορεῖ.

F3 apud Eusebius Praeparatio Evangelica 10.10.4:

μετὰ δὲ τὰ ὅ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας ἔτη Κύρος Περσῶν ἐβασίλευσεν, ὃ ἔτει Ὀλυμπιάς ἦχθη νέ, ὡς ἐκ τῶν Βιβλιοθηκῶν Διοδώρου καὶ τῶν Θαλλοῦ καὶ Κάστορος ἱστοριῶν, ἔτι δὲ Πολυβίου καὶ Φλέγοντος ἔστιν εὐρεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐτέρων, οἷς ἐμέλησεν Ὀλυμπιάδων· ἅπανσι γὰρ συνεφώνησεν ὁ χρόνος. Κύρος δ' οὖν τῷ πρώτῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔτει, ὅπερ ἦν Ὀλυμπιάδος νέ ἔτος τὸ πρῶτον. . . .

F4 apud John Malalas Chronographia 157.8–21:

Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Κροῖσος ἀκούσας τὴν τοῦ χρησμοῦ ἀπόκρισιν, ἐξῆλθε κατὰ Κύρου μετὰ δυνάμεως πολλῆς· καὶ παρῆλθε τὸν Ἄλυν, ποταμὸν τῆς Καππαδοκίας. καὶ συνέκρουσε Κύρῳ χειμῶνος ὄντος μεγάλου· καὶ ἡττηθεὶς ἠθέλησε φυγεῖν αὐτὸς καὶ τὰ πλήθη αὐτοῦ· καὶ πλημμυρήσαντος τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐκ τοῦ χειμῶνος, οὐκ ἠδυνήθη φυγεῖν οὐδὲ περᾶσαι· καὶ ἐλήφθη αἰχμάλωτος αὐτὸς καὶ τὰ πλήθη αὐτοῦ, χιλιάδες υ'. τοὺς δὲ ζήσαντας ἐξ

αὐτῶν ἔλαβεν αἰχμαλώτους ὁ Κῦρος ἅμα Κροίσῳ. καὶ στήσας αὐτὸν ἐν
ξυλίνῳ τρίποδι ἐν ὕψει δεδεμένον ἐθριάμβευσεν αὐτὸν τῷ στρατῷ αὐτοῦ.
καὶ ἔλαβεν αὐτὸν καὶ κατήγαγεν ἐν Περσίδι. ταῦτα δὲ ἱστόρησαν οἱ σοφώ-
τατοι Θάλης καὶ Κάστωρ καὶ Πολύβιος συγγραψάμενοι καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς
Ἡρόδοτος ὁ ἱστοριογράφος· ἅτινα καὶ ὁ σοφὸς Θεόφιλος ἐχρονογράφησεν.

APPENDIX I.3

ARISTODEMUS OF ELIS

FGrH 414 F1 *apud* Eusebius *Chronographia* II. 38–48 in Appendix 4.1:

Ἱστοροῦσι δὲ οἱ περὶ Ἀριστόδημον τὸν Ἡλεῖον, ὡς ἀπ' εἰκοστῆς καὶ ἐβδόμης Ὀλυμπιάδος [ἐξ Ἰφίτου ἀγῶνος] ἤρξαντο οἱ ἀθληταὶ ἀναγράφεσθαι, ὅσοι δηλαδὴ νικηφόροι· πρὸ τοῦ γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἀνεγράφη, ἀμελησάντων τῶν προτέρων· τῇ δὲ εἰκοστῇ ὀγδόῃ τὸ στάδιον νικῶν Κόροιβος Ἡλεῖος, ἀνεγράφη πρῶτος. καὶ ἡ Ὀλυμπιάς αὕτη πρώτη ἐτάχθη· ἀφ' ἧς Ἕλληνες ἀριθμοῦσι τοὺς χρόνους. τὰ δ' αὐτὰ τῷ Ἀριστοδήμῳ καὶ Πολύβιῳ ἱστορεῖ. Καλλίμαχος δὲ δεκατρεῖς Ὀλυμπιάδας ἀπὸ Ἰφίτου παρεῖσθαι φησι μὴ ἀναγραφείσας· τῇ δὲ τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτῃ Κόροιβον νικῆσαι. Πολλοὶ δὲ λέγουσιν ἀπὸ τῆς ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους τοῦ Ἀλκμήνης τοῦ ἀγῶνος θέσεως ἐπὶ τὴν πρώτην ἀριθμουμένην Ὀλυμπιάδα, γενέσθαι ἔτη υνθ'. Ἄγουσι δὲ Ἡλεῖοι πενταετηρικὸν τὸν ἀγῶνα, τεσσάρων ἐτῶν μεταξὺ συντελουμένων.

F2a *apud* Harpocration *Lexicon* s.v. Ἑλλανοδίκαι:

Ἑλλανοδίκαι: Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ ὑπὲρ Καλλίππου πρὸς Ἡλείου. Ἀριστοτέλης Ἡλείων πολιτεία τὸ μὲν πρῶτόν φησιν ἓνα καταστήσαι τοὺς Ἡλείους Ἑλλανοδίκην, χρόνου δὲ διεθόντος β', τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον θ'. Ἀριστόδημος δ' ὁ Ἡλεῖός φησι τοὺς τελευταίους τιθέντας τὸν ἀγῶνα Ἑλλανοδικὰς εἶναι ἰ', ἀφ' ἐκάστης φυλῆς ἓνα.

F2b *apud* scholiast Pindar *Olympian* III 21b/22a:

περὶ δὲ τοῦ τῶν Ἑλλανοδικῶν ἀριθμοῦ Ἑλλάνικός φησι καὶ Ἀριστόδημος, ὅτι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον † ιβ', τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον ἰ'· τοσαῦται γὰρ αἱ τῶν Ἡλείων φυλαί, καὶ ἐφ' ἐκάστης εἷς ἦν Ἑλλανοδίκη.

Scholiast Pindar *Olympian* X 55a (not cataloged by Jacoby or Müller):

Ἄλτιν: ὁ νοῦς· τὴν μὲν Ἄλτιν καθιέρωσε τῷ θεῷ, τὸν δὲ κύκλῳ τόπον συμπόσιον ἐποίησεν.

Scholiast Pindar *Olympian* X 55b (not cataloged by Jacoby or Müller):

οἱ περὶ Ἀριστόδημον καὶ Λεπτίνην καὶ Διονύσιον γράφουσιν Ἄλτιν. μὴ γὰρ πρέπον ἐστὶ τὴν ἄρτι πεπορθημένην Ἥλιν ἱερὰν γενέσθαι τῷ Δίῃ· καὶ λόγον ἔχει τὸ τοῦ Διὸς ἱερὸν ἰδρύσθαι ἐν Πίσῃ. οὐ γὰρ ἐν Ἥλιδι οἱ ἐρχόμενοι ἐπὶ τὴν πανήγυριν θοινῶνται, ἀλλὰ ἐν Πίσῃ. τὸ γὰρ ἐν κύκλῳ τοῦ ἱεροῦ καταγωγαῖς διείληπτο. διώκισται δὲ ἡ Πίσσα τῆς Ὀλυμπίας γ' σταδίου. Ἄλτιν οὖν γραπτέον· οὕτως γὰρ τὸν περὶ Ὀλυμπίαν τόπον ἐκάλουν.

Scholiast Pindar *Olympian* X 55c (not cataloged by Jacoby or Müller):

Ἀριστόδημος γράφει ἀντὶ τοῦ Ἄλιν Ἄλτιν· οὕτω γὰρ τὸν περὶ Ὀλυμπίαν τόπον καλεῖσθαι, καὶ τὸν Δία ἐξ ἐπιθέτου Ἄλτιον. μὴ γὰρ λόγον ἔχειν τὴν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πεπορθημένην Ἥλιν ἱερὰν καὶ καθαρὰν ποιῆσαι. ἀλλὰ μὴδὲ ἱερὸν εἶναι Διὸς ἐν Ἥλιδι, ἀλλ' ἐν Πίσῃ. ἀπαρκίσθαι δὲ τὴν Πίσσαν τῆς Ὀλυμπίας σταδίου ἐξ. Δίδυμος δὲ κατὰ χώραν ἐὼν τὴν γραφὴν τὸν Πίνδαρον τὴν Πίσσαν Ἥλιν λέγειν φησὶν· οἱ γὰρ Ἥλεῖοι ὑφ' ἑαυτοὺς ποιησάμενοι τοὺς Πισαιάτας Ἥλιν τὴν Πίσσαν μετωνόμασαν. εἰ οὖν ἡ Πίσσα μετέβαλε, τί ἂν εἴη ἐμποδὼν γράφειν Ἄλιν. . .

APPENDIX 2

HIPPIAS OF ELIS

FGrH 6 F2 apud Plutarch Numa 1.4:

τοὺς μὲν οὖν χρόνους ἐξακριβῶσαι χαλεπὸν ἐστὶ, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἐκ
τῶν Ὀλυμπιονικῶν ἀναγομένους, ὧν τὴν ἀναγραφὴν ὁψέ φασιν Ἰππίαν
ἐκδοῦναι τὸν Ἡλεῖον, ἀπ' οὐδενὸς ὁρμώμενον ἀναγκαίου πρὸς πίστιν·

APPENDIX 3. I

ARISTOTLE'S OLYMPIONIKON ANAGRAPHE

FHG (2.182–184) F261 *apud* scholiast Pindar *Nemean III* 27a ll. 3–4:
Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ Λεύκαρόν φησι τὸν Ἀκαρνᾶνα πρῶτον ἔντεχνον τὸ
παγκράτιον ποιῆσαι.

F262 *apud* scholiast Theocritus 4.6:
Μίλων: τὸν Κροτωνιάτην Μίλωνα φησιν, ὃν καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης πολυφάγον
φησί.

F263 *apud* Diogenes Laertius 8.51–2:
λέγει δὲ καὶ Ἐρατοσθένης ἐν τοῖς Ὀλυμπιονίκαις τὴν πρῶτην καὶ
ἑβδομηκοστὴν ὀλυμπιάδα νενικηκέναι τὸν τοῦ Μέτωνος πατέρα, μάρτυρι
χρῶμενος Ἀριστοτέλει. Ἀπολλόδωρος δ' ὁ γραμματικὸς ἐν τοῖς χρονικοῖς
φησὶν ὡς “ἦν Μέτωνος μὲν υἱός, εἰς δὲ Θουρίου αὐτὸν νεωστὶ παντελῶς
ἐκτισμένους Γλαῦκος ἐλθεῖν φησίν.” εἰθ' ὑποβάς “οἱ δ' ἱστοροῦντες ὡς οἴκοθεν
πεφευγὼς εἰς τὰς Συρακούσας μετ' ἐκείνων ἐπολέμει πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους,
τελῆως ἀγνοεῖν μοι δοκοῦσιν. ἢ γὰρ οὐκ ἐτ' ἦν ἢ παντελῶς ὑπεργεγηρακῶς,
ὅπερ οὐ φαίνεται. Ἀριστοτέλης γὰρ αὐτόν, ἔτι τε Ἡρακλείδης, ἐξήκοντα
ἐτῶν φησὶ τετελευτηκέναι.”

F264 *apud* scholiast Pindar *Olympian VII* inscr.:
Διαγόρα Ροδίῳ πύκτη: νικήσαντι τὴν οθ' Ὀλυμπιάδα. Διαγόρας οὗτος
υἱὸς μὲν ἦν Δαμαγήτου τοῦ Ροδίου, ἐνίκησε δὲ καὶ Πύθια καὶ Ἴσθμια.
περὶ δὲ τούτου τοῦ Διαγόρου εἶπε μὲν καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης (sc. ἐν Ὀλυμπι-
ονίκαις) καὶ Ἀπόλλας. μαρτυροῦσιν δὲ τοιαῦτα. Κατὰ γὰρ τὴν Ὀλυμπίαν
ἔσθηκεν ὁ Διαγόρας μετὰ τὴν Λυσάνδρου εἰκόνα, πηχῶν τεσσάρων δακ-
τύλων πέντε, τὴν δεξιὰν ἀνατεινὼν χεῖρα, τὴν δὲ ἀριστεράν εἰς ἑαυτὸν
ἐπικλίνων. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ἴσταται καὶ ὁ Δαμάγητος ὁ πρεσβύτερος τῶν
παίδων αὐτοῦ, ὃς ἦν καὶ ὁμώνυμος τῷ πάππῳ, παγκράτιον προβεβλη-
μένος, καὶ αὐτὸς πηχῶν τεσσάρων, ἐλάττων δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς δακτύλων
πέντε. ἐχόμενος δὲ τούτων ἔσθηκε Δωριεὺς ἀδελφὸς πύκτης καὶ αὐτὸς

προβεβλημένος. τρίτος δὲ μετ' ἐκείνον Ἀκουσίλαος, τῇ μὲν ὀριστερᾷ ἰμάντα ἔχων πυκτικόν, τὴν δὲ δεξιάν ὡς πρὸς προσεῦχὴν ἀνατείνων. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν οἱ τοῦ νικηφόρου παῖδες ἐν στήλαις ἴστανται σὺν τῷ πατρί· μετ' ἐκείνους δὲ καὶ θυγατέρων αὐτοῦ νικηφόροι υἱοὶ δύο, Εὐκλῆς πυγμῇ νικήσας Ἄνδρωνα καὶ μετ' ἐκείνον Πεισίρροθος. καὶ λέγεται κατὰ τὴν Ὀλυμπίαν νικήσαντας τοὺς παῖδας κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν τῷ πατρί, περιβαλόντας [οὖν] τὸν Διαγόραν περιεῖναι τὸ στάδιον μακαριζομένους ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερόν φασι καὶ τὴν τούτου θυγατέρα Καλλιπάτειραν ἔλθεῖν εἰς τὴν Ὀλυμπίαν, καὶ αἰτεῖν παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλανοδικῶν ἐπιτρέψαι τὴν θέαν αὐτῇ· τοὺς δὲ κωλύειν φάσκοντας κατὰ νόμον γυναιῖκα μὴ θεωρεῖν τὸν γυμνικὸν ἀγῶνα. τὴν δὲ φῆσαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς, οὐκ ὁμοίαν εἶναι ταῖς ἄλλαις γυναιξίν, ἀλλὰ φέρειν πλέον τι, ταῖς προγονικαῖς ἀρεταῖς ἐπεριδομένην. ἔσχε γὰρ καὶ τὸν πατέρα καὶ τοὺς τρεῖς ἀδελφούς Ὀλυμπιονίκας, Δαμάγητον, Δωριέα, Ἀκουσίλαον, καὶ ἐξ ἀδελφῆς παῖδα Εὐκλέα καὶ αὐτῆς υἱὸν Πεισίρροθον· καὶ δεῖξαι τὰς τε τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν στήλας, καὶ οὕτω νικηθέντας τοὺς Ἑλλανοδίκας ἐπιχωρῆσαι καὶ συνήθειαν νόμου διαλῦσαι καὶ τῇ Καλλιπατείρᾳ τὴν θέαν ἐπιτρέψαι. Καὶ τὰ περὶ μὲν αὐτῶν τοσαῦτα.

F264a *apud* Aristotle *Politics* 1339a1–5:

σημεῖον γὰρ οὐ μικρὸν ὅτι δύνανται τοῦτο παρασκευάζειν, ἐν γὰρ τοῖς ὀλυμπιονίκαις δύο τις ἂν ἢ τρεῖς εὖροι τοὺς αὐτοὺς νενικηκότας ἄνδρας τε καὶ παῖδας, διὰ τὸ νέους ἀσκοῦντας ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τὴν δύναμιν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀναγκαίων γυμνασίων·

(2.145) F118 *apud* scholiast Pindar *Olympian IX* 86e:

Ἐπειῶν τῶν Ἡλείων, ἀπὸ Ἐπειοῦ τοῦ Ἐνδυμίωνος, ἢ τοῦ Ἀεθλίου τοῦ Ἐνδυμίωνος. Ὅποῦντος ἦν θυγάτηρ Ἡλείων βασιλέως, ἦν Ἀριστοτέλης Καμβύσην καλεῖ.

[Müller assigns this fragment to *Politeia Opountian*, but given the subject matter it could equally easily come from the *Olympionikai*.]

APPENDIX 3.2

ERATOSTHENES' *OLYMPIONIKON* ANAGRAPHE

FGrH 241 F4 *apud* Athenaeus 154a:

Ἐρατοσθένης δ' ἐν πρώτῳ Ὀλυμπιονικῶν τοὺς Τυρρηνούς φησι πρὸς αὐλὸν πυκτεύειν.

F5 *apud* scholiast Homer *Odyssey* Book 8 hypothesis—verse 190:

βόμβησεν δὲ λίθος· ὁ δίσκος λίθος ἦν. καὶ Ἐρατοσθένης ἐν Ὀλυμπιονικάις ἱστορεῖ, τὸν μὲν σόλον λέγων σιδηροῦν ἢ ξύλινον ἢ χαλκοῦν τετρημένον κατὰ τὸ μέσον καὶ ἔχοντα καλῶδιον ἐξημμένον, οὗ ἔχόμενοι βάλλουσιν οἱ ἀγωνιζόμενοι. οὕτω καὶ ἐπὶ Πατρόκλῳ κέχρηται. διό φησιν “αὐτὰρ Πηλεΐδης θῆκεν σόλον, ὃν πρὶν μὲν ρίπτασκε” (Il. ψ, 826.). ὅθεν κατωμάδιον αὐτὸν λέγεσθαι “ὅσσα δὲ δίσκου οὖρα κατωμαδίοιο πέλονται” (Il. ψ, 431.). διὰ τοῦτο καὶ νῦν ἔφη “τόν ρά περιστρέψας.”

F6 *apud* scholiast Theocritus 2 prolegomenon—anecdote 121a:

λεύκαν Ἡρακλῆος· <Ἐρατοσθένης ἐν πρώτῳ> Ὀλυμπιονικῶν φησι τὸν Ἡρακλέα κατελθόντα εἰς Αἶδου εὐρεῖν παρὰ τῷ Ἀχέροντι φυομένην τὴν λεύκην καὶ αὐτῇ ἀναστέψασθαι, ἣν Ὀμηρος ἀχερωΐδα καλεῖ.

F7 *apud* Diogenes Laertius 8.51:

Ἐμπεδοκλῆς, ὥς φησιν Ἰππόβοτος, Μέτωνος ἦν υἱὸς τοῦ Ἐμπεδοκλέους, Ἀκραγαντῖνος. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ Τίμαιος ἐν τῇ πεντεκαίδεκάτῃ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν <λέγει προσιστορῶν> ἐπίσημον ἄνδρα γεγονέναι τὸν Ἐμπεδοκλέα τὸν πάππον τοῦ ποιητοῦ. ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἑρμιππος τὰ αὐτὰ τούτῳ φησίν. ὁμοίως καὶ Ἡρακλείδης ἐν τῷ Περὶ νόσων ὅτι λαμπρᾶς ἦν οἰκίας ἵπποτροφικός τοῦ πάππου. λέγει δὲ καὶ Ἐρατοσθένης ἐν τοῖς Ὀλυμπιονικάις τὴν πρώτην καὶ ἑβδομηκοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα νενικηκέναι τὸν τοῦ Μέτωνος πατέρα, μάρτυρι χρώμενος Ἀριστοτέλει.

F8 *apud* scholiast Menander *POxy* III 409.104–106:

Ἀστυάνακτος· τοῦ Μιλησίου Ἀστυάνακτος πολλοὶ σφόδρα τῶν κωμω<ι>διογράφων μέμνηται· ἐγένετο γὰρ παγκρατιαστής κρά[τ(ιστος) τῶ]ν καθ' αὐτόν, ἠγωνίσσατο δὲ καὶ πυγμῇ. Ἐρατοσθένης δ' ἐ[ν τῷ .] τῶν Ὀλυμπιονικῶν προθεὶς ῥῖς ὀλυμπιάδα φησίν· “Ἀστυάναξ ὁ Μιλήσιος ξ (?) τὴν περίοδον ἀκονιτί”.

F11a *apud* Diogenes Laertius 8.47:

Ἐρατοσθένης δέ φησι, καθὼ καὶ Φαβωρίνος ἐν τῇ ὀγδόῃ Παντοδαπῆς ἱστορίας παρατίθεται, τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν πρῶτον ἐντέχνως πυκτεύσαντα ἐπὶ τῆς ὀγδῆς καὶ τετταρακοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος, κομήτην καὶ ἀλουργίδα φοροῦντα· ἐκκριθῆναι τ' ἐκ τῶν παίδων καὶ χλευασθέντα αὐτίκα προσβῆναι τοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ νικήσαι. δηλοῦν δὲ τοῦτο καὶ τοῦπίγραμμα ὅπερ ἐποίησε Θεαίτητος

Πυθαγόρην τινά, Πυθαγόρην, ὦ ξεῖνε, κομήτην,
ῥεδόμενον πύκτην εἰ κατέχεις Σάμιον,
Πυθαγόρης ἐγὼ εἰμι· τὰ δ' ἔργα μου εἴ τιν' ἔροιο
Ἥλειων, φήσεις αὐτόν ἄπιστα λέγειν.

F11b *apud* Proverb. Cod. Paris. Suppl. Gr. 676:

τὸν (ἐν Σάμῳ) κομήτην· Σάμιον φασὶν πύκτην κομῶντα εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν ἀφικόμενον (καὶ νική)σαντα ἐπὶ τῷ θηλυπρεπεῖ πρὸς τῶν ἀνταγωνιστῶν χλευαζόμενον εἰς παροιμ(ίαν ἐλθεῖν). Ἐρατοσθένης δὲ κατὰ τὴν μὴ ὀλυμπιάδα Πυθαγόραν Σάμιον τὸν κο(μήτην) νικήσαι.

F14 *apud* scholiast Euripides *Hecuba* 573:

φύλλοις ἔβαλλον· τοῦτο παρὰ τοὺς χρόνους. Ἐρατοσθένης γὰρ περὶ τῆς φυλλοβολίας φησὶν ὡς πάλαι χωρὶς ἄθλων ἀγωνιζομένων τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῷ νικήσαντι καθάπερ ἔρανον εἰσφέροντες ἔρριπτον τῶν θεατῶν ἕκαστος ὅπως ἡτόρει. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἐμπορευόμενοι (?) διάφορα δῶρα [----] τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν οἱ μὲν ἐγγὺς κατήμενοι στεφάνους ἐπετίθεσαν, οἱ δὲ ἀνωτέρω τοῦτο ὅπερ ἦν λοιπὸν ἔβαλλον τοῖς ἄνθεσι καὶ φύλλοις· <ὡς> καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐπιφανῶς ἀγωνιζομένοις προβάλλουσι ζώνας, πετάσους, χιτωνίσκους, κρηπίδας. διὸ σύνθηες ἦν κύκλῳ περινοστοῦντας <τοὺς ἀθλητάς> ἀγείρειν τὰ διδόμενα. ἕως μὲν οὖν ἐν ἀγώνισμα κατὰ τὴν Ὀλυμπίαν ἦν, δαφιλῆς ἐγένετο ἡ τῶν δώρων δόσις, πολυπλασιαζομένων δὲ τούτων ταῦτα ἐμειοῦτο εἰς πολλοὺς καταμεριζόμενα καὶ τέλος ἡ φυλλοβολία κατελείφθη. ταῦτα οὖν παρὰ τοὺς χρόνους Εὐριπίδης·

F15a *apud* Hesychius *Lexicon* s.v. Ἐφωδίων:

Ἐφωδίων· Ἐρατοσθένης διὰ τοῦ τ' Ἐφωτίων ἀναγράφει Μαινάλιον περιοδόνικην παγκρατιαστήν· ὁ δὲ Πολέμων διὰ τοῦ δ'.

F15b *apud* scholiast Aristophanes *Vespae* 1191:

ὅτι κατεψευσμένοι φαίνονται οὔτοι παγκρατιασταὶ ἐπὶ παιδιᾷ. ὁ δὲ Ἀσκώνδας καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ὀνόματος εἰ μὴ ἄρα ὁ Ἐφουδίων ἐστὶν ὁ ἐν ταῖς Ὀλυμπιάσι φερόμενος Ἐφουδίων Μαινάλιος οἴ.

F44 *apud* scholiast Pindar *Olympian IX* 1 k:

Ἐρατοσθένης δέ φησι μὴ ἐπινίκιον εἶναι τὸ Ἀρχιλόχου μέλος, ἀλλ' ὕμνον εἰς Ἡρακλέα· τριπλόον δὲ οὐ διὰ τὸ ἐκ τριῶν στροφῶν συγκεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ τρις ἐφυμνιάζεσθαι τὸ καλλίνικε. περὶ δὲ τοῦ τήνελλα Ἐρατοσθένης φησὶν ὅτι ὅτε ὁ αὐλητῆς ἢ ὁ κιθαριστῆς μὴ παρῆν, ὁ ἔξαρχος αὐτὸ μεταλαβὼν ἔλεγεν ἔξω τοῦ μέλους, ὁ δὲ τῶν κωμαστῶν χορὸς ἐπέβαλλε τὸ καλλίνικε, καὶ οὕτω συνειρόμενον γέγονε τὸ τήνελλα καλλίνικε. ἢ δὲ ἀρχὴ τοῦ μέλους ἐστίν· ὦ καλλίνικε χαῖρε ἄναξ Ἡράκλεες.

Etymologicum Magnum s.v. Ἥλις (not cataloged by Jacoby or Müller):

Ἥλις· πρὶν τὸν Δία κτήσασθαι τὴν Ὀλυμπίαν παρὰ τῆς Γῆς, αὐτὴν παρειλήφεσαν Ἥλιός τε καὶ Κρόνος. Γνώρισμα δὲ τοῦ κτήματος κοινός ἐστι βωμὸς ἀμφοῖν αὐτοῖν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ. Σύμβολον δὲ καὶ τόδε· τοῦ μὲν, ὁ Κρόνιος λόφος καλούμενος· τοῦ δὲ, ἡ Ἥλις μέχρι τοῦ νῦν καλουμένη ἐπώνυμος τοῦ θεοῦ. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ Αὐγείας τῆς χώρας ἐβασίλευσε, μοίρας οὔσης Ἡλίου, παῖς αὐτῷ ὦν. ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ὀλυμπιονικῶν.

APPENDIX 3.3

THE ARISTOTELIAN PYTHIONIKAI

I. TESTIMONIA

SIG³ 275 = *Fouilles de Delphes* 3.1.400

[(11 missing letters) ἐπει]	1
[Ἀριστοτέλης Νικο]-	
[μάχου Σταγίριτης]	
[καὶ Καλλισθένης Δ]-	
[αμοτίμου Ὀλύνθιο]-	5
[ς συ]νέ[ταξαν πίνακ]-	
[α] τῶν ἀ[...]. [... νεν]-	
ινκηκό[τ]ων τὰ [Πύθια]	
καὶ τῶν ἐξ ἀρχ[ῆς τὸ]-	
ν ἀγῶνα κατασκ[ευα]-	10
σάντων, ἐπαινέ[σαι]	
Ἀριστοτέλην κα[ὶ K]-	
αλ[λι]σθένην καὶ [στ]-	
εφανῶσαι. ἀνα[θεῖν]-	
αι δὲ τὸν πίν[ακα το]-	15
ὑς ταμία[ς ἐν τῷ ἱε]-	
ρῶι με[ταγεγραμμέ]-	
νο[ν εἰς στήλας ? ----]	

Corpus des Inscriptions de Delphes II 97.42-3:

Δεινομάχω[ι], τῶμ Πυθιονικῶν ἀναγραφῆς, κελευσάντων | [τ]ῶν ἱερομ-
νημόνων, μνᾶς δύο.

Corpus des Inscriptions de Delphes II 98.B.5-7:

[Δεινομάχωι Δ]ελφῶι τῆς Π[υθιονικῶν ἀναγραφῆς, τετράκις] | [μυρίων
καὶ χιλ]ίων διακοσ[ίω]ν γραμμάτων, ἀνὰ ἑκατὸν τῆς] | [δραχμῆς, μναῖ
π]έντε, στατή[ρες τριάκοντα εἰς].

Corpus des Inscriptions de Delphes II 99.A.9–10:

Δε[ινομάχῳ Δελφῳ τῶν Πυθιονικῶν] | ἀναγραφῇ[ς μνᾶς δύο ?]

Corpus des Inscriptions de Delphes II 102.i.44–6:

Δε[ι]νομάχῳ γραμμάτων[ν] | [ἐγκοπῆς τῶν Πυθιονικῶν, κ]αὶ τῶν
ἐπ[ι]δεκάτῳ[ν] | [στατήρας (14 missing letters)]

II. FRAGMENTS

F615 Rose /*FHG* (2.184) F265 *apud* Plutarch *Solon* 11.1–2:

πεισθέντες γὰρ ὑπ' ἐκείνου πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ὥρμησαν οἱ Ἀμφικτύονες,
ὡς ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ μαρτυροῦσι καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τῇ τῶν Πυθιονικῶν
ἀναγραφῇ Σόλωνι τὴν γνώμην ἀνατιθεῖς.

F616 Rose /*FHG* F265a *apud* Hesychius *Lexicon s.v.* Βοῦθος (cf. Zenobius
Epitome collectionum Lucilli Tarrhaei et Didymi Centuria 2 section 66 and Hero-
dian *Περὶ μονήρους λέξεως* 3, 2 p. 947.25–26):

Βοῦθος περιφοιτᾷ· παροιμία ἐπὶ τῶν εὐήθων καὶ παχυφρόνων, ἀπὸ
Βοῦθου τινὸς μετενεχθεῖσα τοῦ Πύθια νικήσαντος, ὃν ἀναγράφει καὶ Ἀρι-
στοτέλης νενικηκότα.

F617α Rose *apud* scholiast Pindar *Isthmian* II inscr. a:

Ξενοκράτει Ἀκραγαντίνῳ... οὗτος δὲ ὁ Ξενοκράτης οὐ μόνον Ἰσθμια
νενίκηκεν ἵπποις, ἀλλὰ καὶ Πύθια κδ' Πυθιάδα, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης ἀναγράφει.

F617β Rose /*FHG* F265b *apud* scholiast Pindar *Olympian* II 87e:

κατὰ δὲ τὴν τοῦ Ἀριστοτέλους (sc. ἀναγραφῇν) Πυθιονίκης μόνος Θήρων
ἀναγέγραπται.

F617γ Rose *apud* scholiast Pindar *Pythian* VI inscr.:

Ξενοκράτει Ἀκραγαντίνῳ: γέγραπται Ξενοκράτει Ἀκραγαντίνῳ νενικηκότι
κατὰ τὴν κδ' Πυθιάδα.

III. PYTHIAD DATES

The Pindaric scholia contain a total of forty-one Pythiad dates. There are, however, a number of scholia that are duplicates of one another, plus others that as transmitted assign variant dates for the same victory due to paleographic corruption. When these factors are taken into account, there are somewhere between sixteen and nineteen distinct victories left (depending upon whether variant Pythiad numbers for the same victor reflect different victories or textual problems). One

Pythiad date in the scholia is not for a victory, but a synchroniza-
tion between the 28th Pythiad and the 76th Olympiad (*Pythian III*
inscr. b). Only one entry (*Isthmian II* inscr. a) gives the source of the
Pythiad date in question and that source is the Aristotelian *Pythionikai*.
Given the rarity of Pythiad dates (they occur only in the Aristotelian
Pythionikai, the Pindaric scholia, and Pausanias), it is virtually certain
that Pythiad dates in the Pindaric scholia were all taken from the Aris-
totelian *Pythionikai* (the latest Pythiad noted in the Pindar scholiasts
is the 35th, which was held in 450, well before the *Pythionikai* was
written).

Table Apx 3.1 summarizes the relevant information.

In addition to his account of the foundation of the Pythian Games
(the Greek text is given below), Pausanias gives a Pythiad number for
the victory of Agesilas of Lousoi (11th Pythiad, 8.18.8):

πόλιν μὲν δὴ ποτε εἶναι λέγουσι τοὺς Λουσοὺς, καὶ Ἀγησίλας ἀνὴρ
Λουσεὺς ἀνηγορεύθη κέλῃτι ἵππων νικῶν, ὅτε πρῶτην ἐπὶ ταῖς δέκα ἐτίθε-
σαν πυθιάδα Ἀμφικτύονες·

IV. PASSAGES FROM WORKS THAT DREW DIRECTLY BUT NOT EXCLUSIVELY ON THE *PYTHIONIKAI*

Pindar *Pythian* hypothesis a:

Ὁ τῶν Πυθίων ἀγὼν ἐτέθη μὲν πρότερος τῶν Ἰσθμίων πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν,
ἡ δὲ αἰτία τοιαύτη μυθολογεῖται περὶ αὐτῶν. Λητῶ γὰρ ἡ Κοίου τοῦ
Οὐρανοῦ καὶ Γῆς, καὶ Φοίβης τῆς Κρόνου, ἥ Ζεὺς ἐμίγη ὄρτυγι εἰκασθεῖς,
ἔγκυος γενομένη ὤδινεν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ζωστῆρος τῆς Ἀττικῆς· τίκει τε Ἄρτεμιν
καὶ Φοῖβον ἐν Δήλῳ τῇ πρότερον Ὀρτυγίᾳ καλουμένῃ. καὶ Ἄρτεμις αὖξ-
ηθεῖσα ἦλθεν εἰς Κρήτην, καὶ τὸ Δικτύνιον ὄρος κατέσχευ· Ἀπόλλων δὲ
ἐν Λυκίᾳ· τῇ δὲ μητρὶ τὴν Δήλον ἀπένειμαν. ἔρχεται τοίνυν εἰς Δελφοὺς
Ἀπόλλων, Πύθωνι τὰς βοῦς νέμων. Ἑρμῆς δὲ χέλυν εὐρὼν τετράχορδον
λίνα ἀντὶ χορδῶν ἐνημμένην, ἐπειδὴ οὐπω τῶν νεύρων ἡ χρῆσις εὕρητο,
καὶ Ἰλούς τὰς Ἀπόλλωνος βοῦς κλέπτων, ἀντὶ τῆς κλοπῆς τὴν χέλυν δίδωσι
τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι, λαβὼν παρ' αὐτοῦ τὸ κηρύκειον. ἐπτάφθογον δὲ αὐτὴν
ἐποίησεν, ἀρμοσάμενος πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Πανὸς σύριγγα, οὐ τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ καὶ
Πηνελόπης, ἀλλὰ τοῦ Διὸς καὶ Θύβρεως· ἡ τάχα ἐπτά φθόγγοις αὐτὴν
ἐκέρασε διὰ τὸ αὐτὸν ἐπταμηνιαῖον γεγενῆσθαι. δοκεῖ δὲ οὗτος τὰ λίνα
ἐξελὼν τοῖς νεύροις ἐντεῖναι τὴν λύραν· ὅθεν καὶ λέγεται Λίνον ἡρηκέναι.
ἔμαθε δὲ καὶ τὴν μαντικὴν τέχνην ὑπὸ τοῦ Πανός· οὗτος γὰρ τοῖς Ἀρκάσι

TABLE APX 3.1. *Pythiad Dates in the Pindaric Scholia*

Victor's Name	Pythiad	Source (all from Pindaric scholia)
Hippocleas of Thessaly	22nd and/or 28th	<i>Pythian X</i> inscr., <i>Pythian X</i> prae 8
Xenocrates of Acragas	24th	<i>Pythian VI</i> inscr., <i>Pythian VI</i> prae 1, <i>Pythian VI</i> prae 5, <i>Isthmian II</i> inscr. a
Midas of Acragas	24th	<i>Pythian XII</i> inscr., <i>Pythian XII</i> prae 8
Midas of Acragas	25th	<i>Pythian XII</i> inscr. <i>Pythian XII</i> prae 8
Megacles of Athens	25th	<i>Pythian VIII</i> inscr. a
Ergoteles of Cnossos	25th and/or 29th	<i>Olympian XII</i> inscr. a, <i>Olympian XII</i> inscr. b
Hieron of Syracuse	26th	<i>Pythian I</i> metr., <i>Pythian III</i> inscr. a, <i>Pythian III</i> inscr. b, <i>Pythian III</i> scholion 130
Hieron of Syracuse	27th	<i>Pythian I</i> metr., <i>Pythian III</i> inscr. a, <i>Pythian III</i> inscr. b, <i>Pythian III</i> 130
Thrasydaos of Thebes	28th	<i>Pythian XI</i> inscr. a, <i>Pythian XI</i> prae 6
Telesicrates of Cyrene	28th	<i>Pythian IX</i> inscr. a, <i>Pythian IX</i> inscr. b, <i>Pythian IX</i> prae 1
Hieron of Syracuse	29th	<i>Pythian I</i> metr.
Telesicrates of Cyrene	30th	<i>Pythian IX</i> inscr. a, <i>Pythian IX</i> inscr. b, <i>Pythian IX</i> prae 1
Epharmostos of Opous	30th and/or 33rd	<i>Olympian IX</i> 17a, <i>Olympian IX</i> 18b
Arcesilas of Cyrene	31st	<i>Pythian IV</i> inscr. a, <i>Pythian IV</i> inscr. b, <i>Pythian IV</i> prae 1, <i>Pythian V</i> inscr., <i>Pythian VI</i> inscr., <i>Pythian V</i> prae 1, <i>Pythian VI</i> prae 5
Thrasydaos of Thebes	33rd	<i>Pythian XI</i> inscr. a, <i>Pythian XI</i> inscr. b, <i>Pythian XI</i> prae 6
Aristomenes of Aegina	35th	<i>Pythian VIII</i> inscr., <i>Pythian VIII</i> prae 1

θεμιστεύει πᾶσιν ἐπιμελῶς. εἴτα ἔρχεται ἐπὶ τὸ μαντεῖον, ἐν ᾧ πρώτη Νύξ ἐχρησμάδησεν, εἴτα Θέμις. Πύθωνος δὲ τότε κυριεύσαντος τοῦ προφητικοῦ τρίποδος, ἐν ᾧ πρῶτος Διόνυσος ἐθεμίστευσε, [----] καὶ ἀποκτείνας τὸν ὄφιν τὸν Πύθωνα ἀγωνίζεται τὸν Πυθικὸν ἀγῶνα κατὰ ἐβδόμην ἡμέραν· πείραν μὲν, ὅτι ἀππειράθη τῆς μάχης τῆς πρὸς τὸ θηρίον· ἱαμβὸν δὲ διὰ τὴν λοιδορίαν τὴν γενομένην αὐτῷ πρὸ τῆς μάχης· λέγεται γὰρ ἱαμβίζειν τὸ λοιδορεῖν· δάκτυλον δὲ ἀπὸ Διονύσου, ὅτι πρῶτος οὗτος δοκεῖ ἀπὸ τοῦ τρίποδος θεμιστεῦσαι· Κρητικὸν δὲ ἀπὸ Διός· μητρώον δέ, ὅτι Γῆς τὸ μαντεῖόν ἐστι· σύριγμα δὲ διὰ τὸν τοῦ ὄφεως συριγμόν. οὕτω μὲν οὖν κατέστη πρῶτον ὁ τῶν Πυθίων ἀγών. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Κρίσης κτισθείσης ἐπὶ τῶν στενῶν τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς Δελφούς ἀγούσης ὁδοῦ, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν Κρισαίων ἐργαζομένων ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἑλλήνας καὶ ἀποσουλύντων τοὺς ἐπὶ τὸ χρηστήριον βαδίζοντας, οἱ Ἀμφικτύονες ἔλόντες τὴν Κρίσαν μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων καὶ κύριοι αὐτῶν γενόμενοι διέθηκαν ἕτερον ἀγῶνα, ἐν ᾧ καὶ αὐλῆται ἠγωνίσαντο. οἱ δὲ τὸν γυμνικὸν ἀγῶνα νίκησαντὲς εἰσιν οἶδε, ὅτε Ἀπόλλων ἔθηκε Πύθια, ἐν τῷ τοῦ Πύθωνος ἀγῶνι· Κάστωρ στάδιον, πύξ Πολυδεύκης, δολιχὸν Κάλαις, ὀπλίτην Ζήτης, δίσκον Πηλεὺς, πάλην Τελαμών, παγκράτιον Ἡρακλῆς· οὓς τῷ φυτῷ τῆς δάφνης ἐστεφάνωσεν.

Pindar *Pythian* hypothesis b:

ἄλλως: ἡ ὑπόθεσις τῶν Πυθίων. Εὐρύλοχος ὁ Θεσσαλὸς καταπολεμήσας Κιρραίους ἀνεκτέησατο τὸν ἀγῶνα τοῦ θεοῦ· οἱ δὲ Κιρραῖοι ληστρικῇ ἐφόδῳ χρώμενοι ἐφόνευσαν τοὺς παραβάλλοντας εἰς τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ. περιεγένετο δὲ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησι μὲν Σιμωνίδου, Δελφοῖς δὲ Γυλίδᾳ. οἱ μὲν οὖν Κιρραῖοι εἰς τὴν παρακειμένην τῷ Παρνασσῷ Κίρφιν ὄρος ἀπέφυγον, ὅσοι δὲ καὶ περιλειφθέντες ἐτύγχανον. καταλιπὼν δὲ ὁ Εὐρύλοχος ἐνίους τῶν Θεσσαλῶν μετὰ Ἰππία τοῦ στρατηγοῦ. ὥστε τοὺς ὑπολοίπους χειρώσασθαι, ᾧχετο ἀνακτησόμενος τὸν ἀγῶνα, καὶ δὴ τοῦτον χρηματίτην μόνον ἔθετο. μετὰ δὲ χρόνον ἐξαετῇ καταγωνισαμένων τῶν μετὰ τοῦ Ἰππία τοὺς ὑπολειμμένους τῶν Κιρραίων, ἐπὶ μὲν Ἀθήνησιν ἄρχοντος Δαμασίου, ἐν δὲ Δελφοῖς Διοδώρου, ὕστερον καὶ στεφανίτην ἔθεντο κατορθώσαντες. τὸν δὲ Εὐρύλοχον νέον ἐκάλουν Ἀχιλλέα, ὡς Εὐφορίων ἱστορεῖ· ὀπλοτέρου τ' Ἀχιλλῆος ἀκούομεν Εὐρυλόχοιο, Δελφίδες ᾧ ὑπο καλὸν Ἰήϊον ἀντιβόησαν <Κρίσαν> πορθήσαντι, Λυκωρέος οἰκία Φοίβου. μόνων δὲ κιθαρωδῶν ἀγωνιζομένων τὸ παλαιὸν ἐποίησεν ὁ Εὐρύλοχος καὶ τὰ ἕτερα ὑπάρχειν ἀγωνίσματα.

Pindar *Pythian* hypothesis c:

ἄλλως: τὰ Πύθια ἐτέθη, ὡς μὲν τινες ἐπὶ τῷ δράκοντι, ὃν φύλακα ὄντα τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς μαντείου ὁ Ἀπόλλων ἐκτείνει· ἐκλήθη δὲ ὁ ἀγὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ τόπου· τῷ δὲ τόπῳ ἦν τὸ ὄνομα Πυθῶ ἥτοι ἀπὸ τοῦ τοὺς φοιτῶντας ἐπὶ τὸ μαντεῖον τοῦ θεοῦ πυνθάνεσθαι ἢ διὰ τὸ σαπῆναι τὸ θηρίον αὐτόθι

ἀναιρεθέν. πύθεσθαι γάρ ἐστι τὸ σήπεσθαι, ὡς παρ' Ὀμήρῳ· λευκ' ὅστέα πύθεται ὄμβρω. καθαρθεὶς δὲ Ἀπόλλων τὸν τῆς δρακοντοκτονίας φόνον ἐν Κρήτῃ παρὰ Χρυσοθέμιδι ἐκέιθεν ἤλθεν εἰς τὰ Θεσσαλικά τέμπη, ἔνθεν μετεκομίσσατο τὴν δάφνην. μέχρι δὲ πολλοῦ ἢ εἰς τοὺς τῶν νικῶντων στεφάνους χωροῦσα δάφνη ἐντεῦθεν ἐκομίζετο ὑπὸ παιδὸς ἀμφιθαλοῦς. ἐτελεῖτο δὲ ὁ ἀγὼν καταρχὰς μὲν διὰ ἐνναετηρίδος, [ἐκτίσαν δὲ τὸν ἀγῶνα οἱ Ἀμφικτύονες Εὐρυλόχου τοῦ Θεσσαλοῦ θέντος αὐτόν,] μετέστη δὲ εἰς πενταετηρίδα [----] διὰ τὸ τὰς Παρνασίδας νύμφας Ἀπόλλωνι κτείναντι τὸ θηρίον τὰς ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ὁπώρας προσενεγκεῖν δῶρα.

Pindar *Pythian* hypothesis d:

ἄλλως· τὸν Πυθικὸν ἀγῶνα διέθηκεν Εὐρύλοχος ὁ Θεσσαλὸς σὺν τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσι τοὺς Κιρραίους καταπολεμήσας ὤμους τινας ὄντας καὶ βιαζομένους τοὺς περιοίκους, ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Δελφοῖς μὲν Γυλίδα, Ἀθήνησι δὲ Σίμωνος. καὶ νικήσας ἔθετο χρηματικὸν ἀγῶνα· χρήμασι γὰρ μόνοις τοὺς νικήσαντας ἐτίμων, οὐπὼ στεφάνου ὄντος. ἔθετο δὲ ἀγῶνα κιθαρωδικὸν ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον, προσέθηκε δὲ αὐλητὴν καὶ αὐλῶδόν· καὶ τοῦ τῶν Ἀμφικτύωνων στρατεύματος ἀναχωρήσαντος ὀλίγοι περιελείφθησαν, ὥστε τὴν Κίρφιν διαπορθῆσαι· ἡγεῖτο δὲ τῶν περιλειφθέντων Ἰππίας ὁ Θεσσαλός. καὶ ἔτει ἕκτω μετὰ τὴν τῆς Κίρρας ἄλωσιν ἀνεκήρυξαν τῷ θεῷ τὸν στεφανίτην, ἐπὶ Διοδώρου μὲν ἄρχοντος Δελφοῖς, Ἀθήνησι δὲ Δαμάσιδος. ἀντίκειται δὲ ἐκ μεσημβρίας τῷ ὄρει τοῦ Παρνασοῦ Κιρραῖον πεδίον καὶ ὄρος, ὃ Κίρφιν καλοῦσιν, ἐν ᾧ μέσος ὁ Πλείστος φέρεται ποταμός. καὶ ὅτι Εὐρύλοχος ὁ Θεσσαλὸς τοὺς Κιρραίους ἐπόρθησε, μαρτυρεῖ καὶ Εὐφορίων· ὀπλοτέρου τ' Ἀχιλλῆος ἀκούομεν Εὐρυλόχοιο.

Pausanias 10.7.1–8.1:

ἔοικε δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων ἐπιβεβουλευσθαι πλείστων ἤδη. οὗτός τε ὁ Εὐβοεὺς ληστής καὶ ἔτεσιν ὕστερον τὸ ἔθνος τὸ Φλεγυῶν, ἔτι δὲ Πύρρος ὁ Ἀχιλλέως ἐπεχείρησεν αὐτῷ, καὶ δυνάμεως μοῖρα τῆς Ξέρξου, καὶ οἱ χρόνον τε ἐπὶ πλείστον καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ θεοῦ τοῖς χρήμασιν ἐπελθόντες οἱ ἐν Φωκεῦσι δυνάσται, καὶ ἡ Γαλατῶν στρατιά. ἔμελλε δὲ ἄρα οὐδὲ τῆς Νέρωνος ἐς πάντα ὀλιγωρίας ἀπειράτως ἔξειν, ὃς τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα πεντακοσίας θεῶν τε ἀναμῖξ ἀφείλετο καὶ ἀνθρώπων εἰκόνας χαλκᾶς. (2) ἀρχαιότατον δὲ ἀγώνισμα γενέσθαι μνημονεύουσι καὶ ἐφ' ᾧ πρῶτον ἄθλα ἔθεσαν, ἔσαι ὕμνον ἐς τὸν θεόν· καὶ ἦσε καὶ ἐνίκησεν ἄδων Χρυσόθεμις ἐκ Κρήτης, οὗ δὴ ὁ πατήρ λέγεται Καρμάνωρ καθῆραι Ἀπόλλωνα. Χρυσοθέμιδος δὲ ὕστερον Φιλάμμωνά τε ᾧ δὴ μνημονεύουσι νικήσαι καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ Θάμυριν τὸν Φιλάμμωνος. Ὀρφέα δὲ σεμνολογίᾳ τῇ ἐπὶ τελεταῖς καὶ ὑπὸ φρονήματος τοῦ ἄλλου καὶ Μουσαῖον τῇ ἐς πάντα μιμήσει τοῦ Ὀρφέως οὐκ ἐθελήσῃ φασιν αὐτοὺς (3) ἐπὶ ἀγῶνι μουσικῆς ἐξετάζεσθαι. φασὶ δὲ καὶ Ἐλευθῆρα ἀνελέσθαι Πυθικὴν νίκην μέγα

καὶ ἡδὺ φωνοῦντα, ἐπεὶ ᾔδειν γε αὐτὸν οὐχ αὐτοῦ τὴν ᾠδὴν. λέγεται δὲ καὶ Ἡσίοδον ἀπελαθῆναι τοῦ ἀγωνίσματος ἅτε οὐ κιθαρίζειν ὁμοῦ τῇ ᾠδῇ δεδιδραγμένον. Ὅμηρος δὲ ἀφίκετο μὲν ἐς Δελφούς ἐρησόμενος ὁπόσα καὶ ἔδειτο, ἔμελλε δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ κιθαρίζειν διδασκέντι ἀχρεῖον τὸ μάθημα ὑπὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν τῆς συμφορᾶς γενήσεσθαι. (4) τῆς δὲ τεσσαρακοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος καὶ ὀγδόης, ἣν Γλαυκίας ὁ Κροτωνιάτης ἐνίκησε, ταύτης ἔτει τρίτῳ ἄθλα ἔθεσαν οἱ Ἀμφικτύονες κιθαρωδίας μὲν καθὰ καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς, προσέθεσαν δὲ καὶ αὐλωδίας ἀγώνισμα καὶ αὐλῶν· ἀνηγορεύθησαν δὲ νικῶντες Κεφαλὴν τε Μελάμπους κιθαρωδίᾳ καὶ αὐλωδὸς Ἀρκὰς Ἐχέμβροτος, Σακάδας δὲ Ἀργεῖος ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐλοῖς· ἀνείλετο δὲ ὁ Σακάδας οὗτος καὶ ἄλλας δύο τὰς ἐφεξῆς ταύτης πυθιάδας (5). ἔθεσαν δὲ καὶ ἄθλα τότε ἀθληταῖς πρῶτον, τὰ τε ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ πλὴν τεθρίππου καὶ αὐτοὶ νομοθετήσαντες δολίχου καὶ διαύλου παισὶν εἶναι δρόμον. δευτέρᾳ δὲ πυθιάδι οὐκ ἐπὶ ἄθλοις ἐκάλεσαν ἔτι ἀγωνίζεσθαι, στεφανίτην δὲ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἀπὸ τούτου κατεστήσαντο· καὶ αὐλωδίαν <τό>τε κατέλυσαν, καταγνόντες οὐκ εἶναι τὸ ἄκουσμα εὐφημον· ἡ γὰρ αὐλωδία μέλη τε ἦν αὐλῶν τὰ σκυθρωπώτατα καὶ ἔλεγεῖα (6) [καὶ θρῆνοι] προσαδόμενα τοῖς αὐλοῖς. μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι καὶ τοῦ Ἐχεμβρότου τὸ ἀνάθημα, τρίπους χαλκοῦς ἀνατεθεὶς τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ τῷ ἐν Θήβαις· ἐπίγραμμα δὲ ὁ τρίπους εἶχεν· Ἐχέμβροτος Ἀρκὰς θῆκε τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ νικήσας τὸ δ' ἄγαλμ' Ἀμφικτυόνων ἐν ἁέθλοις, Ἑλλῆσι δ' αἰέδων μέλεα καὶ ἔλεγους. κατὰ τοῦτο μὲν τῆς αὐλωδίας ἐπαύσθη τὸ ἀγώνισμα· προσέθεσαν δὲ καὶ ἵππων δρόμον, ἀνηγορεύθη δὲ ἐπὶ (7) τῷ ἄρματι Κλεισθένης ὁ Σικυῶνος τυραννήσας. ὀγδόῃ δὲ πυθιάδι προσενομοθέτησαν κιθαριστὰς τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν κρουμάτων τῶν ἀφώνων· καὶ Τεγεάτης ἐστεφανοῦτο Ἀγέλαος. τρίτῃ δὲ πυθιάδι ἐπὶ ταῖς εἴκοσι προστιθέασιν ὀπλίτην δρόμον· καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ Τιμαίνετος ἐκ Φλιοῦντος ἀνείλετο τὴν δάφνην, Ὀλυμπιάσιν ὕστερον πέντε ἢ Δαμάρετος Ἡραεὺς ἐνίκησεν. ὀγδόῃ δὲ ἐπὶ τεσσαράκοντα πυθιάδι καὶ συνωρίδος εἶναι κατεστήσαντο δρόμον· καὶ Ἐξηκεστίδου Φωκέως ἐνίκησεν ἡ συνωρίς. πέμπτῃ δὲ πυθιάδι ἀπὸ ταύτης πῶλους ἔζευξαν ὑπὸ ἄρματι· καὶ παρέδραμεν Ὀρφώνδα Θηβαίου (8) τέθριππον. παγκράτιον δ' ἐν παισὶ καὶ συνωρίδα τε πῶλων καὶ <πῶλον> κέλῃτα πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν ὕστερον κατεδέξαντο Ἡλείων, τὸ μὲν πρῶτῃ πυθιάδι ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐξήκοντα, καὶ Ἰολαΐδας ἐνίκα Θηβαῖος· διαλιπόντες δὲ ἀπὸ ταύτης μίαν κέλῃτι ἔθεσαν δρόμον πῶλῳ, ἐνάτῃ δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐξήκοντα συνωρίδι πωλικῇ, καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τῷ πῶλῳ τῷ κέλῃτι Λυκόρμας ἀνηγορεύθη Λαρισαῖος, Πτολεμαῖος δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ συνωρίδι Μακεδών· ἔχαιρον γὰρ δὴ Μακεδόνες οἱ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καλούμενοι βασιλεῖς, καθάπερ γε ἦσαν. δάφνης δὲ στέφανος ἐπὶ τῶν Πυθίων τῇ νίκῃ κατ' ἄλλο μὲν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ἔστιν οὐδέν, ὅτι δὲ τῆς Λάδωνος θυγατρὸς Ἀπόλλωνα ἐρασθῆναι κατέσχηκεν ἡ φήμη. (10.8.1) καταστήσασθαι δὲ συνέδριον ἐνταῦθα Ἑλλήνων οἱ μὲν Ἀμφικτύονα τὸν Δευκαλίωνα

νομίζουσι καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τοῖς συνελθοῦσιν ἐπὶ κλησιν Ἀμφικτύονας γενέσθαι, Ἀνδροτίων δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀτθίδι ἔφη συγγραφῇ ὡς τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀφίκοντο ἐς Δελφοὺς παρὰ τῶν προσοικούντων συνεδρεύοντες, καὶ ὀνομασθῆναι μὲν Ἀμφικτίονας τοὺς συνελθόντας, ἐκνικῆσαι δὲ ἀνὰ χρόνον τὸ νῦν σφίσις ὄνομα.

APPENDIX 3.4

POxy II 222

The text given here is based on that found in *FGrH* 415 F1 and F2, with the addition of *POxy* XXIII 2381. Corrections suggested in Moretti 1957 have also been incorporated.

COLUMN 1

[Ξε]νοπίθης Χείος παι^δστάδιον·
 [. . .]κων Ἀργεῖος παι^δπάλην·
 [. . .]φάνης Ἡραεῖς παι^δ πύξ·
 Ἀστ]ύλος Συρακόσιος ὀπλείτην·
 [Δαι]τῶνδα καὶ Ἀρσιλόχου Θηβα[ίων τε^θ · 5
 [Ἀργ]εῖων δημόσιος κέλῃς.

 [ὄξ Σκά]μανδρος Μυτιληναῖος στάδιον·
 [Δά]νδης Ἀρ[γ]εῖ[ο]ς δίαυλον·
 [. . .] [[. . .] Λ[ά]κων δόλιχον·
 [.] Ταραντῖνος πεντα^θ· 10
 [.] Μα]ρωεῖτης πάλην·
 [Εὐ]θυμος Λο]κρὸς ἀπ' Ἰταλίας πύξ·
 [Θεο]γένης Θ]άσιος παγκράτιον·
 [.] Λ]άκων παι^δστάδιον·
 [Θεο]γέντος Αἰγ]ινῆτης παι^δπάλην· 15
 [Ἀγ]η.σί[δα]μος Λοκρὸς ἀπ' Ἰταλίας παι^δ πύξ·
 [. . . .]υρος Συρακόσιος ὀπλείτ' ὁ κρατις (?) [.]ᾱ·
 [Θήρ]ωνος Ἀκραγαντίνου τεθρ' ·
 [Ἰέρ]ωνος Συρακοσίου κέλῃς.

 [ὄξ Δάν]δης Ἀργεῖος στάδιον· 20
 [. . .]γῃς Ἐπιδαύριος δίαυλον·
 [Ἐργ]οτέλης Ἰμεραῖος δόλιχον·

[. . .]αμος Μιλήσιος πένταθλον·	
[----]μένης Σάμιος πάλην·	
[Εὔθ]υμος Λοκρὸς ἀπ' Ἰταλίας πύξ·	25
[Κα]λλίας Ἀθηναῖος παγκράτιον·	
[. . .]σανδρίδας Κορίνθιος παιδ ^δ στάδιον·	
[. . .]κρατίδας Ταραντῖνος παιδ ^δ πάλην·	
[Τέλ]λων Μαινάλιος παίδων πύξ·	
[. . .]γιας Ἐπιδάμνιος ὀπλει ^τ δῖς·	30
[Ἀργ]είων δημόσιον τέθριππον·	
[Ἰέρ]ωνος Συρακο[σίου κ]έλης.	
[ὀῆ Π]αρμενίδης[ς Ποσειδ]ωνια ^τ στάδιον·	
[Παρ]μενίδης ὁ [αὐτὸς] δίαυλον·	
[. . .]μήδης Λάκω[ν δό]λιχον·	35
[----]τίων Ταραν[τῖνος] πεντα ^θ ὁ φιλις·	
[Ἐφά]ρμοστος Ὀπο[ύντιος π]άλην·	
[Με]νάκλης Ὀπού[ντιος πύ]ξ·	
[Ἐ]πιτιμάδας Ἀρ[γείος π]αγκράτιον·	
[Λυκ]όφρων Ἀθη[ναῖος παιδ ^δ] στάδιον·	40
[. . .]ημος Παρράσ[ιος παιδ ^δ πά]λην ἡ καλλίς·	
[. . .]νης Τιρύνθιο[ς παίδων π]ύξ·	
[----]λος Ἀθηναῖ[ος ὀπλείτη]ν·	
[Ἰερ]ωνύμου Συρακο[σίου τέθρι]ππον·	

COLUMN 2

[. . .]νομος [----] [πένταθλον·]	
Λεοντίσ[κος Μεσσήνιος ἀπὸ Σικελίας πάλην·]	
Ἀνθρωπ[ος ---- πύξ·]	
Τιμάνθ[ης Κλεωναῖος παγκράτιον·]	
[Ἰκαδίων] (?) [--- παιδ ^δ στάδιον·]	5
Φρύνιχ[ος Ἀθηναῖος (?) παιδ ^δ πάλην·]	
Ἀλκ(αί)ν[ετος Λεπρεάτης παιδ ^δ πύξ·]	
Μ.νασέ[ας Κυρηναῖος ὀπλείτην·]	
Διακτο[ρίδου Λάκωνος (?) τέθριππον·]	
Αἰγία ν.α[---- κέλης.]	10
π̄β̄ Λύκω[ν Λαρισαῖος στάδιον·]	
ΕὔΒουλο[ς ---- δίαυλον·]	
Ἰππόβο[τος ---- δόλιχον·]	
Πυθοκλῆ[ς Ἡλεῖος πένταθλον·]	
Λεοντίσκ[ος Μεσσήνιος ἀπὸ Σικελίας πάλην·]	15

Ἀρίστων [Ἐπιδαύριος πύξ·]	
Δαμάγητ[ος Πόδιος παγκράτιον·]	
Λάχων Κε[ῖος παι ^δ στάδιον·]	
Κλεόδωρο[ς ---- παι ^δ πάλην·]	
Ἀπολλόδω[ρος ---- παι ^δ πύξ·]	20
Λύκος Θεσσα[λὸς ὀπλείτην·]	
Ψαυμῖος Καμ[αριναίου τέθριππον·]	
Πύθωνος ι[---- κέλης·]	
π̄ γ̄ Κρίσων Ἰμ[εραῖος στάδιον·]	
Εὐκλείδης Ρ[όδιος δίαυλον·]	25
Αἰγείδας Κρή[ς δόλιχον·]	
Κήτων Λοκρ[ὸς πένταθλον·]	
Κίμων Ἀργ[εῖος πάλην·]	
Ἀγησίλαος Ρ[όδιος πύξ·]	
Δαμάγητος Ρ[όδιος παγκράτιον·]	30
Λαχαρίδας Α[---- παι ^δ στάδιον·]	
Πολύνικος [Θεσπιεὺς παι ^δ πάλην]	
Ἀρίστων Α[---- παι ^δ πύξ·]	
Λυκεῖνος Λ[---- ὀπλείτην·]	

POxy XXIII 2381 is almost certainly a fragment from farther down in Column 2; it reads as follows:

ῥ̄ ξ̄
 Ε]ὐπόλεμος Ἥλειος στάδιον
 Κ]ρωκίνας Θεσσαλὸς ἀπὸ Λαρίῃ(ης) δίαυλ(ον)
 [----]ώνιος Κρής δόλιχον
 [----].οξ. Κορίνθος π.άλ[ην]
 [----].υ[.]ος πύξ
 [----].ν.αν[----]

APPENDIX 3.5

IG II² 2326

The text given here is the newly edited version found in Ebert 1997b (with the uncertain restorations Ebert offered for ll. 14–15 omitted). There is good reason to think that this inscription is a copy of part of the Aristotelian *Olympionikai*. See Section 3.5 of the main text for further discussion.

[ὄγδοῇ καὶ τριακοστῇ ἐτέθῃ]	a
[(τῇ δὲ ἑξῆς πάλιν κατελύθη)]	b
[παῖδων πένταθλον, καὶ ἐνίκα]	c
Εὐτελίδας Λ[ακεδαιμόνιος].	i
μιᾷ καὶ τε[σσαρακοστῇ ἐτέθῃ]	
παίδων πυγμή, κ[αὶ ἐνίκα]	
Φιλύτας Συβαρί[της].	
[π]έμπτῃ καὶ ἑξηκ[οστῇ]	5
[ἐ]τέθῃ ὀπλίτ[η]ς, κ[αὶ] ἐνίκα]	
[Δ]ημάρα[τ]ος, Ἡρα[ιεύς].	
[τ]ρίτῃ καὶ ἑνεν[ηκοστῇ]	
ἐτέθῃ συνωρίς, καὶ [ἐνίκα Εὐαγόρας Ἥλειος].	
[ἐ]νάτῃ καὶ ἑνεν[ηκοστῇ]	10
[ἐ]τέθῃ πώλων ἀβόλ[ων ἄρμα],	
[καὶ] ἐνίκα Εὐρυβιά[δης Λακεδαιμόνιος].	
[. . .]ῃς Ὀλυμπιάδο[----]	
[4 or 5 letters]ς οἶδε νενικήκ[ασιν].	
[δευτέ]ραι καὶ εἰκ[οστῇ] Ἑλλήνων]	15
[πρώτ]ος Παντακλ[ῆς Ἀθηναῖος στάδιον]	
[καὶ δί]αυλον ἐν μ[ιᾷ ἡμέρῃ].	

APPENDIX 4. I

THE EUSEBIAN OLYMPIC VICTOR LIST

The text given here is based on the critical edition by Paul Christesen and Zara Martirosova-Torlone in *Traditio* 61 (2006). (Due to format differences, the line numeration of the text as published in *Traditio* and that published here are, unfortunately, not identical.)

Ἐνταῦθά μοι δοκεῖ καλῶς ἔχειν καὶ τὰς παρ' Ἑλλήσιν ἀναγραφομένας Ὀλυμπιάδας ἐπισυνάψαι τῷ λόγῳ.

In the Armenian version, this sentence is followed by an indented title, “Olympiads of the Greeks,” and the phrase “First Olympiad, in which
5 Kowr'ibos of Elis won the *stadion*.” The Greek version moves directly from λόγῳ to Ἀπὸ.

Ἀπὸ γὰρ τούτων τὰ τῆς Ἑλλήνων χρονογραφίας, ἀκριβοῦς ἀναγραφῆς τετευχέναι δοκεῖ· τὰ πρὸ αὐτῶν, ὡς ἐκάστω φίλον ἦν, ἀπεφῆναντο·

Περὶ τῆς θέσεως [τ]οῦ ἀγῶνος [τ]ῶν Ὀλυμπίων.

- 10 The Armenian version adds the following gloss after the word for Ὀλυμπίων: “which is a collection of contests.”

[Ο]λίγα δὲ ἀναγκαῖον περὶ τοῦ ἀγῶνος εἰπεῖν, ὥς οἱ μὲν πορρωτάτῳ τοῖς χρόνοις τὴν θέσιν αὐτοῦ προάγοντες πρὸ Ἡρακλέους αὐτὸν τεθῆναι φασιν, ὑπὸ ἑνὸς τῶν Ἰδαίων Δακτύλων· εἴτα ὑπὸ Ἀεθλίου ἐπὶ διαπεῖρα τῶν αὐτοῦ
15 παίδων· ἀφ' οὗ καὶ οἱ ἀγωνισταὶ ἀθληταὶ ἐκλήθησαν·

The Armenian version contains the following gloss after the word for ἀθληταί: “that is, opponents.”

μεθ' ὃν τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Ἐπειόν· εἴτα Ἐνδυμίωνα, ἐξῆς δὲ Ἀλεξῖνον, εἴτα Ὀινόμαον προστῆναι τῆς θυσίας· μεθ' ὃν Πέλοπα εἰς τιμὴν τῷ πατρίῳ

- 20 Διὶ ἀγαγεῖν· εἴθ' Ἡρακλέα τὸν Ἀλκμήνης καὶ Διός, ἀφ' οὗ γενεὰς δέκα
 τυγχάνειν, οἱ δὲ τὰς τελείας τρεῖς φασιν [Ὀλυμπιάδας] ἐπὶ Ἰφίτον τὸν
 ἀνανεωσάμενον τὸν ἀγῶνα. Τοῦτον γὰρ Ἡλεῖον ὄντα, καὶ προνοούμενον
 τῆς Ἑλλάδος, βουλόμενόν τε παῦσαι πολέμων τὰς πόλεις, ἐκ Πελοπον-
 νήσου πάσης στείλαι θεωροὺς τοὺς πεισομένους περὶ ἀπαλλαγῆς τῶν
 25 κατεχόντων πολέμων· τὸν δὲ θεὸν τοῖς μὲν Πελοποννησίοις χρῆσαι ταῦτα·

Ὡς Πελοποννήσου ναέται, περὶ βωμὸν ἰόντες

Θύετε καὶ πείθεσθε τὰ κεν μάντις ἐνέπωσιν.

Ἡλεῖοι πρόπολοι, πατέρων νόμον ἰθύνοντες.

[τ]οῖς δὲ Ἡλείοις τάδε προαγορεῦσαι·

- 30 [Τ]ὴν αὐτῶν ῥύεσθε πάτραν, πολέμου δ' ἀπέχεσθε,
 Κοινοδίκου φιλίας ἡγούμενοι Ἑλλήνεσσι,
 [εὐτ' ἂν πενταετῆς] ἔλθῃ φιλόφρων ἐνιαυτός.

Τούτου χάριν Ἰφίτος ἀπήγγειλε τὴν ἐκεχειρίαν [ἐπὶ ἡμερῶν τροπῆς
 ὠρίσθαι ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους· καὶ χεῖρας ἀλλήλους οὐκέτι ἐπέφερον] καὶ τὸν

- 35 ἀγῶνα ἐπετέλεσε σὺν Λυκούργῳ τῷ Λακεδαιμονίῳ συγγενεῖ τυγχάνοντι·
 ἀμφότεροι γὰρ ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους. καὶ τότε μόνον ἦν σταδίου ὁ ἀγών·
 ὕστερον δὲ τὰ ἄλλα ἄθλα κατὰ μέρος προσετέθη.

Ἱστοροῦσι δὲ οἱ περὶ Ἀριστοδήμον τὸν Ἡλεῖον, ὡς ἀπ' εἰκοστῆς καὶ ἐβδόμης
 Ὀλυμπιάδος [ἐξ Ἰφίτου ἀγῶνος] ἦρξαντο οἱ ἀθληταὶ ἀναγράφεσθαι, ὅσοι

- 40 δηλαδὴ νικηφόροι· πρὸ τοῦ γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἀνεγράφη, ἀμελησάντων τῶν
 προτέρων· τῇ δὲ εἰκοστῇ ὀγδόῃ τὸ στάδιον νικῶν Κόροιβος Ἡλεῖος,
 ἀνεγράφη πρῶτος. καὶ ἡ Ὀλυμπιάς αὕτη πρώτη ἐτάχθη· ἀφ' ἧς Ἑλληνες
 ἀριθμοῦσι τοὺς χρόνους. τὰ δ' αὐτὰ τῷ Ἀριστοδήμῳ καὶ Πολύβιῳ
 45 ἱστορεῖ. Καλλίμαχος δὲ δεκατρεῖς Ὀλυμπιάδας ἀπὸ Ἰφίτου παρεῖσθαι φησι
 μὴ ἀναγραφείσας· τῇ δὲ τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτῃ Κόροιβον νικῆσαι. Πολλοὶ δὲ
 λέγουσιν ἀπὸ τῆς ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους τοῦ Ἀλκμήνης τοῦ ἀγῶνος θέσεως ἐπὶ
 τὴν πρώτην ἀριθμουμένην Ὀλυμπιάδα, γενέσθαι ἔτη υνθ'. Ἄγουσι δὲ
 Ἡλεῖοι πενταετηρικὸν τὸν ἀγῶνα, τεσσάρων ἐτῶν μεταξὺ συντελουμένων.

[Ε]λλήνων Ὀλυμπιάδες

- 50 ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἐπὶ τὴν σμζ', καθ' ἣν Ῥωμαίων ἐβασίλευσεν Ἀντωνῖνος
 υἱὸς Σεβήρου.

[Π]ρώτη Ὀλυμπιάς, ἦν ἐνίκα Κόροιβος

Ἡλεῖος στάδιον.

(Olympiad 1,

776 B.C.)

[Τ]οῦτο γὰρ ἡγωνίζοντο ἐπὶ

- 55 Ὀλυμπιάδων ιγ' μόνον.

[Δ]ευτέρα. Ἀντίμαχος Ἡλεῖος

στάδιον. (02, 772)

Ῥώμος καὶ Ῥωμύλος ἐγεννήθησαν.

	[Τ]ρίτη. Ἀνδροκλος Μεσήνιος	στάδιον.	(03, 768)
	[Τ]ετάρτη. Πολυχάρης Μεσήνιος	στάδιον.	(04, 764)
60	[Π]έμπτη. Αἰσχίνης Ἡλείος	στάδιον.	(05, 760)
	[Ε]κτη. Οἰβώτας Δυμαῖος	στάδιον.	(06, 756)
	[Ε]βδόμη. Διοκλῆς Μεσήνιος	στάδιον.	(07, 752)
	Ῥωμύλος Ῥώμην ἔκτισε.		
	[Ο]γδόη. Ἀντικλῆς Μεσήνιος	στάδιον.	(08, 748)
65	[Ε]ννάτη. Ξενοκλῆς Μεσήνιος	στάδιον.	(09, 744)
	[Δ]εκάτη. Δωτάδης Μεσήνιος	στάδιον.	(010, 740)
	[Ε]νδεκάτη. Λεωχάρης Μεσήνιος	στάδιον.	(011, 736)
	[Δ]ωδεκάτη. Ὀξύθεμις Κορωναῖος	στάδιον.	(012, 732)
	[Τ]ρισκαιδεκάτη. Διοκλῆς Κορίνθιος	στάδιον.	(013, 728)
70	[Τ]εσσαρεσκαιδεκάτη. Δέσμων Κορίνθιος	στάδιον.	(014, 724)
	[Π]ροσετέθη καὶ δίαυλος καὶ ἐνίκα Ὑπηνος Ἡλείος.		
	[Π]εντεκαιδεκάτη. Ὅρσιππος Μεγαρεὺς	στάδιον.	(015, 720)
	[Π]ροσετέθη δόλιχος· καὶ γυμνοὶ ἔδραμον· ἐνίκα Ἀκανθος Λάκων.		
75	Ἑκκαιδεκάτη. Πυθαγόρας Λάκων	στάδιον.	(016, 716)
	Ἑπτακαιδεκάτη. Πῶλος Ἐπιδαύριος	στάδιον.	(017, 712)
	Ὀκτωκαιδεκάτη. Τέλλις Σικυνῶνιος	στάδιον.	(018, 708)
	Προσετέθη πάλη, καὶ ἐνίκα Εὐρύβατος Λάκων.		
80	Προσετέθη καὶ πένταθλος, καὶ ἐνίκα Λάμπις Λάκων.		
	Ἐννεακαιδεκάτη. Μένος Μεγαρεὺς	στάδιον.	(019, 704)
	Εἰκοστή. Ἀθηράδας Λάκων	στάδιον.	(020, 700)
85	Εἰκοστή πρώτη. Παντακλῆς Ἀθηναῖος	στάδιον.	(021, 696)
	Εἰκοστή δευτέρα. Ὁ αὐτὸς τὸ δεύτερον.	στάδιον.	(022, 692)
	Εἰκοστή τρίτη. Ἰκάριος Ὑπερησιεὺς	στάδιον.	(023, 688)
	Προσετέθη πυγμὴ καὶ Ὀνομαστὸς Σμυρναῖος ἐνίκα, ὁ καὶ τῇ πυγμῇ νόμους θέμενος.		
90	[Ε]ἰκοστή τετάρτη. Κλεοπτόλεμος Λάκων	στάδιον.	(024, 684)
	[Ε]ἰκοστή πέμπτη. Θάλπις Λάκων	στάδιον.	(025, 680)

	Προσετέθη τέθριππον, καὶ ἐνίκα		
95	Πάγων Θηβαῖος.		
	Εἰκοστή ἕκτη. Καλλισθένης Λάκων	στάδιον.	(026, 676)
	Φιλόμβροτος δὲ Λάκων πένταθλος		
	τρὶσὶν Ὀλυμπιάσιν ἐνίκησε. Κάρνεια		
	ἐτέθη πρῶτον ἐν Λακεδαίμονι		
100	κιθαρωδῶν ἀγών.		
	[Ε]ἰκοστή ἑβδόμη. Εὐρυβος Ἀθηναῖος	στάδιον.	(027, 672)
	[Ε]ἰκοστή ὀγδόη. Χάρμις Λάκων	στάδιον,	(028, 668)
	ὃς σύκοις ξηροῖς ἤσκει.		
	The Armenian version reads, “who		
105	satisfied his needs only with		
	dried figs.”		
	ταύτην ἤξαν Πισαῖοι Ἡλείων		
	ἀσχολουμένων, διὰ τὸν πρὸς		
	Δυμαίους πόλεμον.		
110	[Ε]ἰκοστή ἑννάτη. Χίονις Λάκων, οὗ τὸ		
	ἄλμα ποδῶν ἦν νβ’,	στάδιον.	(029, 664)
	[Τ]ριακοστή. Ὁ αὐτὸς τὸ δεύτερον.		
	Πισαῖοι Ἡλείων ἀποστάντες ταύτην		
	τε ἤξαν, καὶ τὰς ἐξῆς νβ’.		(030, 660)
115	[Τ]ριακοστή πρώτη. Χίονις Λάκων τὸ		
	τρίτον	στάδιον.	(031, 656)
	[Τ]ριακοστή δευτέρα. Κρατῖνος		
	Μεγαρεὺς	στάδιον.	(032, 652)
	ὅτε καὶ πυγμὴν Κομαῖος τρίτος		
120	ἀδελφῶν ἀγωνισάμενος ἐνίκα.		
	[Τ]ριακοστή τρίτη. Γύλις Λάκων	στάδιον.	(033, 648)
	Προσετέθη παγκράτιον καὶ ἐνίκα		
	Λύγδαμις Συρακούσιος		
	ὑπερμεγέθης, ὃς στάδιον ἐξεμέτρησε		
125	τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ ποσὶ, μόνας ἑξακοσίας		
	παραθέσεις ποιησάμενος.		
	Προσετέθη κέλῃς καὶ ἐνίκα Κραξίλας		
	Θεσσαλός.		
	[Τ]ριακοστή τετάρτη. Στόμας Ἀθηναῖος	στάδιον.	(034, 644)

130	[Τ]ριακοστή πέμπτη. Σφαῖρος Λάκων [κ]αὶ δίαυλον Κύλων Ἀθηναῖος ὁ ἐπιθέμενος τυραννίδι.	στάδιον.	(035, 640)
	[Τ]ριακοστή ἔκτη. [Ἀρυτάμας Λάκων [Παγκράτιον] Φρύνων Ἀθηναῖος, ὃς Πιττακῷ μονομαχῶν ἀνηρέθη.	στάδιον.]	(036, 636)
135	[Τ]ριακοστή ἑβδόμη. Εὐρυκλείδας Λάκων Προσετέθη στάδιον παίδων καὶ ἐνίκα Πολυνίκης Ἥλεῖος. Προσετέθη καὶ παίδων πάλη καὶ ἐνίκα Ἰπποσθένης Λάκων, ὃς διαλιπὼν μίαν τὰς ἑξῆς πέντε Ὀλυμπιάδας ἀνδρῶν πάλην ἐνίκησε.	στάδιον.	(037, 632)
140	[Τ]ριακοστή ὀγδόη. Ὀλυνθεὺς Λάκων Προσετέθη παίδων πένταθλος καὶ ἡγωνίσαντο τότε μόνον· ἐνίκα Δευτελίδας Λάκων.	στάδιον.	(038, 628)
145	[Τ]ριακοστή ἐννάτη. Ριψόλαος Λάκων [Τ]εσσαρακοστή. Ὀλυνθεὺς Λάκων τὸ δεύτερον.	στάδιον.	(039, 624) (040, 620)
150	[Τ]εσσαρακοστή πρώτη. Κλεώνδας Θηβαῖος Προσετέθη παίδων πυγμὴ καὶ ἐνίκα Φιλώτας Συβαρίτης. Τεσσαρακοστή δευτέρα. Λυκώτας Λάκων	στάδιον.	(041, 616)
155	[Τ]εσσαρακοστή τρίτη. Κλέων Ἐπιδαύριος Τεσσαρακοστή τετάρτη. Γέλων Λάκων Τεσσαρακοστή πέμπτη. Ἀντικράτης Ἐπιδαύριος	στάδιον. στάδιον.	(042, 612) (043, 608) (044, 604)
160	Τεσσαρακοστή ἕκτη. Χρυσάμαξος Λάκων καὶ Πολυμνήστωρ Μιλήσιος παίδων στάδιον· ὃς αἰπολῶν λαγῶν κατέλαβε.	στάδιον.	(045, 600) (046, 596)
165			

	Τεσσαρακοστή ἑβδόμη. Εὐρυκλῆς Λάκων	στάδιον.	(047, 592)
	Τεσσαρακοστή ὀγδόη. Γλύκων		
	Κροτωνιάτης	στάδιον.	(048, 588)
170	Πυθαγόρας Σάμιος ἐκκριθεὶς παίδων πυγμῆν, καὶ ὥς θῆλυς χλευαζόμενος, προβάς εἰς τοὺς ἄνδρας, ἅπαντας ἐξῆς ἐνίκησε.		
	Τεσσαρακοστή ἑννάτη. Λυκῖνος		
	Κροτωνιάτης	στάδιον.	(049, 584)
175	Πεντηκοστή. Ἐπιτελίδας Λάκων, οἱ ἑπτὰ σοφοὶ ὠνομάσθησαν,	στάδιον.	(050, 580)
	Πεντηκοστή πρώτη. Ἐρατοσθένης		
	Κροτωνιάτης	στάδιον.	(051, 576)
	Πεντηκοστή δευτέρα. Ἄγις Ἡλεῖος	στάδιον.	(052, 572)
180	Πεντηκοστή τρίτη. Ἄγνων Πεπαρήθιος	στάδιον.	(053, 568)
	Πεντηκοστή τετάρτη. Ἰππόστρατος		
	Κροτωνιάτης	στάδιον.	(054, 564)
185	Ἀρχίων Φιγαλεὺς τὸ τρίτον νικῶν παγκράτιον ψιλῶθεις ἀπέθανε, καὶ νεκρὸς ἐστέφθη, φθάσαντος ἀπείπασθαι τοῦ ἀνταγωνιστοῦ, κλωμένου αὐτῷ τοῦ ποδὸς ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου.		
	Πεντηκοστή πέμπτη. Ἰππόστρατος ὁ αὐτὸς τὸ δεύτερον.		(055, 560)
190	Ὅτε Κύρος ἐβασίλευσε Περσῶν.		
	Πεντηκοστή ἕκτη. Φαῖδρος Φαρσάλιος	στάδιον.	(056, 556)
	Πεντηκοστή ἑβδόμη. Λάδρομος Λάκων	στάδιον.	(057, 552)
	Πεντηκοστή ὀγδόη. Διόγνητος		
195	Κροτωνιάτης	στάδιον.	(058, 548)
	Πεντηκοστή ἑννάτη. Ἀρχίλοχος		
	Κερκυραῖος	στάδιον.	(059, 544)
	Ἐξηκοστή. Ἀπελλαῖος Ἡλεῖος	στάδιον.	(060, 540)
	Ἐξηκοστή πρώτη. Ἀγάθαρχος		
200	Κερκυραῖος	στάδιον.	(061, 536)
	Ἐξηκοστή δευτέρα. Ἐρυξίας Χαλκιδεὺς	στάδιον.	(062, 532)

	Μίλων Κροτωνιάτης πάλην· ὃς νικᾷ Ὀλύμπια ἑξάκις, Πύθια ἑξάκις, Ἰσθμια δεκάκις, Νέμεα ἑννάκις.		
205	Ἐξηκοστή τρίτη. Παρμενίδης Καμαριναῖος	στάδιον.	(063, 528)
	Ἐξηκοστή τετάρτη. Μένανδρος Θεσσαλεύς	στάδιον.	(064, 524)
	Ἐξηκοστή πέμπτη. Ἀνοχᾶς Ταραντῖνος	στάδιον.	(065, 520)
210	Προσετέθη ὀπλίτης, καὶ ἐνίκα Δαμάρητος Ἡραιεύς.		
	Ἐξηκοστή ἕκτη. Ἰσχυρὸς ἡμεραῖος	στάδιον.	(066, 516)
	Ἐξηκοστή ἑβδόμη. Φανάς Πελληνεύς· πρῶτος ἐτρίσσευσεν, στάδιον, δίαιλον, ὄπλον.		(067, 512)
215	The Armenian version adds the following gloss on the word for <i>hoplon</i> : “this is a competition in which the contestants carry weapons.”		
220	Ἐξηκοστή ὀγδόη. Ἰσόμαχος Κροτωνιάτης	στάδιον.	(068, 508)
	Ἐξηκοστή ἑννάτη. Ὁ αὐτὸς τὸ δεύτερον.		(069, 504)
	Ἐβδομηκοστή. Νικασίας Ὀπούντιος	στάδιον.	(070, 500)
225	Ἐβδομηκοστή πρώτη. Τισικράτης Κροτωνιάτης	στάδιον.	(071, 496)
	Ἐβδομηκοστή δευτέρα. Ὁ αὐτὸς τὸ δεύτερον.		(072, 492)
	Ἐβδομηκοστή τρίτη. Ἀστύαλος Κροτωνιάτης	στάδιον.	(073, 488)
230	Ἐβδομηκοστή τετάρτη. Ὁ αὐτὸς τὸ δεύτερον.		(074, 484)
	Ἐβδομηκοστή πέμπτη. Ὁ αὐτὸς τὸ τρίτον.		(075, 480)
235	Ἐβδομηκοστή ἕκτη. Σκάμανδρος Μιτυληναῖος	στάδιον.	(076, 476)
	Ἐβδομηκοστή ἑβδόμη. Δάνδης Ἀργεῖος	στάδιον.	(077, 472)

	Ἑβδομηκοστή ὀγδὴ. Παρμενίδης Ποσειδωνιάτης	στάδιον.	(078, 468)
240	Ἑβδομηκοστή ἑνάτη. Ξενοφῶν Κορίνθιος	στάδιον.	(079, 464)
	Ὀγδοηκοστή. Τορύμμας Θεσσαλὸς Πάλην Ἀμυσινᾶς βαρκαῖος, ὃς βουκολῶν ταύρω ἐγυμνάζετο· ὃν καὶ εἰς Πίσαν ἀγαγὼν συνεγυμνάσθη.	στάδιον.	(080, 460)
245	Ὀγδοηκοστή πρώτη. Πολύμναστος Κυρηναῖος	στάδιον.	(081, 456)
	Ὀγδοηκοστή δευτέρα. Λύκος Λαρισσαῖος	στάδιον.	(082, 452)
250	Ὀγδοηκοστή τρίτη. Κρίσσων Ἰμεραῖος	στάδιον.	(083, 448)
	Ὀγδοηκοστή τετάρτη. Ὁ αὐτὸς τὸ δεύτερον.		(084, 444)
255	Ὀγδοηκοστή πέμπτη. Ὁ αὐτὸς τὸ τρίτον.		(085, 440)
	Ὀγδοηκοστή ἕκτη. Θεόπομπος Θεσσαλὸς	στάδιον.	(086, 436)
260	Ὀγδοηκοστή ἑβδόμη. Σώφρων Ἀμβρακιώτης, ἐν ᾧ ὁ Πελοποννησιακὸς πόλεμος συνεκροτήθη,	στάδιον.	(087, 432)
	Ὀγδοηκοστή ὀγδὴ. Σύμμαχος Μεσσηνίος	στάδιον.	(088, 428)
265	Ὀγδοηκοστή ἑνάτη. Ὁ αὐτὸς τὸ δεύτερον.		(089, 424)
	Ἐννεηκοστή. Ὑπέρβιος Συρακούσιος	στάδιον.	(090, 420)
	Ἐννεηκοστή πρώτη. Ἐξάγεντος Ἀκραγαντῖνος	στάδιον.	(091, 416)
270	Ἐννεηκοστή δευτέρα. Ὁ αὐτὸς τὸ δεύτερον.		(092, 412)
	Ἐννεηκοστή τρίτη. Εὐβάτος Κυρναῖος	στάδιον.	(093, 408)

	παγκράτιον Πολύδαμας		
275	Σκοτουσσαῖος ὑπερμεγέθης, ὃς ἐν Πέρσαις παρὰ Ὠχῶ γενόμενος λέοντας ἀνήρει, καὶ ὥπλισμένους γυμνὸς κατηγωνίσατο· ἴστη δὲ καὶ ἄρματα ἐλαυνόμενα κατὰ κράτος.		
280	Προσετέθη συνωρίς καὶ ἐνίκα Εὐαγόρας Ἡλεῖος. Ἐννενηκοστή τετάρτη. Κροκίνας Λαρισσαῖος	στάδιον.	(094, 404)
	Ἐννενηκοστή πέμπτη. Μίνων Ἀθηναῖος	στάδιον.	(095, 400)
285	Ἐννενηκοστή ἕκτη. Εὐπόλεμος Ἡλεῖος Προσετέθη σαλπικκτής, καὶ ἐνίκα Τίμαιος Ἡλεῖος. Προσετέθη καὶ κῆρυξ, καὶ ἐνίκα Κράτης Ἡλεῖος.	στάδιον.	(096, 396)
290	Ἐννενηκοστή ἑβδόμη. Τεριναῖος Ἡλεῖος Ἐννενηκοστή ὀγδόη. Σώσιππος Δελφὸς Ἀριστόδημος Ἡλεῖος πάλην· οὐ μέσα οὐδεὶς ἔλαβεν.	στάδιον.	(097, 392)
	Ἐννενηκοστή ἑνάτη. Δίκων Συρακούσιος	στάδιον.	(098, 388)
295	Προσετέθη τέθριππον πωλικόν, καὶ ἐνίκα Εὐρύβατος Λάκων· Ἐκατοστή. Διονυσόδωρος Ταραντῖνος Ἐκατοστή πρώτη. Δάμων Θούριος Ἐκατοστή δευτέρα. Ὁ αὐτὸς τὸ δεύτερον.	στάδιον.	(099, 384)
300	Ἐκατοστή τρίτη. Πυθόστρατος Ἐφέσιος Ἐκατοστή τετάρτη. Φωκίδης Ἀθηναῖος Αὕτη ὑπὸ Πισαίων ἐτέθη.	στάδιον.	(0100, 380)
	Ἐκατοστή πέμπτη. Πῶρος Κυρηναῖος	στάδιον.	(0101, 376)
305	Ἐκατοστή ἕκτη. Ὁ αὐτὸς τὸ δεύτερον. Ἐκατοστή ἑβδόμη. Μικρίνας Ταραντῖνος Ἐκατοστή ὀγδόη. Πολυκλῆς Κυρηναῖος Ἐκατοστή ἑνάτη. Ἀριστόλοχος Ἀθηναῖος	στάδιον.	(0102, 372)
		[στάδιον].	(0103, 368)
			(0104, 364)
		στάδιον.	(0105, 360)
			(0106, 356)
		στάδιον.	(0107, 352)
		στάδιον.	(0108, 348)
		στάδιον.	(0109, 344)

- 310** The entry for the 110th Olympiad is missing from the Greek manuscript and the lacuna is not noted in the manuscript (the entry for the 109th Olympiad comes at the end of folio 207r, while the entry for the 111th Olympiad begins folio 207v). The Armenian version gives the name of the *stadion* victor as Anikhghēs of Athens, Diodorus (16.77.1) and POxy I 12 give the more proper form of the name, Ἀντικλῆς Ἀθηναῖος.
- Ἐκατοστή ἑνδεκάτη. Κλεόμαντις
Κλειτόριος στάδιον. (O111, 336)
- Ἐκατοστή δωδεκάτη. Εὐρύλας Χαλκιδεύς στάδιον. (O112, 332)
- 320** Ἀλέξανδρος βαβυλῶνα κατέσχε,
Δαρεῖον καθελὼν.
Ἐκατοστή τρισκαιδεκάτη. Κλίτων
Μακεδῶν στάδιον. (O113, 328)
- Ἀγεὺς Ἀργεῖος δολιχόν, ὃς ἐν Ἀργεῖ
325 τὴν ἑαυτοῦ νίκην αὐθημερόν
ἀνήγγειλεν.
Ἐκατοστή 18'. Μικίνας Ρόδιος στάδιον. (O114, 324)
- Ἀλέξανδρος ἐτελεύτησε· μεθ' ὃν εἰς
πολλοὺς διαιρεθείσης τῆς ἀρχῆς,
330 Αἰγύπτου καὶ Ἀλεξανδρείας
ἐβασίλευσε Πτολεμαῖος.
Ἐκατοστή 19'. Δαμασῖας Ἀμφιπολίτης στάδιον. (O115, 320)
- Ἐκατοστή 19'. Δημοσθένης Λάκων στάδιον. (O116, 316)
- Ἐκατοστή 19'. Παρμενίδης Μιτυληναῖος στάδιον. (O117, 312)
- 335** Ἐκατοστή 19'. Ἀνδρομένης Κορίνθιος στάδιον. (O118, 308)
- Ἀντήνωρ Ἀθηναῖος ἢ Μιλήσιος,
παγκράτιον, ἀκονιτί, περιοδονίκης
ἄλειπτος ἐν ταῖς τρισὶν ἡλικίαις.
Ἐκατοστή 19'. Ἀνδρομένης Κορίνθιος στάδιον. (O119, 304)
- 340** Ἐκατοστή 19'. Πυθαγόρας Μάγνης στάδιον. (O120, 300)
- The Armenian version gives the name
of the town as Magnesia-on-
Maeander.
- Πάλην Κερᾶς Ἀργεῖος, ὃς χηλὰς
345 ἀπέσπα βοός.

	Ἑκατοστή κα'. Πυθαγόρας τὸ δεύτερον.		(0121, 296)
	Ἑκατοστή κβ'. Ἀντίγονος Μακεδῶν	στάδιον.	(0122, 292)
	Ἑκατοστή κγ'. Ὁ αὐτὸς τὸ δεύτερον.		(0123, 288)
	Ἑκατοστή κδ'. Φιλόμηλος Φαρσάλιος	στάδιον.	(0124, 284)
350	Ἑκατοστή κέ'. Λάδας Αἰγίεϋς	στάδιον.	(0125, 280)
	Ἑκατοστή κς'. Ἰδαῖος ἢ Νικάτωρ Κυρηναῖος	στάδιον.	(0126, 276)
	Ἑκατοστή κζ'. Περιγένης Ἀλεξανδρεϋς	στάδιον.	(0127, 272)
	Ἑκατοστή κη'. Σέλευκος Μακεδῶν	στάδιον.	(0128, 268)
355	Ἑκατοστή κθ'. Φιλῖνος Κῶος	στάδιον.	(0129, 264)
	The Armenian version has the additional following text: “The chariot race for two colts was added, and P'ighistiak'os the son of Maketos won.”		
360	Ἑκατοστή λ'. Ὁ αὐτὸς τὸ δεύτερον.		(0130, 260)
	Ἑκατοστή λα'. Ἀμμώνιος Ἀλεξανδρεϋς	στάδιον.	(0131, 256)
	The Armenian version has the additional following text: “The race for colts was added, and Ippokratēs son of T'essaghos won.”		
365	Ἑκατοστή λβ'. Ξενοφάνης Αἰτωλὸς	στάδιον.	(0132, 252)
	The Armenian version gives the name of the town as Amphissa in Aetolia.		
370	Ἑκατοστή λγ'. Σιμύλος Νεαπολίτης	στάδιον.	(0133, 248)
	Πάρθοι Μακεδόνων ἀπέστησαν, καὶ πρῶτος ἐβασίλευσεν Ἀρσάκης, ὅθεν Ἀρσακίδαι.		
	Ἑκατοστή λδ'. Ἀλκίδας Λάκων	στάδιον.	(0134, 244)
375	Ἑκατοστή λε'. Ἐράτων Αἰτωλὸς πυγμὴν Κλεόξενος Ἀλεξανδρεϋς περιοδονίκης ἀτραυματίστος.	στάδιον.	(0135, 240)
	Ἑκατοστή λς'. Πυθοκλῆς Σικυώνιος	στάδιον.	(0136, 236)
	Ἑκατοστή λζ'. Μενεσθεύς βαρκυλίτης	στάδιον.	(0137, 232)
380	Ἑκατοστή λη'. Δημήτριος Ἀλεξανδρεϋς	στάδιον.	(0138, 228)
	Ἑκατοστή λθ'. Ἰολαΐδας Ἀργεῖος	στάδιον.	(0139, 224)

	Ἑκατοστή μ'. Ζώπυρος Συρακούσιος	στάδιον.	(0140, 220)
	Ἑκατοστή μα'. Δωρόθεος Ῥόδιος	στάδιον.	(0141, 216)
	Ἑκατοστή μβ'. Κράτης Ἀλεξανδρεὺς	στάδιον.	(0142, 212)
385	Κάπρος Ἡλείος πάλην καὶ παγκράτιον ἐνίκα μεθ' Ἡρακλέα καὶ ἀναγράφεται δεύτερος ἂφ' Ἡρακλέους.		
	Ἑκατοστή μγ'. Ἡράκλειτος Σάμιος	στάδιον.	(0143, 208)
390	Ἑκατοστή μδ'. Ἡρακλείδης Σαλαμίνιος The Armenian version gives the name of the town as Salamis on the island of Cyprus.	στάδιον.	(0144, 204)
	Ἑκατοστή μέ'. Πυρρίας Αἰτωλὸς	στάδιον.	(0145, 200)
395	παίδων πυγμὴν Μόσχος Κολοφώνιος· [ὃς] μόνος [ἐνίκα] παιδικὴν περίοδον. Προσετέθη παίδων παγκράτιον καὶ ἐνίκα Φαίδιμος Ἀλεξανδρεὺς.		
400	The Armenian version adds the following gloss on the word for <i>pankration</i> : “which is a combination of wrestling contests.”		
	Ἑκατοστή μς'. Μικίων βοιώτιος	στάδιον.	(0146, 196)
405	Ἑκατοστή μζ'. Ἀγέμαχος Κυζικηνὸς πάλην Κλειτόστρατος Ῥόδιος· ὃς τραχηλίζων ἀπελάμβανεν.	στάδιον.	(0147, 192)
	Ἑκατοστή μη'. Ἀρκεσίλαος Μεγαλοπολίτης	στάδιον.	(0148, 188)
410	Ἑκατοστή μθ'. Ἰππόστρατος Σελευκεὺς The Armenian version gives the name of the town as Seleuceia in Pieria.	στάδιον.	(0149, 184)
	Ἑκατοστή ν'. Ὀνησίκριτος Σαλαμίνιος	στάδιον.	(0150, 180)
415	Ἑκατοστή να'. Θυμίλος Ἀσπένδιος	στάδιον.	(0151, 176)
	Ἑκατοστή νβ'. Δημόκριτος Μεγαρεὺς	στάδιον.	(0152, 172)
	Ἑκατοστή νγ'. Ἀρίστανδρος Λέσβιος	στάδιον.	(0153, 168)

The Armenian version gives the name
of the town as Antissa on Lesbos.

- 420 Ἑκατοστή νδ'. Λεωνίδας Ρόδιος
τριαστής στάδιον. (0154, 164)
Ἑκατοστή νε'. Ὁ αὐτὸς τὸ δεύτερον. (0155, 160)
Ἑκατοστή νς'. Ὁ αὐτὸς τὸ τρίτον. (0156, 156)
[Ἀριστομένης] Ρόδιος τρίτος ἄφ'
- 425 Ἡρακλέους πάλην ὁμοῦ καὶ
παγκράτιον.
Ἑκατοστή νζ'. Λεωνίδας τὸ τέταρτον
στάδιον, μόνος δὲ
καὶ πρῶτος ἐπὶ τέσσαρας
- 430 στεφάνους Ὀλυμπιάδας
Ὀλυμπιακοὺς ἔχει δώδεκα. (0157, 152)
Ἑκατοστή νη'. Ὀρθων Συρακούσιος στάδιον. (0158, 148)
Ἑκατοστή νθ'. Ἀλκιμος Κυζικηνὸς στάδιον. (0159, 144)
Ἑκατοστή ξ'. Ἀγνόδωρος Κυζικηνὸς στάδιον. (0160, 140)
- 435 Ἑκατοστή ξα'. Ἀντίπατρος Ἡπειρώτης στάδιον. (0161, 136)
Ἑκατοστή ξβ'. Δάμων Δελφὸς στάδιον. (0162, 132)
Ἑκατοστή ξγ'. Τιμόθεος Τραλλιανὸς στάδιον. (0163, 128)
Ἑκατοστή ξδ'. βοιωτὸς Σικυνῶνιος στάδιον. (0164, 124)
Ἑκατοστή ξε'. Ἀκουσίλαος Κυρηναῖος στάδιον. (0165, 120)
- 440 Ἑκατοστή ξς'. Χρυσόγονος Νικαεὺς στάδιον. (0166, 116)
Ἑκατοστή ξζ'. Ὁ αὐτὸς τὸ δεύτερον. (0167, 112)
Ἑκατοστή ξη'. Νικόμαχος Φιλαδελφεὺς στάδιον. (0168, 108)
Ἑκατοστή ξθ'. Νικόδημος Λακεδαιμόνιος στάδιον. (0169, 104)
Ἑκατοστή ο'. Σιμμία Σελευκεὺς ἀπὸ
- 445 Τίγριος στάδιον. (0170, 100)
Ἑκατοστή οα'. Παρμενίσκος Κερκυραῖος στάδιον. (0171, 96)
Ἑκατοστή οβ'. Εὐδαμος Κῶος στάδιον. (0172, 92)
Πρωτοφάνης Μάγνης πάλην καὶ
παγκράτιον, τέταρτος ἄφ'
- 450 Ἡρακλέους.
The Armenian version gives the name
of the town as Magnesia-on-
Maeander.

Ἐκατοστή ογ'. Παρμενίσκος Κερκυραῖος
 455 τὸ δεύτερον στάδιον. (O173, 88)

The entry for the 174th Olympiad is missing from the Greek manuscript and the lacuna is not noted in the manuscript; the Armenian version gives the name of the *stadion* victor as Dēmōstratos of Larisa.

460 Ἐκατοστή οε'. στάδιον παίδων.
 Ἐπαινετός Ἀργεῖος (O175, 80)
 ἄνδρες γὰρ οὐκ ἠγωνίσαντο, Σύλλα
 πάντας εἰς Πώμην μεταπεμψαμένον.

Ἐκατοστή ος'. Δίων Κυπαρισσεύς στάδιον. (O176, 76)
 465 Ἐκατοστή οζ'. Ἐκατόμνωσ Ἥλεῖος στάδιον. (O177, 72)
 Ἐκατοστή οη'. Διοκλῆς Ὑπεττηνὸς στάδιον. (O178, 68)

Στρατόνικος Κορράγου Ἀλεξανδρεὺς,
 πάλην καὶ παγκράτιον πέμπτος
 ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους· ὃς Νεμέα τῇ αὐτῇ
 470 ἡμέρᾳ παίδων καὶ ἀγενείων
 τέσσαρας στεφάνους ἔσχεν.

The Armenian version has the following additional text after the word for ἔσχεν: “entering the gymnastic competitions, not having a horse.

475 But that also happened to be ascribed to the influence of his friends or of the kings. Therefore, the events that transpired were not considered to be valid as well.”

480 Ἐκατοστή οθ'. Ἀνδρέας Λακεδαιμόνιος στάδιον. (O179, 64)
 Ἐκατοστή π'. Ἀνδρόμαχος Ἀμβρακιώτης στάδιον. (O180, 60)
 Ἐκατοστή πα'. Λάμαχος Ταυρομενίτης στάδιον. (O181, 56)
 Ἐκατοστή πβ'. Ἀνθεστίων Ἀργεῖος στάδιον. (O182, 52)

485 Μαρίων Μαρίωνος Ἀλεξανδρεὺς
 πάλην καὶ παγκράτιον ἔκτος ἀφ'
 Ἡρακλέους.

	Ἑκατοστή πγ'. Θεόδωρος Μεσήνιος	στάδιον.	(0183, 48)
	Ίούλιος Καῖσαρ ἑμονάρχησε		
490	Ῥωμαίων.		
	Ἑκατοστή πδ'. Ὁ αὐτὸς τὸ δεύτερον.		(0184, 44)
	Αὐγουστος Ῥωμαίων ἐβασίλευε.		
	Ἑκατοστή πε'. Ἀρίστων Θούριος	στάδιον.	(0185, 40)
	Ἑκατοστή πς'. Σκάμανδρος		
495	Ἀλεξανδρεὺς	στάδιον.	(0186, 36)
	The Armenian version gives the name of the town as Alexandria Troas.		
	Ἑκατοστή πζ'. Ἀρίστων Θούριος	στάδιον.	(0187, 32)
500	Ἑκατοστή πη'. Σώπατρος Ἀργεῖος	στάδιον.	(0188, 28)
	Ἑκατοστή πθ'. Ἀσκληπιάδης Σιδώνιος	στάδιον.	(0189, 24)
	Ἑκατοστή ς'. Αὐφίδιος Πατρεὺς	στάδιον.	(0190, 20)
	Ἑκατοστή ρα'. Διόδοτος Τυανεὺς	στάδιον.	(0191, 16)
	Ἑκατοστή ρβ'. Διοφάνης Αἰολεὺς	στάδιον.	(0192, 12)
505	Ἑκατοστή ργ'. Ἀρτεμίδωρος		
	Θυατείριος	στάδιον.	(0193, 8 B.C.)
	Ἑκατοστή ρδ'. Δημάρατος Ἐφέσιος	στάδιον.	(0194, 4 B.C.)
	Ἑκατοστή ρε'. Ὁ αὐτὸς τὸ δεύτερον.		(0195, A.D. 1)
	Ἑκατοστή ρς'. Παμμένης Μάγνης		
510	ἀπὸ Μαιάνδρου	στάδιον.	(0196, A.D. 5)
	Ἑκατοστή ρζ'. Ἀσιατικὸς		
	Ἀλικαρνασεὺς	στάδιον.	(0197, 9)
	Ἑκατοστή ρη'. Διοφάνης Προυσαεὺς	στάδιον.	(0198, 13)
	The Armenian version gives the name of the town as Prusa by Mt. Olympus.		
	Ἀριστεάς Στρατονικεὺς ἢ		
	Μαιάνδριος, πάλην καὶ		
	παγκράτιον ἑβδομος ἀφ'		
520	Ἡρακλέους.		
	Τιβέριος Ῥωμαίων ἐβασίλευε.		
	Ἑκατοστή ϑθ'. Αἰσχίνης Μιλήσιος ὁ		
	Γλαυκίας	στάδιον.	(0199, 17)

	Ἀπεδόθη τῶν ἵππων ὁ δρόμος		
525	πάλαι κωλυθεῖς, καὶ ἐνίκα Τιβερίου Καίσαρος τέθριππον.		
	Διακοσιοστή. Πολέμων Πετραῖος	στάδιον.	(0200, 21)
	Διακοσιοστή πρώτη. Δαμασίας Κυδωνιάτης	στάδιον.	(0201, 25)
530	Διακοσιοστή δευτέρα. Ἑρμογένης Περγαμηνὸς	στάδιον.	(0202, 29)
	Διακοσιοστή τρίτη. Ἀπολλώνιος Ἐπιδαύριος	στάδιον.	(0203, 33)
535	Διακοσιοστή τετάρτη. Σαραπίων Ἀλεξανδρεὺς	στάδιον.	(0204, 37)
	[Νεικό]στρατος Αἰγεάτης πάλην καὶ παγκράτιον ὄγδοος ἀφ’ Ἡρακλέους ἔτι, παραβραβεύοντων τῶν Ἡλείων		
540	τοὺς δυναμένους.		
	The corresponding entry in the Armenian version reads as follows: “Nikostratis of Argos (won) the pankration, the eighth from Herakghēs to do so. There were no more from Herakghēs after him up to our time, because the Eleans would not crown any, even if the athletes were capable.		
545			
550	Gayos was emperor of the Romans.”		
	Διακοσιοστή εἰς. Εὐβουλίδας Λαοδικεὺς	στάδιον.	(0205, 41)
	Κλαύδιος Ῥωμαίων ἐβασίλευε.		
555	Διακοσιοστή ἕκτη. Οὐαλέριος Μιτυληναῖος	στάδιον.	(0206, 45)
	Διακοσιοστή ζ΄. Ἀθηνόδωρος Αἰγιεὺς	στάδιον.	(0207, 49)
	Διακοσιοστή η΄. Ὁ αὐτὸς τὸ δεύτερον.		(0208, 53)
560	Νέρων Ῥωμαίων ἐβασίλευε.		

	Διακοσιοστή θ'. Καλλικλῆς Σιδώνιος	στάδιον.	(0209, 57)
	Διακοσιοστή ι'. Ἀθηνόδωρος Αἰγιεὺς τὸ [τρίτον].	στάδιον.	(0210, 61)
565	Διακοσιοστή ια'. Οὐκ ἤχθη, Νέρωνος ἀναβαλλομένου εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἐπιδημίαν. μετὰ δὲ ἔτη δύο ἀχθείσης αὐτῆς, στάδιον μὲν Τρύφων Φιλαδελφεὺς ἐνίκᾳ, Νέρων δὲ κηρύκων ἀγῶνα		(0211, 65)
570	ἔστεφανοῦτο, τραγῳδοὺς, κιθαρῳδοὺς, ἄρμα πωλικόν, καὶ τέλειον καὶ δεκάπωλον.		
575	The Armenian version lists Nero as the winner not in the herald contest (κηρύκων ἀγῶνα) but in the <i>kithara</i> contest.		
	Διακοσιοστή ιβ'. Πολίτης Κεραμίτης	στάδιον.	(0212, 69)
	Οὐεσπασιανὸς Ῥωμαίων ἐβασίλευε.		
580	Διακοσιοστή ιγ'. Ῥόδων Κυμαῖος, ἡ Θεόδοτος,	στάδιον.	(0213, 73)
	Διακοσιοστή ιδ'. Στράτων Ἀλεξανδρεὺς	στάδιον.	(0214, 77)
	Τίτος Ῥωμαίων ἐβασίλευε.		
585	Διακοσιοστή ιε'. Ἑρμογένης Ξάνθιος	στάδιον.	(0215, 81)
	Δομιτιανὸς Ῥωμαίων ἐβασίλευε.		
	Διακοσιοστή ις'. Ἀπολλοφάνης, ὁ καὶ Πάππς, Ταρσεὺς	στάδιον.	(0216, 85)
	Διακοσιοστή ιζ'. Ἑρμογένης Ξάνθιος τὸ δεύτερον	στάδιον.	(0217, 89)
590	Διακοσιοστή ιη'. Ἀπολλώνης Ἀλεξανδρεὺς ἡ Ἡλιόδωρος	στάδιον.	(0218, 93)
	Διακοσιοστή ιθ'. Στέφανος Καππὰδοξ	στάδιον.	(0219, 97)
595	Νερούας Ῥωμαίων ἐβασίλευε, μεθ' ὄν [Τραϊανός].		

	Διακοσιοστή κ'. Ἀχιλλεύς Ἀλεξανδρεὺς	[στάδιον].	(0220, 101)
	Διακοσιοστή κα'. Θεωνᾶς, ὁ καὶ Σμάραγδος, Ἀλεξανδρεὺς	στάδιον.	(0221, 105)
600	Διακοσιοστή κβ'. Κάλλιστος Σιδήτης	στάδιον.	(0222, 109)
	The Armenian version has the additional following text: “Horse races were held again.”		
605	Διακοσιοστή κγ'. Εὐσταλός Σιδήτης	στάδιον.	(0223, 113)
	Διακοσιοστή κδ'. Ἰσαρίων Ἀλεξανδρεὺς	στάδιον.	(0224, 117)
	Ἀδριανὸς Ῥωμαίων ἐβασίλευε.		
610	Διακοσιοστή κέ'. Ἀριστέας Μιλήσιος	στάδιον.	(0225, 121)
	Διακοσιοστή κς'. Διονύσιος, ὁ [καὶ] Σαμευμύς, Ἀλεξανδρεὺς	στάδιον.	(0226, 125)
	Διακοσιοστή κζ'. Ὁ αὐτὸς τὸ δεύτερον.		(0227, 129)
615	Διακοσιοστή κη'. Λουκάς Ἀλεξανδρεὺς	στάδιον.	(0228, 133)
	Διακοσιοστή κθ'. Ἐπίδauρος ὁ καὶ Ἀμμώνιος, Ἀλεξανδρεὺς	στάδιον.	(0229, 137)
620	Ἀντωνῖνος Εὐσεβῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐβασίλευε.		
	Διακοσιοστή λ'. Δίδυμος Ἀλεξανδρεὺς	στάδιον.	(0230, 141)
	The Armenian version gives the name of the victor as Didimos Kghidevs Aghēk'sandrats'i (Didymos Klideus of Alexandria).		
625	Διακοσιοστή λα'. Κραναὸς Σικυώνιος	στάδιον.	(0231, 145)

	Διακοσιοστή λβ'. Ἀττικὸς Σαρδιανὸς Σωκράτης πάλην καὶ παγκράτιον ἀπογραφάμενος, ὑπὸ Ἡλείων παρεβραβεύθη ὑπὲρ Διονυσίου Σελευκέως.	στάδιον.	(0232, 149)
635	Διακοσιοστή λγ'. Δημήτριος Χῖος Διακοσιοστή λδ'. Ἡρᾶς Χῖος Διακοσιοστή λε'. Μνασίβουλος Ἐλατεὺς	στάδιον. στάδιον. στάδιον.	(0233, 153) (0234, 157) (0235, 161)
640	Ἄντωνῖνος Μάρκος Πίος καὶ Λούκιος βῆρος Ῥωμαίων ἐβασίλευον. Διακοσιοστή λς'. Αἰιθαλῆς Ἀλεξανδρεὺς		
645	Διακοσιοστή λζ'. Εὐδαίμων Ἀλεξανδρεὺς Διακοσιοστή λη'. Ἀγαθόπους Αἰγινήτης Διακοσιοστή λθ'. Ὁ αὐτὸς τὸ δεύτερον.	στάδιον. στάδιον. στάδιον.	(0236, 165) (0237, 169) (0238, 173) (0239, 177)
650	Κόμοδος Ῥωμαίων ἐβασίλευεν. Διακοσιοστή μ'. Ἄνουβίων ὁ καὶ Φεῖδος, Ἀλεξανδρεὺς	στάδιον.	(0240, 181)
655	Διακοσιοστή μα'. Ἡρῶν Ἀλεξανδρεὺς Διακοσιοστή μβ'. Μάγνος Κυρηναῖος The Armenian version gives the name of the victor as Magnos Libian Kiwrenats'i (Magnus Libicus of Cyrene).	στάδιον. στάδιον.	(0241, 185) (0242, 189)
660	Διακοσιοστή μγ'. Ἰσίδωρος Ἀλεξανδρεὺς Περτίναξ, εἴτα Σεβῆρος, Ῥωμαίων ἐβασίλευσαν. Διακοσιοστή μδ'. Ὁ αὐτὸς τὸ δεύτερον.	στάδιον.	(0243, 193) (0244, 197)

	Διακοσιοστή με'. Ἀλέξανδρος		
	Ἀλεξανδρεὺς	στάδιον.	(0245, 201)
	Διακοσιοστή μς'. Ἐπίνικος		
	Κυζικηνός, ὁ καὶ Κυνᾶς,	στάδιον.	(0246, 205)
670	Διακοσιοστή μζ'. Σατορνίλος Κρής		
	Γορτύνιος	στάδιον.	(0247, 209)
	Ἀντωνῖνος, ὁ καὶ Καράκαλλος,		
	Ῥωμαίων ἐβασίλευε.		
	Διακοσιοστή μη'. Ἡλιόδωρος, ὁ καὶ		
675	Τρωσιδάμας, Ἀλεξανδρεὺς	στάδιον.	(0248, 213)
	Διακοσιοστή μθ'. Ὁ αὐτὸς τὸ		
	δεύτερον. τέλος.		(0249, 217)

680 Μέχρι τούτου τὴν τῶν Ὀλυμπιάδων ἀναγραφὴν εὗρομεν. καὶ ὁ μὲν Εὐσέβιος ταῦτα. Ἄλλοι δὲ χρονογράφοι καὶ Δέξιππος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος καὶ τῶν ἐφεξῆς Ὀλυμπιάδων τῶν τε ἐν αὐταῖς νικησάντων μέμνηται. Ἀμέλει τὴν χρονικὴν ἱστορίαν ὁ Δέξιππος μέχρι τῆς διακοστῆς ἐξηκοστῆς δευτέρας Ὀλυμπιάδος συγγράψας, Διονύσιον Ἀλεξανδρέα φησὶν ἐπὶ ταύτης νικῆσαι.

685 Ἐπειδὴ πολλοὺς τῶν ἐνδόξων ἀθλητῶν ἢ παρατέθεισα τῶν Ὀλυμπιάδων ἀναγραφὴ ἀμνημονεύτους καταλέλοιπεν, ὀλίγους ἐκ πολλῶν ἐροῦμεν. καὶ Τίτορμος μὲν ὁ κατὰ τοὺς καιροὺς ἀκμάσας Μίλωνος τοῦ ἀθλητοῦ, ἀθλητῆς μὲν οὐκ ἐγένετο, βουκόλος δὲ. πειραθεὶς δὲ τούτου τὴν ῥωμὴν ὁ Μίλων, καὶ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν θαυμάσας ἀνέκραγε· τοῦτο δὴ τὸ καὶ εἰς π[αροιμίαν] ἐλθόν· “ἄλλος οὗτος Ἡρακλῆς.”

690 [Γ]λαῦκος δὲ ὁ Καρύστιος πύκτης ἦν, τὴν ἀλκὴν ἀνυπόστατος· καὶ Κλεομήδης ὁ Ἀστυπαιαεὺς, εἰς ὃν ὁ χρησμὸς
ὕστατος ἡρώων Κλεομήδης Ἀστυπαιαεὺς.

695 ἀήττητος δὲ πύκτης καὶ Ἄρειος ὁ Αἰγύπτιος. Στράτων δὲ ὁ Κορράγου Ὀλυμπιάσιν ἐνίκησε πάλιν ὁμοῦ καὶ παγκράτιον, καὶ τῇ ἐξῆς Ὀλυμπιάδι· ὁμοίως καὶ ἐν Νεμέᾳ δέ, καὶ Πυθοῖ καὶ Ἰσθοῖ.

[Ε]ὔθυμος ὁ Λοκρὸς πύκτης ἦν διὰ ῥώμην σώματος εἰς ὑπερβολὴν θαυμαζόμενος.

700 [Ε]ὐρύδαμας ὁ Κυρηναῖος πύκτης ἐξεκρούσθη [μὲν] ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀνταγωνιστοῦ τοὺς ὁδόντας, ἐνίκησε δὲ καταπιὼν αὐτούς, ἵνα μὴ αἰσθηται ὁ ἀντίπαλος.

[Δ]ιώξιππος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἀθλητὴς ἐπιδειξιν ποιούμενος Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ τῆς ἰδίας ἀλκῆς, τὴν ἐσθῆτα ἀποδύς, καὶ προχειρισάμενος ῥόπαλον, Μακεδόνα τινὰ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν μετὰ πανοπλίας αὐτῷ ἐπιόντα, καὶ τὸ δόρυ ἐπικραδαίνοντα, γυμνὸς κατέβαλεν ἐκ προκλήσεως.

705 Κλειτόμαχος ὁ Θηβαῖος πύκτης θαυμάζεται μὲν ἐπὶ ῥώμῃ ὡς ἄμαχος, θαυμάζεται δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ σωφροσύνης ἀσκήσει. οὐδὲ γὰρ μέχρι ψιλῆς ἀκοῆς ἀφροδισίων ἠνείχετο· ἐρωτικῶν δὲ λόγων ἐν συμποσίοις ἐμβαλλομένων, ἢ ἀλλաχοῦ, εὐθὺς ἀνιστάμενος ἀπηλλάττετο. ἐποίει δὲ τοῦτο, ἵνα μὴ ἡττηθέντι αὐτῷ ποτὲ τῶν ἀφροδισίων, ἢ τῆς ῥώμης ἀκμὴ ταχὺ μαρανθῇ.

[Φ]αύλλου τοῦ ἐκ Κρότωνος ἀθλητοῦ, πεντήκοντα καὶ δύο ποδῶν εἶναι τὸ πῆδημα λέγεται. οὗτος μόνος ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐπὶ τῶν Μηδικῶν, ἰδιοστολῷ τριῆρει τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἐβοήθησεν.

715 Μελαγκόμας ὁ πύκτης κάλλιστός τε καὶ μέγιστος ἦν· οὗ καὶ τὸν Τίτον φασὶν ἐρασθῆναι τὸν αὐτοκράτορα. οὗτος οὐδένα πώποτε τρώσας, οὐδὲ πατάξας, μονῇ τῇ στάσει, καὶ τῇ τῶν χειρῶν ἀνατάσει πάντας ἀπέκτεινε τοὺς ἀντιπαλοὺς.

720 [Α]ὐρήλιος Ἐλιξ ὁ ἀθλητὴς ἐπὶ Σεβήρου τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος γεγωνάς, τοσοῦτο τοὺς ἀνταγωνιστὰς ὑπερῆρεν, ὥστε πάλιν ὁμοῦ καὶ παγκράτιον ἀγωνίσασθαι ἐν γε τῇ Ῥώμῃ, οἱ γὰρ Ἥλαιοι φθονήσαντες αὐτῷ, οὐδὲ ἐκάλεσαν εἰς τὸ στάδιον παλαιστὴν οὐδένα, καὶ ἐνίκησεν ἐκάτερον, ὃ μηδεὶς ἄλλος ἐπεποιήκει ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην δηλονότι ἀγῶσιν. καὶ ἵνα τοὺς πολλοὺς παρῶ, ἀρκεσθῆσομαι μόνῳ Νικοφῶντι τῷ Μιλησίῳ, εἰς ὃν τὸ ἐπίγραμμα:

725 [Τ]αύρου βαθὺν τένοντα, καὶ σιδαρέους
Ἄτλαντος ὤμους, καὶ κόμαν Ἡρακλέους,
σεμνὰν θ' ὑπήναν, καὶ λέοντος ὄμματα
Μιλησίου γίγαντος, οὐ δ' Ὀλύμπιος
Ζεὺς ἀτρόμητος εἶδεν, ἄνδρας ἡνίκα
730 πυγμὰν ἐνίκα Νικοφῶν Ὀλυμπία.

Ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν Θεοδοσίου τοῦ μεγάλου καιρῶν, ὃ ἐκ Φιλαδελφείας τῆς Λυδῶν παλαιστής, Φιλούμενος ὄνομα. οὗτος χαλκοῦν ἀνδριάντος λέγεται πατάξας, εἰς βάθος ἐνιζῆσαι βιάσασθαι τὸν χαλκόν,

735 ἐφ' ᾧ ἀνδριάντα τετυχηκέναι. καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐπιγράμματος, οὗ τὸ ἀκροτελεύτιον.

Χαλκὸς ἐμῆς χειρὸς πολλὸν ἀφαυρότερος.

Καὶ Μεταγένης ὁ Θάσιος μυρίας πυκτεῦσιν ἀνείλετο νίκας· ἦν γὰρ τὴν ῥώμην ἀπρόσμαχος.

APPENDIX 4.2

TIMAEUS OF TAUROMENIUM

FGrH 566 T1 *apud* Suda s.v. Τίμαιος:

Τίμαιος, Ἀνδρομάχου, Ταυρομενεΐτης· ὃν Ἀθηναῖοι Ἐπιτίμαιοι ὠνόμασαν· Φιλίσκου μαθητῆς τοῦ Μιλησίου. παρωνόμαστο δὲ τοῦτο διὰ τὸ πολλὰ ἐπιτιμᾶν, καὶ Γραοσυλλέκτρια δὲ διὰ τὸ τὰ τυχόντα ἀναγράφειν. ἔγραψεν Ἰταλικά καὶ Σικελικά ἐν βιβλίοις <λ>ή, Ἑλληνικά καὶ Σικελικά, Συλλογὴν ρητορικῶν ἀφορμῶν βιβλία ξη΄, Ὀλυμπιονίκας ἥτοι χρονικά πραξίδικα.

F12 *apud* Polybius 12.10.4–11.3:

καίτοι διότι τοῦτ' ἴδιόν ἐστι Τιμαίου καὶ ταύτῃ παρῃμίλληται τοὺς ἄλλους συγγραφέας καὶ καθόλου τῇ δὲ πῃ τῆς ἀποδοχῆς [----] λέγω δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις καὶ ταῖς ἀναγραφαῖς ἐπίφασιν τῆς ἀκριβείας καὶ τὴν περὶ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος ἐπιμέλειαν. . . ὁ γὰρ τὰς συγκρίσεις ποιούμενος ἀνέκαθεν τῶν ἐφόρων πρὸς τοὺς βασιλεῖς τοὺς ἐν Λακεδαίμονι καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας τοὺς Ἀθήνησι καὶ τὰς ἱερείας τὰς ἐν Ἀργεὶ παραβάλλων πρὸς τοὺς ὀλυμπιονίκας, καὶ τὰς ἀμαρτίας τῶν πόλεων περὶ τὰς ἀναγραφὰς τὰς τούτων ἐξελέγχων, παρὰ τρίμηνον ἐχούσας τὸ διαφέρον, οὗτός ἐστι. καὶ μὴν ὁ τὰς ὀπισθοδόμους στήλας καὶ τὰς ἐν ταῖς φλῃαῖς τῶν νεῶν προξενίας ἐξευρηκώς Τιμαίος ἐστιν.

F125 *apud* Censorinus *De Die Natali* 21.1–3 (text from the Teubner edition by Nicolaus Sallmann):

Nunc vero id intervallum temporis tractabo, quod historicon Varro appellat. Hic enim tria discrimina temporum esse tradit: primum ab hominum principio ad cataclysmum priorem, quod propter ignorantiam vocatur adelon, secundum a cataclysmo priore ad olympiadem primam, quod, quia multa in eo fabulosa referuntur, mythicon nominatur, tertium a prima olympiade ad nos, quod dicitur historicon, quia res in eo gestae veris historiis continetur. Primum tempus, sive habuit initium, seu semper fuit, certe quot annorum sit, non potest comprehendere. Secundum non plane quidem scitur, sed tamen ad mille circiter et sescentos annos esse creditur: a priore scilicet

cataclysmo, quem dicunt et Ogygii, ad Inachi regnum annos circiter quadringentos [computarunt, hinc ad excidium Troiae annos octingentos], hinc ad olympiadem primam paulo plus quadringentos; quos solos, quamvis mythici temporis postremos, tamen quia a memoria scriptorum proximos, quidam certius definire voluerunt. Et quidem Sosibius scripsit esse CCCXCV, Eratosthenes autem septem et quadringentos, Timaeus CCCCXVII, Aretes DXIII, et praeterea multi diverse, quorum etiam ipsa dissensio incertum esse declarat.

F126 *apud* Clement of Alexandria *Stromata* 1.139.4:

ἀπὸ τούτου ἐπὶ Εὐαίνετον ἄρχοντα, ἐφ' οὗ φασιν Ἀλέξανδρον εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν διαβῆναι, ὥς μὲν Φανίας ἔτη ἑπτακόσια δεκαπέντε, ὥς δὲ Ἐφορος ἑπτακόσια τριάκοντα πέντε, ὥς δὲ Τίμαιος καὶ Κλείταρχος ὀκτακόσια εἴκοσι, ὥς δὲ Ἐρατοσθένης ἑπτακόσια ἑβδομήκοντα, ὥς δὲ Δοῦρις ἀπὸ Τροίας ἀλώσεως ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου εἰς Ἀσίαν διάβασιν ἔτη χίλια.

F127 *apud* Plutarch *Lycurgus* 1.1–3:

Περὶ Λυκούργου τοῦ νομοθέτου καθόλου μὲν οὐδὲν ἔστιν εἰπεῖν ἀναμφισβήτητον, οὗ γε καὶ γένος καὶ ἀποδημίας καὶ τελευτῆ καὶ πρὸς ἅπασιν ἢ περὶ τοὺς νόμους αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν πραγματεία διαφόρους ἔσχηκεν ἱστορίας, ἥκιστα δὲ οἱ χρόνοι καθ' οὓς γέγονεν ὁ ἀνὴρ ὁμολογοῦνται. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἰφίτω συνακμάσαι καὶ συνδιαθεῖναι τὴν Ὀλυμπιακὴν ἐκχειρίαν λέγουσιν αὐτόν, ὧν ἔστι καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ὁ φιλόσοφος, τεκμήριον προσφέρων τὸν Ὀλυμπίασι δίσκον ἐν ᾧ τοῦνομα τοῦ Λυκούργου διασώζεται καταγεγραμμένον· οἱ δὲ ταῖς διαδοχαῖς τῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ βεβασιλευκότων ἀναλεγόμενοι τὸν χρόνον, ὥσπερ Ἐρατοσθένης καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος, οὐκ ὀλίγοις ἔτεσι πρεσβύτερον ἀποφαίνουσι τῆς πρώτης Ὀλυμπιάδος. Τίμαιος δὲ ὑπονοεῖ, δεῖν ἐν Σπάρτῃ γεγονότων Λυκούργων οὐ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον, τῷ ἐτέρῳ τὰς ἀμφοῖν πράξεις διὰ τὴν δόξαν ἀνακεῖσθαι· καὶ τὸν γε πρεσβύτερον οὐ πόρρω τῶν Ὀμήρου γεγενῆσθαι χρόνων. . . .

F128 *apud* Plutarch *Lycurgus* 31.4:

Τελευτήσαι δὲ τὸν Λυκούργον οἱ μὲν ἐν Κίρρᾳ λέγουσιν, Ἀπολλόθεμις δὲ εἰς Ἥλιν κομισθέντα, Τίμαιος δὲ καὶ Ἀριστόξενος ἐν Κρήτῃ καταβιώσαντα·

APPENDIX 4.3

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

FGrH 251 F1 apud Clement of Alexandria Stromata 1.102.1:

παλαιάτατα δὲ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν τὰ Ἀργολικά, τὰ ἀπὸ Ἰνάχου λέγω, ὡς Διονύσιος ὁ Ἀλικαρνασσεὺς ἐν τοῖς Χρόνοις διδάσκει.

F2 apud Dionysius of Halicarnassus Antiquitates Romanae 1.74.1–75.3:

Τὸν δὲ τελευταῖον γενόμενον τῆς Ῥώμης οἰκισμὸν ἢ κτίσιν ἢ ὅτι δήποτε χρὴ καλεῖν Τίμαιος μὲν ὁ Σικελιώτης οὐκ οἶδ' ὅτῳ κανόνι χρησάμενος ἅμα Καρχηδόνι κτιζομένη γενέσθαι φησὶν ὀγδῶ καὶ τριακοστῷ πρότερον ἔτει τῆς πρώτης Ὀλυμπιάδος. Λεύκιος δὲ Κίγκιος ἀνὴρ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτικοῦ συνεδρίου περὶ τὸ τέταρτον ἔτος τῆς δωδεκάτης Ὀλυμπιάδος. Κόϊντος δὲ Φάβιος κατὰ τὸ πρῶτον (2) ἔτος τῆς ὀγδῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος. Κάτων δὲ Πόρκιος Ἑλληνικὸν μὲν οὐχ ὀρίζει χρόνον, ἐπιμελὴς δὲ γενόμενος, εἰ καὶ τις ἄλλος, περὶ τὴν συναγωγὴν τῆς ἀρχαιολογουμένης ἱστορίας ἔτεσιν ἀποφαίνει δυσὶ καὶ τριάκοντα καὶ τετρακοσίοις ὑστεροῦσαν τῶν Ἰλιακῶν. ὁ δὲ χρόνος οὗτος ἀναμετρηθεὶς ταῖς Ἐρατοσθένους χρονογραφίαις κατὰ τὸ πρῶτον ἔτος πίπτει τῆς ἑβδόμης Ὀλυμπιάδος. ὅτι δὲ εἰσιν οἱ κανόνες ὑγιεῖς, οἷς Ἐρατοσθένης κέχρηται, καὶ πῶς ἂν τις ἀπευθύνῃ τοὺς Ῥωμαίων χρόνους πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλληνικοὺς, ἐν (3) ἐτέρῳ δεδήλωταί μοι λόγῳ. οὐ γὰρ ἡξίου ὡς Πολύβιος ὁ Μεγαλοπολίτης τοσοῦτο μόνον εἰπεῖν, ὅτι κατὰ τὸ δεῦτερον ἔτος τῆς ἑβδόμης Ὀλυμπιάδος τὴν Ῥώμην ἐκτίσθαι πείθομαι, οὐδ' ἐπὶ τοῦ παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσι κειμένου πίνακος ἑνὸς καὶ μόνου τὴν πίστιν ἀβασάνιστον καταλιπεῖν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐπιλογισμούς, οἷς αὐτὸς προσεθέμην, εἰς μέσον ὑπευθύνους τοῖς βουλευθεῖσιν (4) ἑσομένους ἐξενεγκεῖν. ἡ μὲν οὖν ἀκρίβεια ἐν ἐκείνῳ δηλοῦται τῷ λόγῳ, λεχθήσεται δὲ καὶ διὰ τῆσδε τῆς πραγματείας αὐτὰ τἀναγκαιότατα. ἔχει δὲ οὕτως· ἡ Κελτῶν ἔφοδος, καθ' ἣν ἡ Ῥωμαίων πόλις ἐάλω, συμφωνεῖται σχεδὸν ὑπὸ πάντων ἀρχόντος Ἀθήνησι Πυργίωνος γενέσθαι κατὰ τὸ πρῶτον ἔτος τῆς ὀγδῆς καὶ ἑνενηκοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος. ὁ δὲ πρὸ τῆς καταλήψεως χρόνος ἀναγόμενος εἰς Λεύκιον Ἰούνιον Βροῦτον καὶ Λεύκιον Ταρκύνιον Κολλατῖνον τοὺς πρώτους

ὑπατεύσαντας ἐν Ῥώμῃ μετὰ τὴν κατάλυσιν τῶν βασιλέων ἔτη περιείληφεν εἴκοσι πρὸς τοῖς ἑκατόν (5). δηλοῦται δὲ ἐξ ἄλλων τε πολλῶν καὶ τῶν καλουμένων τιμητικῶν ὑπομνημάτων, ἃ διαδέχεται παῖς παρὰ πατρός καὶ περὶ πολλοῦ ποιεῖται τοῖς μεθ' ἑαυτὸν ἑσομένοις ὥσπερ ἱερὰ πατρῶα παραδιδόναι· πολλοὶ δ' εἰσὶν ἀπὸ τῶν τιμητικῶν οἰκῶν ἄνδρες ἐπιφανεῖς οἱ διαφυλάττοντες αὐτά· ἐν οἷς εὕρισκω δευτέρῳ πρότερον ἔτει τῆς Ἰλῶσεως τήμῃσιν [ὑπὸ] τοῦ Ῥωμαίων δήμου γενομένην, ἣ παραγέγραπται καθάπερ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις χρόνος οὗτος· ὑπατεύοντας Λευκίου Οὐαλερίου Ποτίτου καὶ Τίτου Μαλλίου Καπιτωλίνου μετὰ τὴν ἐκβολὴν τῶν βασιλέων ἑνὸς δέοντι (6) εἰκοστῷ καὶ ἑκατοστῷ ἔτει· ὥστε τὴν Κελτικὴν ἔφοδον, ἣν τῷ δευτέρῳ μετὰ τὴν τήμῃσιν ἔτει γενομένην εὕρισκόμεν, ἐκπεπληρωμένων τῶν εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν ἐτῶν γενέσθαι. εἰ δὲ τοῦτο τὸ διάστημα τοῦ χρόνου τριάκοντα ὀλυμπιάδων εὕρίσκεται γενόμενον, ἀνάγκη τοὺς πρώτους ἀποδειχθέντας ὑπάτους ὁμολογεῖν ἄρχοντας Ἀθήνησιν Ἰσαγόρου παρειληφέναι τὴν ἀρχὴν κατὰ τὸ πρῶτον ἔτος τῆς ὀγδῶς καὶ ἐξηκοστῆς ὀλυμπιάδος. (1.75.1) Καὶ μὴν ἀπὸ γε τῆς ἐκβολῆς τῶν βασιλέων ἐπὶ τὸν πρῶτον ἄρξαντα τῆς πόλεως Ῥωμύλον ἀναβιβασθεὶς ὁ χρόνος ἔτη τέτταρα πρὸς <τοῖς> τετταράκοντα καὶ διακοσίοις ἀποτελεῖ. γνωρίζεται δὲ τοῦτο ταῖς διαδοχαῖς τῶν βασιλέων καὶ τοῖς ἔτεσιν, οἷς ἕκαστοι κατέσχον τὴν ἀρχήν. Ῥωμύλος μὲν γὰρ ὁ κτίσας τὴν πόλιν ἑπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα ἔτη λέγεται κατασχεῖν τὴν δυναστείαν· μετὰ δὲ τὸν Ῥωμύλου θάνατον Ἀβασίλευτος ἡ πόλις γενέσθαι χρόνον ἐνιαύσιον. ἔπειτα Νόμας Πομπίλιος (2) αἰρεθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τρία καὶ τετταράκοντα ἔτη βασιλεύσαι. Τύλλος δὲ Ὀστίλιος μετὰ Νόμαν δύο καὶ τριάκοντα. ὁ δ' ἐπὶ τούτῳ βασιλεύσας Ἄγκος Μάρκιος τέτταρα πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσι. μετὰ δὲ Μάρκιον Λεύκιος Ταρκύνιος ὁ κληθεὶς Πρίσκος ὀκτῶ καὶ τριάκοντα. τοῦτον δὲ διαδεξάμενος Σερούϊος Τύλλιος τετταράκοντα καὶ τέτταρα. ὁ Σερούϊον δὲ ἀνελὼν Λεύκιος Ταρκύνιος ὁ τυραννικὸς καὶ διὰ τὴν τοῦ δικαίου ὑπεροψίαν κληθεὶς Σούπερβος ἕως εἰκοστοῦ καὶ πέμπτου προαγαγεῖν (3) τὴν ἀρχήν. τεττάρων δὲ καὶ τετταράκοντα καὶ διακοσίων ἀναπληρουμένων ἐτῶν, ἃ κατέσχον οἱ βασιλεῖς, ὀλυμπιάδων δὲ μιᾶς καὶ ἐξήκοντα πᾶσα ἀνάγκη τὸν πρῶτον ἄρξαντα τῆς πόλεως Ῥωμύλον ἔτει πρώτῳ τῆς ἐβδόμης ὀλυμπιάδος παρειληφέναι τὴν βασιλείαν ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησι τῆς δεκαετίας Χάροπας ἔτος πρῶτον. τοῦτο γὰρ ὁ λογισμὸς τῶν ἐτῶν ἀπαιτεῖ. ὅτι δὲ τοσαῦτα ἕκαστος τῶν βασιλέων ἥρξεν ἔτη δι' ἐκείνου δηλοῦται μοι τοῦ λόγου.

F3 *apud* Clement of Alexandria *Stromata* 1.131.6:

Ξάνθος δὲ ὁ Λυδὸς περὶ τὴν ὀκτωκαιδεκάτην ὀλυμπιάδα (ὡς δὲ Διονύσιος, περὶ τὴν πεντεκαιδεκάτην) Θάσον ἐκτίσθαι, ὡς εἶναι συμφανὲς τὸν Ἀρχιλόχον μετὰ τὴν εἰκοστὴν ἤδη γνωρίζεσθαι ὀλυμπιάδα.

F4 *apud* Suda s.v. Εὐριπίδης, τραγικός:

Εὐριπίδης, τραγικός, τοῦ προτέρου ἀδελφιδοῦς, ὡς Διονύσιος ἐν τοῖς χρονικοῖς. ἔγραψε δὲ Ὀμηρικὴν ἔκδοσιν, εἰ μὴ ἄρα ἑτέρου ἐστὶ. δράματα αὐτοῦ ταῦτα· Ὀρέστης, Μήδεια, Πολυξένη.

F5a *apud* Syncellus *Ecloga Chronographica* 332.4–5:

Οἱ βασιλεῖς Ποντίων ἰκατά τούτους ἦρξαν τοὺς χρόνους διαρκέσαντες ἔτη σιγ'. περὶ ὧν Ἀπολλόδωρος καὶ Διονύσιος ἱστοροῦσι.

F5b *apud* Syncellus *Ecloga Chronographica* 333.17–18:

Οἱ Βιθυνῶν βασιλεῖς ἡ κατὰ Διονύσιον ἐνθεν ἦρξαντο, διαρκέσαντες ἔτη σιγ'.

F6 *apud* Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Antiquitates Romanae* 1.63.1–66.1:

(1.63.1) Περί δὲ τῶν χρόνων ἐν οἷς ἐκτίσθη τὸ Λαουίνιον ἄλλοι μὲν ἄλλως λέγουσιν· ἐμοὶ μέντοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ δευτέρῳ μετὰ τὴν ἔξοδον τὴν ἐκ Τροίας ἔτει φέροντες αὐτὴν εἰκότα μᾶλλον λέγειν. Ἰλίος μὲν γὰρ ἐάλω τελευτῶντος ἤδη τοῦ θέρους, ἑπτακαίδεκα πρότερον ἡμέραις τῆς θερινῆς τροπῆς, ὁγδόῃ φθίνοντος μηνὸς Θαργελιῶνος, ὡς Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς χρόνους ἄγουσι, περιτταὶ δὲ ἦσαν αἱ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκείνον ἐκπληροῦσαι μετὰ τὴν τροπὴν εἴκοσιν ἡμέραι. ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἑπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα ταῖς ἀπὸ τῆς ἀλώσεως διαγενομέναις τὰ τε περὶ τὴν πόλιν οἶμαι διοικήσασθαι τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς καὶ τὰς πρεσβείας ἐπιδέξασθαι τὰς παρὰ τῶν ἀφεστηκότων καὶ τὰ ὄρκια ποιήσασθαι (2) πρὸς αὐτούς· τῷ δ' ἐξῆς ἔτει, πρῶτῳ δὲ μετὰ τὴν ἄλωσιν ὑπὸ τὴν μετοπωρινὴν ἰσημερίαν ἄραντες οἱ Τρώες ἐκ τῆς γῆς περαιοῦνται τὸν Ἑλλησποντον καὶ καταχθέντες εἰς τὴν Θράκην αὐτοῦ διατρίβουσι τὴν χειμερινὴν ὥραν... ἐκ δὲ τῆς Θράκης ἀναστάντες ἕαρος ἀρχομένου τελοῦσι τὸν μεταξὺ πλοῦν ἄχρι Σικελίας· ἐκεῖ δὲ ὀρμισαμένοις αὐτοῖς τὸ ἔτος τοῦτο τελευτᾷ, καὶ διατρίβουσι τὸν δεύτερον χειμῶνα τὰς πόλεις συνοικίζοντες τοῖς (3) Ἑλύμοις ἐν Σικελίᾳ. πλοῖμων δὲ γενομένων ἄραντες ἀπὸ τῆς νήσου περῶσι τὸ Τυρρηνικὸν πέλαγος καὶ τελευτῶντες εἰς Λαρεντὸν ἀφικνοῦνται τὸν Ἀβοριγίνων αἰγιαλὸν μεσοῦσης θερείας. λαβόντες δὲ τὸ χωρίον οἰκίζουσιν ἐν αὐτῷ Λαουίνιον τὸν δεύτερον ἀπὸ τῆς ἀλώσεως ἐκπληρώσαντες ἐνιαυτὸν. καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων ὡς ἔχω δόξης δεδήλωται μοι. (1.64.1) Αἰνείας... τῷ μὲν ἐξῆς ἐνιαυτῷ, τρίτῳ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐξόδου, Τρώων ἐβασίλευσε μόνων· τῷ δὲ τετάρτῳ τελευτήσαντος Λατίνου καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου βασιλείαν παραλαμβάνει... (3) τρία δὲ βασιλεύσας ἔτη μετὰ τὴν Λατίνου τελευτὴν τῷ τετάρτῳ θνήσκει κατὰ πόλεμον... (1.65.1) Αἰνείου δ' ἐξ ἀνθρώπων μεταστάντος ἐβδόμῳ μάλιστα ἔτει μετὰ τὴν Ἰλίου ἄλωσιν Εὐρυλέων παρέλαβε τὴν Λατίνων ἡγεμονίαν ὁ μετονομασθεὶς Ἀσκάνιος ἐν τῇ φυγῇ... (1.66.1) Τριακοστῷ δὲ ὕστερον ἔτι μετὰ τὴν κτίσιν τοῦ Λαουινίου πόλιν ἑτέραν οἰκίζει κατὰ τὸ γενόμενον Αἰνεῖα θέσφατον Ἀσκάνιος ὁ Αἰνείου... ὄνομα τῇ πόλει θέμενος Ἄλβαν.

F7 *apud* Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Antiquitates Romanae* 1.70.1–71.5:

(1.70.1) Ἀσκανίου δὲ ὀγδόῳ καὶ τριακοστῷ ἔτει τῆς βασιλείας τελευτήσαντος παρέλαβε τὴν ἡγεμονίαν Σιλούιος ὁδελφὸς ὦν Ἀσκανίου, μετὰ τὸν Αἰνείου θάνατον γενόμενος ἐκ Λαύνας τῆς Λατίνου θυγατρὸς... (1.71.1) Σιλουίου δ' ἐνὸς δέοντα τριάκοντα ἔτη κατασχόντος τὴν ἀρχὴν Αἰνείας υἱὸς αὐτοῦ διαδεξάμενος τὴν δυναστείαν ἐνὶ πλείῳ τριάκοντα ἔτων ἐβασίλευσεν. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ἐν καὶ πεντήκοντα Λατίνος ἦρξεν ἔτη. Ἄλβας δὲ μετὰ τοῦτον ἐνὸς δέοντα τετταράκοντα ἔτη. μετὰ δὲ Ἄλβαν Κάπετος ἕξ ἐπὶ τοῖς εἴκοσιν. ἔπειτα Κάπυς δυεῖν δέοντα τριάκοντα. μετὰ δὲ Κάπυν Κάλπετος ἄχρι τρισκαίδεκα ἔτων κατέσχε (2) τὴν ἀρχήν. ἑξῆς δὲ Τιβερίνος ὀκταετῇ χρόνον ἐβασίλευσεν... Τιβερίνου δὲ διάδοχος Ἀγρίππας (3) ἐν καὶ τετταράκοντα ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη. μετὰ δὲ Ἀγρίππαν Ἀλλώδιος... ἐνὸς δέοντα εἴκοσιν... (4) Ἀουεντίνος δὲ παρὰ τούτου τὴν δυναστείαν διαδεξάμενος... τριάκοντα καὶ ἑπτὰ ἔτη τὴν ἀρχὴν κατέσχευεν. Πρόκας δὲ μετὰ τοῦτον ἔτη εἴκοσι καὶ τρία. ἔπειτα Ἀμόλιος... δύο καὶ τετταράκοντα ἔτη (5) δυναστεύει. Ἀμόλιου δὲ ἀναιρεθέντος ὑπὸ Ῥωμύλου καὶ Ῥώμου... ἀπολαμβάνει τὴν κατὰ νόμον δυναστείαν Νεμέτωρ ὁ τῶν νεανίσκων μητροπάτωρ. τῷ δ' ἑξῆς ἔτει τῆς Νεμέτορος ἀρχῆς, δευτέρῳ δὲ καὶ τριακοστῷ καὶ τετρακοσιοστῷ μετὰ τὴν Ἰλίου ὄλῳσιν, ἀποικίαν στείλαντες Ἀλβανοὶ Ῥωμύλου καὶ Ῥώμου τὴν ἡγεμονίαν αὐτῆς ἐχόντων κτίζουσι Ῥώμην ἔτους ἑνεστώτος πρώτου τῆς ἐβδόμης ὀλυμπιάδος, ἣν ἐνίκα στάδιον Δαϊκλῆς Μεσσήνιος, ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησι Χάροπος ἔτος τῆς δεκαετίας πρώτου.

F8 *apud* Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Antiquitates Romanae* 2.59.1–5:

(1) Μέχρι μὲν δὴ τούτων οὐδὲν ἀντειπεῖν ἔχω πρὸς τοὺς ἐκδεδωκότας τὴν περὶ τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον ἱστορίαν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἑξῆς ἀπορῶ τί ποτε χρὴ λέγειν. πολλοὶ μὲν γάρ <εἰσιν> οἱ γράψαντες ὅτι Πυθαγόρου μαθητῆς ὁ Νόμας ἐγένετο καὶ καθ' ὃν χρόνον ὑπὸ τῆς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως ἀπεδείχθη βασιλεὺς φιλοσοφῶν ἐν Κρότωνι διέτριβεν, ὁ δὲ χρόνος τῆς Πυθαγόρου (2) ἡλικίας μάχεται πρὸς τὸν λόγον. οὐ γὰρ ὀλίγοις ἔτεσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τέτταρσι γενεαῖς ὅλαις ὕστερος ἐγένετο Πυθαγόρας Νόμα, ὥς ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν παρειλήφμεν ἱστορίων. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκαιδεκάτης ὀλυμπιάδος μεσοῦσης τὴν Ῥωμαίων βασιλείαν παρέλαβε, Πυθαγόρας δὲ μετὰ τὴν πεντηκοστὴν ὀλυμπιάδα (3) διέτριψεν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ. τούτου δ' ἔτι μείζον ἔχω τεκμήριον εἰπεῖν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ συμφωνεῖν τοὺς χρόνους ταῖς παραδεδομέναις ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἱστορίαις, ὅτι καθ' ὃν χρόνον ὁ Νόμας ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐκαλεῖτο ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων οὕτω πόλις ἦν ἡ Κρότων· τέτταρσι γὰρ ὅλοις ὕστερον ἔτεσιν ἢ Νόμαν ἄρξαι Ῥωμαίων Μύσκελος αὐτὴν ἔκτισεν ἐνιαυτῷ τρίτῳ τῆς ἑπτακαιδεκάτης ὀλυμπιάδος. οὔτε δὲ Πυθαγόρα τῷ Σαμίῳ συμφιλοσοφῆσαι τῷ μετὰ τέτταρας ἀκμάσαντι γενεᾷ δυνατὸς ἦν τὸν Νόμαν οὔτ' ἐν Κρότωνι διατρίβειν, ὅτ' αὐτὸν ἐκάλουν ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν Ῥωμαῖοι, τῇ

μήπω τότ' οὔση πόλει. . . . (5) εἰ μή τις ἄρα Πυθαγόραν ἕτερον ὑποθήσεται πρὸ τοῦ Σαμίου γεγονέναι παιδευτὴν σοφίας, ᾧ συνδιέτριψεν ὁ Νόμας. τοῦτο δ' οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ἂν ἀποδείξαι δύναιτο μηδενὸς τῶν ἀξιολόγων μήτε Ῥωμαίου μήθ' Ἑλλήνου, ὅσα καμὲ εἰδέναι, παραδεδωκότος ἐν ἱστορίᾳ.

F9 *apud* Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Antiquitates Romanae* 7.1.1–6:

Τίτου δὲ Γεγανίου Μακερίνου καὶ Ποπλίου Μηνυκίου τὴν ὑπατον ἐξουσίαν παραλαβόντων σίτου σπάνις ἰσχυρὰ τὴν Ῥώμην κατέσχευε . . . (3) ταῦθ' ἡ βουλὴ μαθοῦσα πρέσβεις διεπέμπετο πρὸς Τυρρηνοὺς καὶ Καμπανοὺς καὶ τὸ καλούμενον Πωμεντίνον πεδίων σῆτον ὅσον ἂν δύναιτο πλεῖστον ὠνησομένους· Πόπλιος δὲ Οὐαλέριος καὶ Λεύκιος Γεγάνιος εἰς Σικελίαν ἀπεστάλησαν . . . (4) τύραννοι δὲ τότε κατὰ πόλεις μὲν ἦσαν, ἐπιφανέστατος δὲ Γέλων ὁ Δεινομένους νεωστὶ τὴν Ἱπποκράτους [τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ] τυραννίδα παρειληφώς, οὐχὶ Διονύσιος ὁ Συρακούσιος, ὡς Λικίνιος γέγραφε καὶ Γέλλιος καὶ ἄλλοι συχνοὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων συγγραφέων οὐθὲν ἐξητακότες τῶν περὶ τοὺς χρόνους ἀκριβῶς, ὡς αὐτὸ δηλοῖ τοῦργον, ἀλλ' εἰκὴ τὸ προστυχὸν (5) ἀποφαινόμενοι. ἡ μὲν γὰρ εἰς Σικελίαν ἀποδειχθεῖσα πρεσβεία κατὰ τὸν δεῦτερον ἐνιαυτὸν τῆς ἑβδομηκοστῆς καὶ δευτέρας Ὀλυμπιάδος ἐξέπλευσεν ἄρχοντας Ἀθήνησιν Ὑβριλίδου, ἑπτακαίδεκα διεθόντων ἑτῶν μετὰ τὴν ἐκβολὴν τῶν βασιλέων, ὡς οὗτοί τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι σχεδὸν ἅπαντες συγγραφεῖς ὁμολογοῦσι· Διονύσιος δ' ὁ πρεσβύτερος ὀγδοηκοστῷ καὶ πέμπτῳ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἔτει Συρακουσίοις ἐπαναστὰς κατέσχε τὴν τυραννίδα κατὰ τὸν τρίτον ἐνιαυτὸν τῆς ἐνενηκοστῆς καὶ τρίτης Ὀλυμπιάδος ἄρχοντας Ἀθήνησι Καλλίου τοῦ μετ' (6) Ἀντιγένης. ὀλίγοις μὲν οὖν ἔτεσι διαμαρτεῖν τῶν χρόνων δοίη τις ἂν ἱστορικοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἀρχαῖαι καὶ πολυετεῖς συνταττομένοις πραγματείας, γενεαῖς δὲ δυσὶν ἢ τρισὶν ὅλαις ἀποπλανηθῆναι τῆς ἀληθείας οὐκ ἂν ἢ τρισὶν ὅλαις ἀποπλανηθῆναι τῆς ἀληθείας οὐκ ἂν ἐπιτρέψειεν. ἀλλ' ἔοικεν ὁ πρῶτος ἐν ταῖς ὠρογραφίαις τοῦτο καταχωρίσας, ᾧ πάντες ἠκολούθησαν οἱ λοιποὶ, τοσοῦτο μόνον ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖαις εὐρὼν ἀναγραφαῖς, ὅτι πρέσβεις ἀπεστάλησαν ἐπὶ τούτων τῶν ὑπάτων εἰς Σικελίαν σῆτον ὠνησόμενοι καὶ παρῆσαν ἐκεῖθεν ἄγοντες ἦν ὁ τύραννος ἔδωκε δωρεάν, οὐκέτι μὴν παρὰ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἐξετάσαι συγγραφέων, ὅστις ἦν τύραννος τότε Σικελίας, ἀβασανίστως δὲ πῶς καὶ κατὰ τὸ προστυχὸν θεῖναι τὸν Διονύσιον.

APPENDIX 5.1

PHILOCHORUS

FGrH 328 T1 apud Suda s.v. Φιλόχορος:

Φιλόχορος, Κύκνου, Ἀθηναῖος, μάντις καὶ ἱεροσκόπος· γυνὴ δὲ ἦν αὐτῷ Ἀρχεστράτη. κατὰ δὲ τοὺς χρόνους γέγονεν ὁ Φιλόχορος Ἐρατοσθένους, ὡς ἐπιβαλεῖν πρεσβύτη νέον ὄντα Ἐρατοσθένη. ἐτελεύτησε δὲ ἐνεδρευθεὶς ὑπὸ Ἀντιγόνου, ὅτι διεβλήθη προσκεκλικέναι τῇ Πτολεμαίου βασιλείᾳ. ἔγραψεν Ἀθίδος βιβλία ιζ'· περιέχει δὲ τὰς Ἀθηναίων πράξεις καὶ βασιλεῖς καὶ ἄρχοντας, ἕως Ἀντιόχου τοῦ τελευταίου τοῦ προσαγορευθέντος θεοῦ· ἔστι δὲ πρὸς Δήμωνα· Περὶ μαντικῆς δ', Περὶ θυσιῶν α', Περὶ τῆς Τετραπόλεως, Σαλαμῖνος κτίσιν, Ἐπιγράμματα Ἀττικά, Περὶ τῶν Ἀθήνησιν ἀγώνων, βιβλία ιζ', Περὶ τῶν Ἀθήνησιν ἀρξάντων ἀπὸ Σωκρατίδου καὶ μέχρι Ἀπολλόδωρον, Ὀλυμπιάδας ἐν βιβλίοις β', Πρὸς τὴν Δήμωνος Ἀθίδα, Ἐπιτομὴν τῆς ἰδίας Ἀθίδος, Ἐπιτομὴν τῆς Διονυσίου πραγματείας Περὶ ἱερῶν, Περὶ τῶν Σοφοκλέους μύθων βιβλία ε', Περὶ Εὐριπίδου, Περὶ Ἀλκμᾶνος, Περὶ μυστηρίων τῶν Ἀθήνησι, Συναγωγὴν ἡρωϊδων ἥτοι Πυθαγορείων γυναικῶν, Δηλιακὰ βιβλία β', Περὶ ἐύρημάτων, Περὶ καθαρμῶν, Περὶ συμβόλων.

APPENDIX 5.2

CTESICLES

FGrH 245 F1 apud Athenaeus 272c:

Κτησικλῆς δ' ἐν τρίτῃ Χρονικῶν <κατὰ τὴν ἑπτα>καιδεκάτην πρὸς ταῖς ἑκατόν φησιν Ὀλυμπιάδα Ἀθήνησιν ἐξετασμὸν γενέσθαι ὑπὸ Δημητρίου τοῦ Φαληρέως τῶν κατοικούντων τὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ εὐρεθῆναι Ἀθηναίους μὲν δισμυρίου πρὸς τοῖς χιλίοις, μετοίκους δὲ μυρίου, οἰκετῶν δὲ μυριάδας μ'.

F2 apud Athenaeus 445c–d:

σὺ δὲ παροινῶν καὶ μεθύων οὐδέπω κόρον ἔχεις, οὐδ' ἐπὶ νοῦν λαμβάνεις, ὅτι ὑπὸ μέθης ἀπέθανεν Εὐμένης ὁ Περγαμηνὸς, ὁ Φιλεταίρου τοῦ Περγάμου βασιλεύσαντος ἀδελφιδοῦς, ὡς ἴστορεῖ Κτησικλῆς ἐν τρίτῳ Χρόνων.

F3 apud Diogenes Laertius 2.55–6:

ἤκμαζε δὲ κατὰ τὸ τέταρτον ἔτος τῆς τετάρτης καὶ ἐνενηκοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος, καὶ ἀναβέβηκε σὺν Κύρῳ ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ξεναϊνέτου ἐνὶ πρότερον ἔτει τῆς Σωκράτους τελευτῆς. Κατέστρεψε δέ, καθά φησι Στησικλείδης ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἐν τῇ τῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ Ὀλυμπιονικῶν ἀναγραφῇ, ἔτει πρώτῳ τῆς πέμπτης καὶ ἑκατοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος, ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Καλλιμῆδου, ἐφ' οὗ καὶ Φίλιππος ὁ Ἀμύντου Μακεδόνων ἦρξε. τέθνηκε δ' ἐν Κορίνθῳ, ὡς φησι Δημήτριος ὁ Μάγνης, ἥδη δηλαδὴ γηραιὸς ἱκανῶς.

APPENDIX 5.3

DIODORUS SICULUS

Large sections of Diodorus' *Bibliotheca Historica* are preserved. Of the original forty books, 1–5 and 11–20 are extant in their entirety. There are also lengthy fragments of the remaining books. It is sufficient here to reproduce a representative sample of text from the sections of the text covering the years after the first Olympiad.

Τοῦ δ' ἔτους τούτου διεθρόντος Ἀθήνησι μὲν ἦρχε Θεόφιλος, ἐν Ῥώμῃ δὲ κατεστάθησαν ὑπατοὶ Γάιος Σουλπίκιος καὶ Γάιος Κοϊντίος, Ὀλυμπιάς δ' ἦχθη ὀγδόη πρὸς ταῖς ἑκατόν, καθ' ἣν ἐνίκα στάδιον Πολυκλῆς Κυρηναῖος (348 BCE). ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Φίλιππος μὲν σπεύδων τὰς ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντῳ πόλεις χειρώσασθαι Μηκύβερναν μὲν καὶ Τορώνην χωρὶς κινδύνων διὰ προδοσίας παρέλαβεν, ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν μεγίστην τῶν περὶ τοὺς τόπους τούτους πόλεων Ὀλυνθὸν στρατεύσας μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως τὸ μὲν πρῶτον νικήσας τοὺς Ὀλυνθίους δυσὶ μάχαις συνέκλεισεν εἰς πολιορκίαν, προσβολὰς δὲ συνεχεῖς ποιούμενος πολλοὺς τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀπέβαλεν ἐν ταῖς τειχομαχαίαις· τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον φθείρας χρήμασι τοὺς προεστηκότας τῶν Ὀλυνθίων, Εὐθυκράτην τε καὶ Λασθένην, διὰ τούτων προδοθεῖσαν τὴν Ὀλυνθὸν εἴλεν. (16.53.1–2)

[Approximately ninety lines of text follow describing other events in this year.]

Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησι Θεμιστοκλέους ἐν Ῥώμῃ τὴν ὑπατικὴν ἀρχὴν διεδέξαντο Γάιος Κορνήλιος καὶ Μάρκος Ποπίλιος (347 BCE). ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Βοιωτοὶ πολλὴν τῆς Φωκίδος χώραν πορθήσαντες περὶ τὴν ὀνομαζομένην Ὕαν πόλιν ἐνίκησαν τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ κατέβαλον αὐτῶν περὶ ἑβδομήκοντα. (16.56.1)

[Approximately 125 lines of text follow describing other events in this year.]

APPENDIX 5.4

CASTOR OF RHODES

Note: The sections from Karst's German translation of Eusebius' *Chronographia* supplied below come directly from Karst, though important emendations suggested by Jacoby (who reprinted Karst's German in *FGrH*) have been incorporated in numerous places.

FGrH 250 T1 *apud* Suda s.v. Κάστωρ:

Κάστωρ, Ῥόδιος, ἧ ὡς τινες Γαλάτης, ὡς δὲ ἄλλοι ἐπλανήθησαν Μασσαλιώτης· ῥήτωρ ὃς ἐκλήθη Φιλорώμαιος. γήμας δὲ οὗτος Δηϊοτάρου τοῦ συγκλητικοῦ θυγατέρα ἀνηρέθη ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἅμα τῇ γαμετῇ, διότι αὐτὸν Καίσαρι διέβαλεν. ἔγραψε δὲ Ἀναγραφὴν Βαβυλῶνος καὶ τῶν θαλασσοκρατησάντων ἐν βιβλίοις β', Χρονικὰ ἀγνοήματα, καὶ Περὶ ἐπιχειρημάτων ἐν βιβλίοις ε', Περὶ πειθοῦς β', Περὶ τοῦ Νείλου, τέχνην ῥητορικὴν· καὶ ἕτερα. ζῆται περὶ ἀγαλμάτων Κάστορος καὶ Πολυδεύκου ἐν τῷ Διόσκουροι.

T2 *apud* Eusebius *Chronographia* 125.6–24 Karst:

Nachdem zusammengetragen ist das sämtliche Erörterte aus den Denkmälern, die hier der Reihe nach verzeichnet sind: aus dem Polyhistor Alexandros; aus Abydenos, der die Assyrisch- und die Medergeschichten geschrieben hat; aus Manethôs drei Büchern von den ägyptischen Denkwürdigkeiten; aus Kephalions neun Musischen Büchern; aus Diodors Bücherei 40 Büchern; in welchen er kurz zusammengedrängt darstellt die Geschichte bis auf Gaios Kaisr; aus Kassios Longinos 18 Büchern; in welche er zusammengefaßt hat 138 Olympiaden; aus des Philagon (Phlegon), des Freigelassenen des Kaisr, 14 Büchern; in welche er auszugsweise zusammengefaßt hat 229 Olympiaden; aus des Kastôr 6 Büchern; in welche er zusammengefaßt hat von Ninos an abwärts 181 Olympiaden; aus des Thallos drei Büchern; in welche er abrißweise zusammengefaßt hat von der Einnahme Ilioms bis

zur 167. Olympiade; aus Porphyrios, unserem zeitgenössischen Philosophen, von der Einnahme Iliens bis zur Regierung des Klaudios . . .

F1 *apud* Eusebius *Chronographia* 26.8–27.6 Karst:

Nicht er (Abydenos) allein, sondern auch Kastôr im ersten Kurzgefaßten Buche der Zeitgeschichten berichtet nach derselben Weise und Norm, bis auf die Silben genau übereinstimmend, von dem Königtum der Assyrer.

AUS KASTORS KURZGEFAßTEN BUCHE VOM KÖNIGTUM DER ASSYRER:

“Belos war,” sagt er, “König der Assyrer. Und unter ihm waren die Kyklopen mit Blitzen und feuerflammenden Strahlen dem Aramazd, dem mit den Titanen kämpfenden, im Streite behilflich. Und Könige der Titanen wurden gekannt zu jener zeit; deren einer war Ôgygos der König.” Hierauf fährt er wenige Worte darnach hinzufügend fort: “Die Riesen stürzten sich auf die Götter und wurden zerschmettert, da hilfreiche Bundesgenossen den Göttern geworden waren Herakles und Dion<is>os, welche von den Titanen waren.” “Belos, von dem wir vorhin gesprochen haben, schied aus dem Leben, der denn gar für einen Gott gehalten wurde. Nach welchem Ninos über die Assyrer herrschte 52 Jahre; dieser heiratete Samiram. Nach welchem Samiram über die Assyrer herrschte 42 Jahre. Und darauf Zames, der auch Ninuas.” Sodann im einzelnen die Könige der Assyrer, welche nach diesen waren, der Reihe nach anführend, zählt er sie auf bis zu Sardanapallos, bei Namen erwähnend die Sämtlichen; von denen auch wir wenig hiernach sowohl die Namen als die Zeiten der Regierungen anführen werden. Da ja auch jener in seinen Canones, die er aufgestellt hat, in eben dieser Weise: “Zuerst haben wir die Könige der Assyrer angeführt, mit Belos beginnend; und da die Jahre von dessen Königtum nicht sicher überliefert sind, haben wir <bloß> den Namen erwähnt, jedoch den Beginn der Chronologie mit Ninos gemacht, und haben sie mit dem anderen Ninos, der von Sardanapallos das Königtum überkommen hat, abgeschlossen, damit dieserweise offensichtlich würde sowohl die gesamte Zeit im allgemeinen als auch die eines jeglichen von den Herrschern im besonderen; und so ergibt sich die Zeit von tausend zweihundert und achtzig Jahren.” Dieses Kastôr.

F1a *apud* Syncellus *Ecloga Chronographica* 243.13–20:

ἕτεροί φασι μετὰ Σαρδανάπαλον κρατῆσαι καὶ τῆς Ἀσσυρίων ἀρχῆς Νίνον, ὥς που καὶ Κάστωρ ἐν τῷ κανόνι αὐτοῦ φησιν ὧδε· πρώτους μὲν οὖν τοὺς

Ἀσσυρίων βασιλεῖς κατετάχαμεν, τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ Βήλου πεπιοιημέ-
νους, τῷ δὲ τὰ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ ἔτη μὴ παραδεδοσθαι σαφῶς τοῦ
μὲν ὀνόματος μνημονεύομεν, τὴν δὲ ἀρχὴν τῆς χρονογραφίας ἀπὸ Νίνου
πεπιοιημέθα, καὶ καταλήγομεν ἐπὶ Νίνον τὸν διαδεξάμενον τὴν βασιλείαν
παρὰ Σαρδαναπάλου.

F1b *apud* Syncellus *Ecloga Chronographica* 104.5–12:

Ἡ τῶν Ἀράβων βασιλεία διαδεξαμένη τὴν τῶν Χαλδαίων διήρκεσεν ἔτη
σιέ... ταύτην Ἀσσυρίων μὰ διεδέξαντο βασιλεῖς... διαρκέσαντες ἔτη ὅλα
αὐς ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου αὐτῶν Βήλου ἕως τοῦ μὰ Κονκολέρου τοῦ καὶ Σαρ-
δαναπάλου, ὡς συμφωνοῦσι πολλοὶ τῶν ἐπιστήμων ἱστορικῶν, Πολύβιος
καὶ Διόδωρος, Κεφαλίων τε καὶ Κάστωρ καὶ Θάλλος καὶ ἕτεροι.

F1c *apud* Syncellus *Ecloga Chronographica* 197.5–10:

Ὁ μέντοι Εὐσέβιος καίπερ... τὰς... προκειμένας χρήσεις Διοδώρου καὶ
Κεφαλίωνος προθεῖς, ἐν λζ βασιλεῦσι τὴν Ἀσσυρίων ἀρχὴν περιέλαβεν,
ἔτεσι δὲ αὐτῷ Κάστορι μᾶλλον ἀκολουθήσας, οὗ καὶ μαρτυρίαν παρή-
γαγε, ἀσπ' ἔτη φάσκουσιν τοὺς Ἀσσυρίων βασιλεῖς ἄρξαι...

F1d *apud* Eusebius *Chronographia* 30.27–32.15 Karst:

Es sind aber die Könige der Assyrer, die in den Büchern stehen, nach den
zuverlässigen Büchern diese:

KÖNIGE DER ASSYRER.

- | | | |
|-----|---|-----------|
| 1. | Ninos, von dem sie sagen, er habe als erster regiert über alle Asianer,
außer den Indern | Jahre 52. |
| | Unter welchem sich findet gewesen zu sein Abraham, des
Hebraervolkes Stammvater. | |
| 2. | Samiram | Jahre 42 |
| 3. | Zames, welcher Ninuas | Jahre 38 |
| 4. | Arios | Jahre 30 |
| 5. | Aralios, welcher Amyros | Jahre 40 |
| 6. | Xerxes, welcher auch Baleos | Jahre 30 |
| 7. | Amramithes | Jahre 38 |
| 8. | Belochos | Jahre 35 |
| 9. | Baleas | Jahre 12 |
| 10. | Aladas | Jahre 32 |
| 11. | Mamythos | Jahre 30 |
| 12. | Machchaleos | Jahre 30 |
| 13. | Spheros | Jahre 22 |
| 14. | Mamylos | Jahre 30 |
| 15. | Sparethos | Jahre 40 |

16.	Askatades	Jahre 40
	Unter ihm war Môses, Gesetzgeber der Juden.	
17.	Amyntas	Jahre 45
<18.	Atossa	Jahre 21>
19.	Belochos	Jahre 45
	Dessen Tochter Tratres, die zubennant ward Achurard, regierte demselben zufolge, 17 Jahre. Dionesios und Perseus waren um diese Zeiten.	
20.	Balatores	Jahre 30
21.	Lamprides	Jahre 32
22.	Sosmares	Jahre 8
23.	Lampares	Jahre 30
24.	Pannyas	Jahre 42
	Unter diesem wurde die Schiffsflotte der Argier und Herakles erkannt.	
25.	Sosarmos	Jahre 19
26.	Mithreos	Jahre 27
27.	Teutamos	Jahre 32
	Unter welchem Ilion eingenommen wurde.	
28.	Teuteus	Jahre 40
29.	Thineus	Jahre 30
30.	Derusos	Jahre 40
31.	Eupalmes	Jahre 38
	Unter diesem war Davith, der erlauchte König der Hebräer, dessen Sohn Salomon den Tempel von Jerusalem erbaute.	
32.	Laosthenes	Jahre 45
33.	Peritiades	Jahre 30
34.	Ophrateos	Jahre 21
35.	Ophatanes	Jahre 50
36.	Akrazanes	Jahre 42 [40]
37.	Sardanapalles	Jahre 20
	Unter diesem gab Lakoriges Gesetze den Laked<ä>moniern.	
<38.	Ninos	Jahre 19>

Von Ninos bis auf diese haben die Könige der Assyrer geherrscht, da über die Athener Thesprios, Sohn des Ariphron, regierte. Insgesamt ergeben sich für die ganze Assyryerdynastie, nach den glaubhaften Schriftstellern 1240 Jahre, und nach anderen 1300. Thonnos Konkoleros, der auf griechisch Sardanapalles heißt, hat, nachdem er die Niederlage erlitten von Varbakes und von Belesios, sich selbst dem Feuer überliefert; von welchem bis auf die erste Olympiade es 40 Jahre sind.

F2 *apud* Eusebius *Chronographia* 81.6–83.9 Karst:

Beginnen wird nun diese Zeitbeschreibung, die vorgesetzt ist, mit den Ältesten, der Sik<y>onier Könige zuerst klar aufzuzählen. Denn viel Zwiespalt ist unter den Alten, welche der griechischen Geschichte Zeitbeschreibungen zusammenstellten; und soweit es möglich sein wird, werden wir die sich bei vielen befindlichen miteinander übereinstimmenden Zeugnisse sammeln. Auch hat der Sik<y>onier-Könige Zeiten, in “Zeiten-Büchern” beschrieben, ordnungsmäßig dargestellt der Zeitenschreiber Kastôr; dieselben faßt er zusammen im “Kurzen-Abriß”, schreibend in dieser Weise der Darstellung.

<DES KASTÔR VON DER SIKYONIER KÖNIGTUM.>

“Dargestellt haben wir anbei der Sik<y>onier Könige, angefangen mit Egialeus, dem ersten Könige, und endend auf Leukippos. Und eingenommen haben die Könige eine Zeit von 959 Jahren. Und nach den Königen waren die Priester des Karnios, sechs, welche das Priestertum führten 33 Jahre. Nach welchen war Charidemos der Priester, der, da er die Kosten nicht bestreiten konnte, flüchtig wurde.” Dieses Kastôr nach diesem Wortlaute. Der Reihenfolge nach im einzelnen aber hat das Königtum der Sik<y>onier eine folgenderweise entworfene Zählung.

KÖNIGE DER SIK<Y>ONIER.

Der erste, Egialeus, 52 Jahre. Woher auch Egiala, der jetzige Peloponesos, bennant wird. Von diesem sagen sie, er habe als erster geherrscht über die Sik<y>onier, um das fünfzehnte Jahr des Belos, des ersten Beherrschers das Assyerreiches; von dem sie fabeln, er sei des Posidon und der Liba Sohn gewesen.

Der zweite Europs, 45 Jahre. Dieser regiert unter Ninos, dem Sohne des Belos.

Der dritte Telchin, 20 Jahre. Dieser regiert unter Samiram.

Der vierte Apis, 25 Jahre; von welchem Apia, der jetzige Peloponesos, gennant wird.

Der fünfte Thelxion, 52 Jahre.

Der sechste Egidros, 34 Jahre.

Der siebente Thurimachos, 45 Jahre. Unter diesem beherrschte als erster die Argiver Inachos.

Der achte Leukippos, 53 Jahre.

Der neunte Messapos, 47 Jahre. Unter diesem trifft sich, daß herrschte über die Ägypter Jôseph, der von den Ebräern erwähnt wird.

Der zehnte, Eratos, 46 Jahre.

Der elfte Plemneos, 48 Jahre.

Der zwölfte Orthopolis, 63 Jahre.

Der dreizehnte Marathonios, 30 Jahre; unter welchem als erster über Attika <'Attikeastan'> regierte Kekrops Diphyes.

Der vierzehnte Marathon, 20 Jahre. Unter diesem begegnet des Auszuges aus Egiptos Heerführer der Ebräer, Môses; was zu <seiner> Zeit bewiesen werden wird.

Der fünfzehnte Chryeus, 55 Jahre. Unter diesem herrscht über die Argiver Danaos.

Der sechzehnte Korax, 30 Jahre.

Der siebzehnte Epopeus, 35 Jahre.

Der achtzehnte Laomedon, 40 Jahre.

Der neunzehnte Sikion, 45 Jahre. Unter diesem hörten die Argiver-Könige auf, sich erstreckend auf 540 Jahre.

Der zwanzigste Polibos, 40 Jahre.

Der einundzwanzigste Inachos, 40 Jahre.

Der zweiundzwanzigste Phestos, 8 Jahre.

Der dreiundzwanzigste Adrastos, 4 Jahre.

Der vierundzwanzigste Poliphides, 31 Jahre. Unter diesem wurde Ilion eingenommen.

Der fünfundzwanzigste Pelasgos, 20 Jahre. Unter diesem regierte über die Latiner Ênias.

Der sechsundzwanzigste Zeuxippos, 31 Jahre.

Zusammen in ganzen ergeben sich Sik<y>onierkönige 26; und sie regieren einen Zeitraum von 959 Jahren. Nach welchem keine Könige mehr, sondern die Priester des Karnios.

Deren erster das Priestertum bekleidete Archelaos, 1 Jahr.

Der zweite Otomedon, 1 Jahr.

Der dritte Theoklitos, 4 Jahre

Der vierte Euneos, 6 Jahre

Der fünfte Theonomos, 9 Jahre

Der sechste Amphichies, 12 Jahre

Der siebente, letzte, Charidemos, der, da er den Aufwand nicht aushielt, entflo. Von welchem bis zur ersten Olympiade, 352 Jahre.

Insgesamt für die die sik<y>onischen Könige und Priester 998 Jahre.

F2a *apud* Syncellus *Ecloga Chronographica* 110.8–13:

Κάστωρος περὶ τῆς βασιλείας τῶν Σικυωνίων. Παρατίθεμεν δὲ καὶ τοὺς Σικυῶνος βασιλεύσαντας, ἀρχομένους μὲν ἀπὸ Αἰγιαλέως τοῦ πρώτου βασιλεύσαντος, λήγοντας δὲ ἐπὶ Ζεύξιππον. οἱ μὲν οὖν βασιλεῖς κατέσχον ἑτῶν χρόνον ληθ'. μετὰ δὲ τοὺς βασιλεῖς κατεστάθησαν ἱερεῖς τοῦ Καρνίου ἕξ. οὗτοι δ' ἱεράτευσαν ἔτη λγ'. μεθ' οὓς κατεστάθη ἱερεὺς Χαρίδημος, ὃς καὶ οὐχ ὑπομείνας τὴν δαπάνην ἔφυγε.

F2a *apud* Joannes Laurentius Lydus *De Magistratibus Populi Romani* 244.22–7 (note that Jacoby prints two different fragments, both labeled 2a):

ἀφ' ἧς ἐπὶ τὴν ἀγοράν, ἣν καλοῦσι Ζεύξιππον ἀπὸ Ζευξίππου βασιλέως, ὑφ' ᾧ ἐπὶ τῆς τριακοστῆς ὀγδόης Ὀλυμπιάδος Μεγαρεῖς εἰς Βυζάντιον ἀποικήσαντες πρὸς τιμὴν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀγορὰν οὕτως ἐπωνόμασαν, καθάπερ τὰς Χαριδήμου Στοᾶς οἱ Κύζικον οἰκίσαντες Μεγαρεῖς· καὶ οὗτος βασιλεῦσαι Ἑλλήνων μνημονεύεται, ὡς ὁ Κάστωρ ἐν Ἐπιτομῇ Χρονικῶν ἀπέθετο.

F3 *apud* Eusebius *Chronographia* 83.10–85.2 Karst:

Nach den Sik<y>onier-Vorstehern ist's angezeigt zu der Argiver Königen kurz zusammenfassend überzugehen, insofern Sicheres in den Geschichten der Alten enthalten ist. Es berichtet über dieselben auch Kastôr, schreibend in dieser Weise der Fassung:

DES KASTÔR VON DER ARGIVER KÖNIGTUM

“Der Reihe nach hieran werden wir verzeichnen die Könige der Argiver von Inachos ab, welche nachlassen mit Sthenelos dem Krotopier; deren Zeit sich beläuft auf 382 Jahre. Und den Sthenelos verdrängt habend, beherrschte Danaos Argos, und dessen Nachkömmen bis zu Heurystheus, <dem> des Sthenelos, des Perseus-Abkömmlings. Nach welchem die Polopiden das Königtum nahmen. Aber auch der Danaer Zeit des Königtums findet sich als <die> von 162 Jahren. Für die Polopiden aber, die von Atreus ab regierten und die Herrschaft innehatten bis auf Penthilos und Tisamenos und auf Knūmetes, den des Surestes, unter welchen der Herakliden Einfall ward, ergibt sich eine Zeit von 105 Jahren.” Und es sind der einzelnen Argiverkönige jeweilige Zeiten diesergestalt.

KÖNIGE DER ARGIVER

Der erste, Inachos, woher das Land Inachia gennant ward, 50 Jahre. Es regiert als erster Inachos über die Argiver, unter Thurimachos, welcher der siebente war der Sik<y>onier-Herrschaft.

Der zweite Phoron, 60 Jahre. Unter diesem hat Ôgigos Eleusina erbaut.

Der dritte Apis, von dem das Land Apia genannt ward, 35 Jahre. Unter diesem beherrscht die Ägypter Joseph, von den Hebräern erwähnt.

Der vierte Argos, ὁ Διὸς und Niobes <Sohn>, woher des Landes Name abgeändert ward zu Argia, 70 Jahre.

Der fünfte Kriasos, 54 Jahre.

Der sechste Phorbas, 35 Jahre. Unter welchem Kekrops Diphyes über die Athener regierte.

Der siebente Triopas, 46 Jahre. Unter welchem Moses anführte den Auszug der Hebräer aus Ägypten.

Der achte Krotopas, 21 Jahre.

Der neunte Sthenelos, 11 Jahre.

Zusammen ergeben sich 382 Jahre.

Den Sthenelos vertrieb Danaos, und beherrschte Argos, und nach ihm seine Abkömmlinge; deren Nachfolge- und Regierungs-Zeiten sich diesermaßen verhalten:

Der zehnte Danaos, 50 Jahre.

Der elfte Linkeus, 41 Jahre.

Der zwölfte Abas, 23 Jahre.

Der dreizehnte Proitos, 17 Jahre.

Der vierzehnte Akrisios, 31 Jahre.

Insgesamt im ganzen der Argiver Herrschafts-Jahre 544. Bis zu diesem die Danaer.

Nach Akrisios nahmen, nachdem nach Miken verlegt worden war das Fürstentum der Argiver unter Euristheus, dem des Sthenelos, die Pelopiden die Herrschaft. Und es regiert zuerst Pelops, der aus dem Peloponnes, der gewesene Förderer der Olympiaden. Nachdem nach Miken verlegt war das Fürstentum der Argiver, regierte nach Akrisios Euristheus 45 Jahre.

Und sodann die Polopiden Atreus und Thies<es> 65 Jahre.

Nach welchen Agamemnon, 30 Jahre. Unter welchem im 18. Jahre Ilion genommen ward.

Egestos, 17 Jahre.

Orestes und Tisamenos und Penthilos und Kumetes, 58 Jahre, bis zum Herakliden-Einfalle, als sie den Peloponnes einnahmen. Von welchem bis zu der Ionier Auswanderung aus ihrem Lande <60 Jahre>, und von der Ionier Auswanderung bis zur ersten Olympiade 267 Jahre.

F4 *apud* Eusebius *Chronographia* 85.3–89.1 Karst:

Richtig ist fürwahr zu Diesem der Reihenfolge nach auch der Athener-Könige Aufzählung beizufügen in gedrängter Zusammenfassung der Geschichte aus den sicheren Lesungen der Alten.

Als erster wird von den Athenern erwähnt Ôgigos, als unter welchem <stattfindend> von den Ioniern die große und alte Sintflut berichtet wird. Als dessen Zeitgenossen zählen sie den Phoroneus, den des Inachos, König der Argive; es erwähnt dieses auch Platon im Timeos schreibend: "Als er sie sammeln wollte zu der urzeitlichen Geschichte, nämlich von dieser Stadt Altertümern zu sprechen, habe er begonnen mit Phoroneus, dem ersten erwähnten und mit Niobe und was nach der Sintflut war." Es stellt sich aber Ôgigos unter Messapon, den neunten König der Sik<y>onier, und unter Beloch, den achten König der Assyrer. Und nach Ôgigos sei von wegen der großen Verwüstung durch die Sintflut ohne Königtum, sagen sie, gewesen das jetzt Attika gennante bis zu Kekrops, 190 Jahre lang. Ebenso viele Jahre berechnen sich auch aus der Argiver Königtume; das uranfänglich unter Ôgigos Anfang nahm. Denn von demselben Phoroneus an, dem Argiver-Könige, unter welchem erwähnt wird die Sintflut in den Jahren des Ôgigos, bis zu Phorbas, unter welchem über das jetzige Attika zuerst regierte Kekrops Diphyes, sammeln sich 190 Jahre. Und von Kekrops bis zur ersten Olympiade werden gerechnet 17 Könige und 12 Fürsten auf Lebenszeit. Unter welchen, sagen sie, gewesen sei unter der Griechen gewisses wunderbare Sagenhafte. Von hier ab rechnen die Griechen die Könige der Attikäer; denn sie haben keine genaue Berechnung der älteren. Dies zeigt auch Kastôr folgendermaßen in seinem Geschichts-Abrisse:

DER KASTÔR VON DER ATHENER KÖNIGTUM

"Anordnen werden wir anbei auch der Athener Könige, beginnend mit Kekrops, der Diphyes genannt ward, und werden sie beschließen auf Thimoites. Und zwar beläuft sich der sämtlichen Könige Zeit, der Erechthiden gennanten, auf 450 Jahre. Nach welchen das Königtum erlangte Melanthos des Andropompos, der Pelier, und dessen Sohn Kodros; und sie regierten zu beiden 58 Jahre. Sofort auf das Ende des Königtums bestanden Fürsten auf Lebenszeit, Ursprung nehmend vom Makedonier Kodros, aufhörend unter Alkmeon, dem des Eschilos; und ihre Zeit beläuft sich auf 209 Jahre. Darnach hatten sie als ein zehnjähriges das Fürstentum; welche waren an Zahl sieben; und sie nahmen 70 Jahre ein. Sodann jährliche, von Kreon ab das Fürstentum erlangend, lassen nach mit Theophem; mit welchem überhaupt ganz stillstanden unseres Landes Dinge und Großtaten." Dieses Kastôr. Wir aber wollen von dem Königen der Reihenfolge nach im einzelnen das Aufzählungsverzeichnis darstellen.

KÖNIGE DER ATHENER

Der erste, Kekrôps Diphyes, 5 Jahre. Unter welchem Prometheus, Epimetheus, Atlas. Er regiert die Athener zuerst unter Tr<i>opas, dem siebenten Könige der Argiver, und unter Marathon, welcher herrschte als dreizehnter von den Sik<y>oniern. Unter diesem ward auch Môses bei den Ebräern erkannt, was zu <seiner> Zeit wir beweisen werden. Unter welchem auch zu Deukalions Tagen die Sintflut gekommen sei, sagen sie, nach Thes<s>alia, sowie unter Phaëton der wütende Feuerbrand nach dem Äthioperlande.

Der zweite, Kranaos, aus dem Lande einheimisch, 9 Jahre.

Der dritte, Amphiktion des Deukalion, Schwiegersohn des Kranaos, unter welchem der Danaiden Geschichte erzählt wird, 9 Jahre.

Der vierte, Erichthonios des Ephestos, der von Homeros Erechtheus genannt wird, <50 Jahre>. Unter welchem die Idäischen 'Finger'.

Der fünfte, Pandion des Erichthonios, 40 Jahre. Unter welchem der Raub des Mädchens und das von Triptolemos.

Der sechste, Erechtheus des Pandion, 50 Jahre. Unter welchem des Perseus Geschichte.

Der siebente, Kekrops, Bruder des Erechtheus, 40 Jahre. Unter welchem des Dionisos Geschichte.

Der achte, Pandion des Erechtheus, 25 Jahre. Nach welchen er flüchtig wurde und bei den Megarern regierte. Unter welchem Eurôp<a>, Kadmos, und was von den Spartiern.

Der neunte, Êgeus des Pandiôn, 48 Jahre. Unter welchem das von den argischen Schiffen (Argonauten) und den Juskapariks (Kentauren); da Herakles die Heldenkämpfe vollbrachte.

Der zehnte, Theseus des Egeus, 30 Jahre. Unter welchem Minôs als Gesetzgeber erkannt ward.

Der elfte, Mene<s>theus des Peteos des Orneos des Erechtheus, 23 Jahre. Unter welchem Ilion genommen ward.

Der zwölfte, Demophon des Theseus, 33 Jahre. Unter welchem des Odis<s>es Geschichte und diejenige des Oristes, und Enias König war [Sohn] von Lavinia.

Der dreizehnte, Oxintes des Demophon, 12 Jahre. Unter welchem die Amozinen den Tempel zu Ephesos in Brand steckten.

Der vierzehnte, Aphidas des Oxintes, ein Jahr.

Der fünfzehnte, Thimutes, Bruder der Aphidas, 8 Jahre.

Der sechzehnte, Melanthos des Andropompos, der Pelier, 37 Jahre. Unter welchem der Herakliden Einfall und die Besitznahme des Peloponesos.

Der siebzehnte, Kodros des Melanthos, 21 Jahre. Unter welchem die Ionier auswanderten aus dem Lande Achaia und sich flüchtig nach Athen wandten.

FÜRSTEN DER ATHENER AUF LEBENSZEIT:

Der achtzehnte, Medon des Kodros, herrschte, 20 Jahre.

Der neunzehnte, Akastos des Medon, 36 Jahre. Unter welchem die Ionier auswanderten, mit welchen, erzählen sie, auch Homeros war. Unter welchem auch Solomon zu Jerusalem erbaute den Tempel; was wir zu <seiner> Zeit zeigen werden.

Der zwanzigste, Archippos des Akastos, 19 Jahre.

Der einundzwanzigste, Thersip<p>os des Archippos, 41 Jahre.

Der zweiundzwanzigste, Phorbas des Thersippos, 30 Jahre.

Der dreiundzwanzigste, Megakles des Phorbas, 30 Jahre.

Der vierundzwanzigste, Diognetos des Megakles, 28 Jahre. Lykorgos wurde erkannt.

Der fünfundzwanzigste, Pherekles des Diognetos, 19 Jahre.

Der sechsundzwanzigste, Ariphron des Pherekles, 20 Jahre. Unter diesem endete der Assyrier Königtum und ward Sardanapallos getötet.

Der siebenundzwanzigste, Thespeus des [A]riphron, <27 Jahre>. Unter diesem gab Likurgos Gesetze den Lakedämoniern.

Der achtundzwanzigste, Agamestor des Thespeus, 17 Jahre.

Der neunundzwanzigste, Eschiles des Agamestor, 23 Jahre. Unter welchen, in zwölften Jahre die erste Olympiade festgesetzt ward, in welcher siegte Kuribus der Helier im Stadion.

Insgesamt sammeln sich für die Athener bis zur ersten Olympiade von Kekrops, der Diph<y>es genannt war, 780 Jahre, und von Ôgigos 970 Jahre.

Von diesem ab ist's angemessen, die Zeit nach Olympiaden zu berechnen.

Nach Eschelos regiert über die Athener Alkmeon, 2 Jahre. Nach diesem ward beschlossen, daß die Fürstenschaften zehnjährig würden.

Charops, 10 Jahre. Esimides, 10 Jahre. Klidikos, 10 Jahre. Ippomenes, 10 Jahre. Leokrates, 10 Jahre. Apsandros, 10 Jahre. Erexios, 10 Jahre.

Unter diesem ward beschlossen, zu wählen jährliche Fürsten. Und erster herrschte als jährlicher Fürst Kreon in der 24. Olympiade. Nach welchem jeder einzelne je ein Jahr herrschte; deren Namen keineswegs nötig ist zu verzeichnen.

Diese und die in der Athener Altertumgeschichte erwähnten Zeiten werden als zu alten und zumal sicherverbürgten Geschichten <gehörige> gerechnet. Es sind jedoch die der Einnahme Ilions vorangehenden Zeiten und

was immer in denselben für geschichtswürdige Taten vollbracht worden sind, als von nicht festgesicherter Chronologie erachtet. Gleichwohl werden wir, so wie es nur immer möglich sein wird, sie aus den vielfältigen Berichten kurz zusammenfassend darstellen. Sind doch auch nicht einmal die <Zeiten> von Elions Einnahme bis zur ersten Olympiade, auch diese nicht, würdig gewesen einer sicheren Erwähnung.

F5 *apud* Eusebius *Chronographia* 142.18–143.2 Karst:

Es bezeugt dasselbe auch der Zeitenschreiber Kastôr, in dem er einen kurzgedrängten Abriß der Zeiten gibt, schreibend in dieserlei Fassung nach diesem selben Wortlaute:

DES KASTÔR ÜBER DER RÖMER KÖNIGTUM

“Der Römer Könige haben wir dargestellt der Reihe nach, anhebend mit Ênias, dem Sohne des Anchises, zu der Zeit, in der er über die Latiner König ward; und haben geschlossen mit Amolios Silvios, welchen Romilos tötete, den Oheim seiner Mutter Rhea. An dasselbe werden wir nun anreihen auch den Romilos und die anderen, die nach ihm zu Rom regiert haben, bis auf Tarkinos, der geheißener war der Stolze; und es ist dies die Zeit von 244 Jahren. Nach welchen wir die Hypaten je gesondert erledigen werden, beginnend mit Leukios [und] Junios dem Brutier, und mit Leukios Tarkinos Kolantinos, und abschließend auf Markos Valerios Messalia und Markos [und auf] Pison, welche Hypaten waren unter Theophem, dem Fürsten der Athener; und es sind deren Jahre 460.” Dieses Kastôr.

F6 *apud* Eusebius *Praeparatio Evangelica* 10.10.4:

μετὰ δὲ τὰ ὅτι τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας ἔτη Κύρος Περσῶν ἐβασίλευσεν, ὃ ἔτει Ὀλυμπιάς ἦχθη νέ, ὡς ἐκ τῶν Βιβλιοθηκῶν Διοδώρου καὶ τῶν Θαλλοῦ καὶ Κάστορος ἱστοριῶν, ἔτι δὲ Πολυβίου καὶ Φλέγοντος ἔστιν εὐρεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐτέρων, οἷς ἐμέλησεν Ὀλυμπιάδων· ἅπανσι γὰρ συνεφώνησεν ὁ χρόνος. Κύρος δ' οὖν τῷ πρώτῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔτει, ὅπερ ἦν Ὀλυμπιάδος νέ ἔτος τὸ πρῶτον . . .

F7 *apud* Eusebius *Praeparatio Evangelica* 10.10.7–8

[Eusebius is quoting Sextus Julius Africanus]:

τὰς δὲ πρὸ τούτων ὡδί πως τῆς Ἀττικῆς χρονογραφίας ἀριθμουμένης, ἀπὸ Ὠγύγου τοῦ παρ' ἐκείνοις αὐτόχθονος πιστευθέντος, ἐφ' οὗ γέγονεν ὁ μέγας καὶ πρῶτος ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ κατακλυσμός, Φωρωνέως Ἀργείων βασιλεύοντος, ὡς Ἀκουσίλαος ἱστορεῖ, μέχρι πρώτης Ὀλυμπιάδος, ὁπόθεν Ἕλληνες ἀκριβοῦν τοὺς χρόνους ἐνόμισαν, ἔτη συνάγεται χίλια εἴκοσιν, ὡς καὶ τοῖς προειρημένοις συμφωνεῖ καὶ τοῖς ἐξῆς δειχθήσεται. ταῦτα γὰρ <οἱ τὰ>

Ἀθηναίων ἱστοροῦντες, Ἑλλάνικός τε καὶ Φιλόχορος οἱ τὰς Ἀτθίδας, οἱ τε τὰ Σύρια Κάστωρ καὶ Θαλλὸς καὶ <ὁ> τὰ πάντων Διόδωρος ὁ τὰς Βιβλιοθήκας Ἀλέξανδρός τε ὁ Πολυῖστωρ καὶ τινες, <οἱ> τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἀκριβέστερον ἐμνήσθησαν καὶ τῶν Ἀττικῶν ἀπάντων.

F8 *apud* [Apollodorus] *Bibliotheca* 2.1.3:

Ἄργου δὲ καὶ Ἰσμήνης τῆς Ἀσωποῦ παῖς Ἴασος, οὗ φασιν ἰὼ γενέσθαι. Κάστωρ δὲ ὁ συγγράψας τὰ χρονικά καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν τραγικῶν Ἰνάχου τὴν ἰὼ λέγουσιν· Ἡσίοδος δὲ καὶ Ἀκουσίλαος Πειρήνος αὐτὴν φασιν εἶναι.

F9 *apud* Augustine *De civitate dei* 21.8:

Est in Marci Varronis libris . . . De gente populi Romani . . . ‘in caelo’ inquit ‘mirabile extitit portentum; nam <in> stella Veneris nobilissima . . . Castor scribit tantum portentum extitisse, ut mutaret colorem, magnitudinem, figuram, cursum; quod factum ita neque antea nec postea sit. hoc factum Ogygo rege dicebant Adrastus Cyzicenos et Dion Neapolites, mathematici nobiles.”

F10 *apud* Joannes Laurentius Lydus *De Magistratibus Populi Romani* 10.8–12:

Ἀνούνται τοιγαροῦν ἐκ τῆς Αἰνείου ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν παρόδου ἕως τοῦ πολιτισμοῦ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐνιαυτοὶ ἐννέα καὶ τριάκοντα καὶ τετρακόσιοι κατὰ Κάτωνα τὸν πρῶτον καὶ Βάρρωνα, τοὺς Ῥωμαίους· κατὰ δὲ Ἀφρικανὸν καὶ Κάστορα <καὶ> τὸν Παμφίλου ἔτη ζ' καὶ ι' καὶ υ'.

F11 *apud* John Malalas *Chronographia* 157.8–21:

Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Κροῖσος ἀκούσας τὴν τοῦ χρησμοῦ ἀπόκρισιν, ἐξῆλθε κατὰ Κύρου μετὰ δυνάμεως πολλῆς· καὶ παρήλθε τὸν Ἄλυν, ποταμὸν τῆς Καππαδοκίας. καὶ συνέκρουσε Κύρῳ χειμῶνος ὄντος μεγάλου· καὶ ἡττηθεὶς ἠθέλησε φυγεῖν αὐτὸς καὶ τὰ πλήθη αὐτοῦ· καὶ πλημμυρήσαντος τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐκ τοῦ χειμῶνος, οὐκ ἡδυνήθη φυγεῖν οὐδὲ περᾶσαι· καὶ ἐλήφθη αἰχμαλῶτος αὐτὸς καὶ τὰ πλήθη αὐτοῦ, χιλιάδες υ'. τοὺς δὲ ζήσαντας ἐξ αὐτῶν ἔλαβεν αἰχμαλῶτους ὁ Κύρος ἅμα Κροίσῳ. καὶ στήσας αὐτὸν ἐν ξυλίνῳ τρίποδι ἐν ὕψει δεδεμένον ἐθριάμβευσεν αὐτὸν τῷ στρατῷ αὐτοῦ. καὶ ἔλαβεν αὐτὸν καὶ κατήγαγεν ἐν Περσίδι. ταῦτα δὲ ἰστόρησαν οἱ σοφώτατοι Θάλης καὶ Κάστωρ καὶ Πολύβιος συγγραψάμενοι καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς Ἡρόδοτος ὁ ἱστοριογράφος· ἄτινα καὶ ὁ σοφὸς Θεόφιλος ἐχρονογράφησεν.

F12 *apud* Josephus *Contra Apionem* 1.184–5:

καὶ πρῶτον ἐπιδείξω τὸν χρόνον· μνημονεύει γὰρ τῆς Πτολεμαίου περὶ Γάζαν πρὸς Δημήτριον μάχης· αὕτη δὲ γέγονεν ἐνδεκάτῳ μὲν ἔτει τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτῆς, ἐπὶ δὲ Ὀλυμπιάδος ἐβδόμης καὶ δεκάτης καὶ ἑκατοστῆς, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Κάστωρ. προσθεὶς γὰρ ταύτην τὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα φησὶν· “ἐπὶ ταύτης Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου ἐνίκα κατὰ Γάζαν μάχῃ Δημήτριον τὸν Ἀντιγόνου τὸν ἐπικληθέντα Πολιορκητὴν.” Ἀλέξανδρον

δὲ τεθνάναι πάντες ὁμολογοῦσιν ἐπὶ τῆς ἑκατοστῆς τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτης ὀλυμπιάδος.

F13 *apud* Josephus *Contra Apionem* 2.83–5:

Quia vero Antiochus neque iustam fecit templi depraedationem . . . nec aliquid dignum derisione illic invenit, multi et digni conscriptores super hoc quoque testantur, Polybius Megalopolita, Strabon Cappadox, Nicolaus Damascenus, Timagenes et Castor temporum conscriptor et Apollodorus; omnes dicunt pecuniis indigentem Antiochum transgressum foedera Iudaeorum et spoliassse templum auro argentoque plenum.

F14 *apud* Pseudo-Justinus Martyr *Cohortatio ad gentiles* 9d–10b Morel:

πάντων τῶν παρ' ὑμῖν . . . πολλῶ πρεσβύτατος γέγονεν . . . Μωϋσῆς . . . ὡς δηλοῦσιν ἡμῖν αἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἱστορίαι. Ἐν γὰρ τοῖς χρόνοις Ὡγύγου τε καὶ Ἰνάχου . . . Μωϋσέως μέμνηται. . . οὕτω γὰρ Πολέμων τε ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἱστοριῶν μέμνηται καὶ Ἀπίων . . . καὶ Πτολεμαῖος δὲ ὁ Μενδήσιος, τὰ Αἰγυπτίων ἱστορῶν, ἅπανσι τούτοις συντρέχει. Καὶ οἱ τὰ Ἀθηναίων δὲ ἱστοροῦντες, Ἑλλάνικός τε καὶ Φιλόχορος ὁ τὰς Ἀθίδας, Κάστωρ τε καὶ Θαλλὸς καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Πολυῖστωρ, ἔτι δὲ καὶ οἱ σοφώτατοι Φίλων τε καὶ Ἰώσηπος . . . ὡς σφόδρα ἀρχαίου καὶ παλαιοῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἄρχοντος Μωυσέως μέμνηται.

F15 *apud* Plutarch *Moralia* 266c–e:

Ἰδιὰ τί τοὺς θεοὺς προσκυνοῦντες ἐπικαλύπτονται τὴν κεφαλὴν, τῶν δ' ἀνθρώπων τοῖς ἀξίοις τιμῆς ἀπαντῶντες . . . ἀποκαλύπτονται; . . . ἢ ὡς Κάστωρ λέγει τὰ Ρωμαϊκὰ τοῖς Πυθαγορικοῖς συνοικειῶν, τὸν ἐν ἡμῖν δαίμονα δεῖσθαι τῶν ἐκτὸς θεῶν καὶ ἱκετεύειν τῇ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐπικαλύψει τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς αἰνιττόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ σώματος ἐγκάλυψιν καὶ ἀπόκρισιν.

F16 *apud* Plutarch *Moralia* 282a:

Ἰδιὰ τί τὰς ἐν τοῖς ὑποδήμασι σεληνίδας οἱ διαφέρειν δοκοῦντες εὐγενεῖα φοροῦσιν; πότερον, ὡς Κάστωρ φησί, σύμβολόν ἐστι τοῦτο τῆς λεγομένης οἰκήσεως ἐπὶ τῆς σελήνης καὶ ὅτι μετὰ τὴν τελευταίην αὔθις αἱ ψυχαὶ τὴν σελήνην ὑπὸ πόδας ἔξουσιν . . .

F17 *apud* Plutarch *Moralia* 363b:

Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ πυρρόχροιν γεγονέναι τὸν Τυφῶνα νομίζοντες καὶ τῶν βοῶν τοὺς πυρροὺς καθιερεύουσιν, οὕτως ἀκριβῆ ποιούμενοι τὴν παρατήρησιν, ὥστε, κὰν μίαν ἔχῃ τρίχα μέλαιναν ἢ λευκὴν, ἄθυτον ἡγεῖσθαι· θύσιμον γὰρ οὐ φίλον εἶναι θεοῖς, ἀλλὰ τούναντίον, ὅσα ψυχαῖς ἀνοσίων ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἀδίκωνεῖς ἕτερα μεταμορφουμένων σώματα συνείληχε. διὸ τῇ μὲν κεφαλῇ τοῦ ἱερείου καταρασάμενοι καὶ ἀποκόψαντες εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐρρίπτουν πάλαι, νῦν δὲ τοῖς ξένοις ἀποδίδονται· τὸν δὲ μέλλοντα θύεσθαι βοῦν οἱ

σφραγισταὶ λεγόμενοι τῶν ἱερέων κατεσημαίνοντο, τῆς σφραγίδος, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Κάστωρ γλυφὴν μὲν ἐχούσης ἄνθρωπον εἰς γόνυ καθεικόμενον ταῖς χερσὶν ὀπίσω περιηγμέναις, ἔχοντα κατὰ τῆς σφαγῆς ξίφος ἐγκείμενον.

F18 *apud Vita-argumentum-scholion Euripides *Phoenissae* section 1 ll. 4–6*:
 † λιγύστιος δέ φησιν ὡς ἐκ χρημοῦ τοὺς παῖδας ἀκούσας ἀλληλοκτονή-
 σειν ἐξέθηκε τὸν Πολυνείκην, Κάστωρ δὲ ἀμφοτέρους ἐκτεθῆναι.

F19 *apud Stephanus Byzantinus *Ethnica* s.v. Βοιωτία*:
 Βοιωτία . . . Κάστωρ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς κατηγρησαμένης Κάδμω βοὸς λεχθῆναι
 τὴν χώραν οὕτως.

APPENDIX 5.5

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

Large sections of Dionysius' *Antiquitates Romanae* are extant. Of the original twenty books, 1–11 (beginnings of Rome to 85th Olympiad (441 BCE)) are preserved in their entirety as well as numerous, lengthy fragments of the remainder. It is sufficient here to reproduce a representative sample of text from the sections covering the years after the overthrow of the kings. The beginning of the account for the year 500/499 BCE is typical:

Ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς ἑβδομηκοστῆς ὀλυμπιάδος, ἣν ἐνίκα στάδιον Νικέας Λοκρὸς ἐξ Ὀποῦντος, ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησι Σμύρου, παραλαμβάνουσι τὴν ὑπατον ἀρχὴν Πόστομος Κομίνιος καὶ Τῖτος Λάρκιος· ἐφ' ὧν ἀπέστησαν αἱ Λατίνων πόλεις . . . (5.50.1)

[Approximately ninety lines of text follow describing other events in this year.]

Σερουιλίου δὲ Σολπικίου Καμερινοῦ καὶ Μανίου Τυλλίου Λόγγου τὴν ἀρχὴν παραλαβόντων Φιδηναίων τινὲς παρὰ Ταρκυνίων στρατιώτας μεταπεμψάμενοι τὴν ἄκραν καταλαμβάνονται. . . (5.52.1)

[Approximately 300 lines of text follow describing other events in this year.]

APPENDIX 5.6

THALLUS

FGrH 256 T1 apud Eusebius Chronographia 125.22–3 Karst:
aus des Thallos drei Büchern; in welche er abrißweise zusammengefaßt hat
von der Einnahme Iliions bis zur 167. Olympiade . . .

F1 apud Syncellus Ecloga Chronographica 391.6–21:
καθ' ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου σκότος ἐπήγετο φοβερώτατον, σεισμῶ τε αἱ πέτραι
διερρήγνυντο καὶ τὰ πολλὰ Ἰουδαίας τε καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς γῆς κατερρίφη.
Τοῦτο τὸ σκότος ἔκλειψιν τοῦ ἡλίου Θάλλος ἀποκαλεῖ ἐν τρίτῃ τῶν
ἱστοριῶν, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, ἀλόγως. Ἑβραῖοι γὰρ ἄγουσι τὸ πάσχα κατὰ
σελήνην ἰδ', πρὸ δὲ μιᾶς τοῦ πάσχα τὰ περὶ τὸν σωτῆρα συμβαίνει.
ἔκλειψις δὲ ἡλίου σελήνης ὑπελθούσης τὸν ἡλίον γίνεται· ἀδύνατον δὲ
ἐν ἄλλῳ χρόνῳ πληρὴν ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ μιᾶς καὶ τῆς πρὸ αὐτῆς κατὰ τὴν σύν-
οδον αὐτὴν ἀποβῆναι. πῶς οὖν ἔκλειψις νομισθεῖται κατὰ διάμετρον σχεδὸν
ὑπαρχούσης τῆς σελήνης ἡλίου; ἔστω δὴ, συναρπαζέτω τοὺς πολλοὺς τὸ
γεγενημένον καὶ τὸ κοσμικὸν τέρας ἡλίου ἔκλειψις ὑπονοεῖσθω ἐν τῇ κατὰ
τὴν ὄψιν <πλάνη>. Φλέγων ἱστορεῖ ἐπὶ Τιβερίου Καίσαρος ἐν πανσελήνῳ
ἔκλειψιν ἡλίου γεγονέναι . . . τίς δ' ἡ κοινωνία σεισμῶ καὶ ἐκλείψεσι, πέτραις
τε ρηγνυμέναις καὶ ἀναστάσει νεκρῶν, τοσαύτη τε κίνησις κοσμική;

F2–3 apud Theophilus Ad Autolyicum 3.29:
καὶ γὰρ Βῆλου τοῦ Ἀσσυρίων βασιλεύσαντος καὶ Κρόνου τοῦ Τιτᾶνος
Θάλλος μέμνηται, φάσκων τὸν Βῆλον πεπολεμηκέναι σὺν τοῖς Τιτᾶσι
πρὸς τὸν Δία καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ θεοὺς λεγομένους, ἐνθα φησίν· “Καὶ
Ὡγγυγος ἡττηθεὶς ἔφυγεν εἰς Ταρτηρσόν· τότε μὲν τῆς χώρας ἐκείνης Ἀκτῆς
κληθείσης, νῦν δὲ Ἀττικῆς προσαγορευομένης, ἧς Ὡγγυγος τότε ἦρξε.”
Καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς δὲ χώρας καὶ πόλεις, ἀφ' ὧν τὰς προσωνομίας ἔσχον,
οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον ἡγοῦμεθα καταλέγειν, μάλιστα πρὸς σὲ τὸν ἐπιστάμενον
τὰς ἱστορίας. ὅτι μὲν οὖν ἀρχαιότερος ὁ Μωσῆς δείκνυται Ἰπάντων συγ-
γραφέων (οὐκ αὐτὸς δὲ μόνος ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ πλείους μετ' αὐτὸν προφῆται

γενόμενοι) καὶ Κρόνου καὶ Βήλου καὶ τοῦ Ἰλιακοῦ πολέμου, δηλὸν ἐστίν. κατὰ γὰρ τὴν Θάλλου ἱστορίαν ὁ Βῆλος προγενέστερος εὐρίσκεται τοῦ Ἰλιακοῦ πολέμου ἔτεσι τκβ'.

F4a *apud Tertullian Apologeticum* 10.7:

Saturnum itaque, si quantum litterae docent, neque Diodorus Graecus aut Thallus neque Cassius Severus aut Cornelius Nepos neque ullus commentator eiusmodi antiquitatum aliud quam hominem promulgaverunt.

F4b *apud Lactantius De divinis institutionibus* 1.13:

Omnes ergo non tantum poetae, sed historiarum quoque ac rerum antiquarum scriptores hominem fuisse consentiunt, qui res eius in Italia gestas memoriae prodiderunt: Graeci, Diodorus et Thallus, Latini Nepos et Cassius et Varro.

F4c *apud Minucius Felix Octavius* 21.4:

Saturnum enim, principem huius generis et examinis, omnes scriptores vetustatis Graeci Romanique hominem tradiderunt. scit hoc Nepos et Cassius in historia, et Thallus ac Diodorus hoc loquuntur.

F5a *apud Eusebius Praeparatio Evangelica* 10.10.7–8

[Eusebius is quoting Sextus Julius Africanus]:

τὰς δὲ πρὸ τούτων ὡδί πως τῆς Ἀττικῆς χρονογραφίας ἀριθμουμένης, ἀπὸ Ὠγύγου τοῦ παρ' ἐκείνοις αὐτόχθονος πιστευθέντος, ἐφ' οὗ γέγονεν ὁ μέγας καὶ πρῶτος ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ κατακλυσμός, Φορωνέως Ἀργείων βασιλεύοντος, ὡς Ἀκουσίλαος ἱστορεῖ, μέχρι πρώτης Ὀλυμπιάδος, ὁπόθεν Ἕλληνες ἀκριβοῦν τοὺς χρόνους ἐνόμισαν, ἔτη συνάγεται χίλια εἴκοσιν, ὡς καὶ τοῖς προειρημένοις συμφωνεῖ καὶ τοῖς ἐξῆς δειχθήσεται. ταῦτα γὰρ <οἱ τὰ> Ἀθηναίων ἱστοροῦντες, Ἑλλάνικός τε καὶ Φιλόχορος οἱ τὰς Ἀτθίδας, οἱ τε τὰ Σύρια Κάστωρ καὶ Θαλλὸς καὶ <ὁ> τὰ πάντων Διόδωρος ὁ τὰς Βιβλιοθήκας Ἀλέξανδρός τε ὁ Πολυῖστωρ καὶ τινες, <οἱ> τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἀκριβέστερον ἐμνήσθησαν καὶ τῶν Ἀττικῶν Ἰπάντων.

F5b *apud Pseudo-Justinus Martyr Cohortatio ad gentiles* 9d–10b Morel:

πάντων τῶν παρ' ὑμῖν . . . πολλῶ πρεσβύτατος γέγονεν . . . Μωϋσῆς . . . ὡς δηλοῦσιν ἡμῖν αἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἱστορίαι. Ἐν γὰρ τοῖς χρόνοις Ὠγύγου τε καὶ Ἰνάχου . . . Μωϋσέως μέμνηται. . . οὕτω γὰρ Πολέμων τε ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἱστοριῶν μέμνηται καὶ Ἀπίων . . . καὶ Πτολεμαῖος δὲ ὁ Μενδήσιος, τὰ Αἰγυπτίων ἱστορῶν, ἅπανσι τούτοις συντρέχει. Καὶ οἱ τὰ Ἀθηναίων δὲ ἱστοροῦντες, Ἑλλάνικός τε καὶ Φιλόχορος ὁ τὰς Ἀτθίδας, Κάστωρ τε καὶ Θαλλὸς καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Πολυῖστωρ, ἔτι δὲ καὶ οἱ σοφώτατοι Φίλων τε καὶ Ἰώσηπος . . . ὡς σφόδρα ἀρχαίου καὶ παλαιοῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἄρχοντος Μωϋσέως μέμνηται

F6 *apud* Syncellus *Ecloga Chronographica* 104.5–12:

Ἡ τῶν Ἀράβων βασιλεία διαδεξαμένη τὴν τῶν Χαλδαίων διήρκεσεν ἔτη σιέ . . . ταύτην Ἀσσυρίων μὰ διεδέξαντο βασιλεῖς . . . διαρκέσαντες ἔτη ὅλα αὐξ' ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου αὐτῶν Βήλου ἕως τοῦ μὰ Κονκολέρου τοῦ καὶ Σαρδαναπάλου, ὡς συμφωνοῦσι πολλοὶ τῶν ἐπισήμων ἱστορικῶν, Πολύβιος καὶ Διόδωρος, Κεφαλίων τε καὶ Κάστωρ καὶ Θάλλος καὶ ἕτεροι.

F7 *apud* Eusebius *Praeparatio Evangelica* 10.10.4:

μετὰ δὲ τὰ ὅ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας ἔτη Κῦρος Περσῶν ἐβασίλευσεν, ὧ ἔτει Ὀλυμπιάς ἦχθη νέ, ὡς ἐκ τῶν Βιβλιοθηκῶν Διοδώρου καὶ τῶν Θαλλοῦ καὶ Κάστορος ἱστοριῶν, ἔτι δὲ Πολυβίου καὶ Φλέγοντος ἔστιν εὑρεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐτέρων, οἷς ἐμέλησεν Ὀλυμπιάδων· ἅπανσι γὰρ συνεφώνησεν ὁ χρόνος. Κῦρος δ' οὖν τῷ πρώτῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔτει, ὅπερ ἦν Ὀλυμπιάδος νέ ἔτος τὸ πρῶτον. . . .

F8 *apud* John Malalas *Chronographia* 157.8–21:

Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Κροῖσος ἀκούσας τὴν τοῦ χρησμοῦ ἀπόκρισιν, ἐξῆλθε κατὰ Κύρου μετὰ δυνάμεως πολλῆς· καὶ παρῆλθε τὸν Ἄλυν, ποταμὸν τῆς Καππαδοκίας. καὶ συνέκρουσε Κύρῳ χειμῶνος ὄντος μεγάλου· καὶ ἥττηθεις ἠθέλησε φυγεῖν αὐτὸς καὶ τὰ πλήθη αὐτοῦ· καὶ πλημμυρήσαντος τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐκ τοῦ χειμῶνος, οὐκ ἠδυνήθη φυγεῖν οὐδὲ περᾶσαι· καὶ ἐλήφθη αἰχμάλωτος αὐτὸς καὶ τὰ πλήθη αὐτοῦ, χιλιάδες ὤ. τοὺς δὲ ζήσαντας ἐξ αὐτῶν ἔλαβεν αἰχμαλώτους ὁ Κῦρος ἅμα Κροίσῳ. καὶ στήσας αὐτὸν ἐν ξυλίνῳ τρίποδι ἐν ὕψει δεδεμένον ἐθριάμβευσεν αὐτὸν τῷ στρατῷ αὐτοῦ. καὶ ἔλαβεν αὐτὸν καὶ κατήγαγεν ἐν Περσίδι. ταῦτα δὲ ἰστόρησαν οἱ σοφώτατοι Θάλης καὶ Κάστωρ καὶ Πολύβιος συγγραψάμενοι καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς Ἡρόδοτος ὁ ἱστοριογράφος· ἅτινα καὶ ὁ σοφὸς Θεόφιλος ἐχρονογράφησεν.

APPENDIX 5.7

PHLEGON

FGrH 257 T1 apud Suda s.v. Φλέγων:

Φλέγων, Τραλλιανός, ἀπελευθέρους τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ καίσαρος, οἱ δὲ Ἀδριανοῦ φασιν· ἱστορικός. ἔγραψεν Ὀλυμπιάδας ἐν βιβλίοις ις· ἔστι δὲ μέχρι τῆς σκ' Ὀλυμπιάδος τὰ πραχθέντα πανταχοῦ· τὰ δὲ αὐτὰ ἐν βιβλίοις ἡ' Ἐκφρασιν Σικελίας, Περὶ μακροβίων καὶ θαυμασίων, Περὶ τῶν παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ἑορτῶν βιβλία γ', Περὶ τῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ τόπων καὶ ὧν ἐπικέκληνται ὀνομάτων, Ἐπιτομὴν Ὀλυμπιονικῶν ἐν βιβλίοις β', καὶ ἄλλα.

T4 apud Eusebius Chronographia 125.17–19 Karst:

aus des Philagon (Phlegon), des Freigelassenen des Kaisers, 14 Büchern; in welche er auszugsweise zusammengefaßt hat 229 Olympiaden . . .

F1 apud Codex Palatinus Graecus 398 p. 234r:

Φλέγοντος ἀπελευθέρους Ἀδριανοῦ Καίσαρος Περὶ τῶν Ὀλυμπίων.

δοκεῖ μοι χρῆναι εἰπεῖν τὴν αἰτίαν, δι' ἣν τὰ Ὀλύμπια τεθῆναι συμβέβηκεν. ἔστιν δὲ ἡδε. μετὰ Πείσον καὶ Πέλοπα, ἔτι δὲ Ἡρακλέα, τοὺς πρώτους τὴν πανήγυριν καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν Ὀλυμπίᾳσιν ἐνστησάμενους, ἐκλειπόντων τῶν Πελοποννησίων τὴν θρησκευτὴν χρόνῳ τινί, εἰς ὃν ἀπὸ Ἰφίτου Ὀλυμπιάδες ὀκτὼ πρὸς ταῖς εἴκοσι καταριθμοῦνται εἰς Κόροιβον τὸν Ἡλεῖον, καὶ ἀμελησάντων τοῦ ἀγῶνος, στάσις ἐνέστη κατὰ τὴν Πελοπόννησον. (2) Λυκοῦργος δὲ ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος, υἱὸς ὧν τοῦ Πρυτάνεως τοῦ Εὐρυπῶντος τοῦ Σόου τοῦ Προκλέους τοῦ Ἀριστοδήμου τοῦ Ἀριστομάχου τοῦ Κλεοδαίου τοῦ Ὑλλου τοῦ Ἡρακλέους καὶ Δηϊανείρας, καὶ Ἰφίτος ὁ Αἰμόνος, ὡς δὲ ἔνιοι Πραξωνίδου, ἐνὸς τῶν ἀπὸ Ἡρακλέους, Ἡλεῖος, καὶ Κλεοσθένης ὁ Κλεονίκου Πεισάτης, βουλόμενοι εἰς ὁμόνοιαν καὶ εἰρήνην τὸ πλῆθος αὐθις ἀποκαταστήσαι, τὴν τε πανήγυριν τὴν Ὀλυμπικὴν ἔγνωσαν ἀνάγειν εἰς τὰ ἀρχαῖα νόμιμα καὶ ἀγῶνα γυμνικὸν ἐπιτελέσαι. (3) στέλλονται δὴ εἰς Δελφοὺς χρησόμενοι τῷ θεῷ, εἰ σφισιν συνεπαινεῖ ταῦτα ποιῆσαι. ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἄμεινον ἔφη ἔσεσθαι ποιοῦσιν. καὶ προσέταξεν

ἐκεχειρίαν ἀγγεῖλαι ταῖς πόλεσιν ταῖς βουλομέναις μετέχειν τοῦ ἀγῶνος. (4) ὣν περιαγγελθέντων κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ ὁ δίσκος ἐγγράφη τοῖς Ἑλλανοδίκαις, καθ' ὃν ἔδει τὰ Ὀλύμπια ἄγειν. (5) οὐκ ἄγαν δὲ προσιεμένων τὸν ἀγῶνα ἀλλὰ δυσχεραίνοντων τῶν Πελοποννησίων, λοιμὸς ἐπιγενόμενος καὶ φθορὰ καρπῶν ἐλυμαίνετο αὐτούς. οἱ δὲ ἀποστ<εί>λαντες πάλιν τοὺς περὶ τὸν Λυκοῦργον ἡτιοῦντο τοῦ λοιμοῦ παῦλαν καὶ ἱασίν τινα. (6) ἡ δὲ Πυθία χρᾶι τάδε·

ναίοντες πρέσβεις τε βροτῶν πάντων καὶ ἄριστοι,
φράζεσθ' ἐξ ἐμέθεν χρησμὸν θεοῦ, ὅττι κεν εἴπω.
Ζεὺς ὑμῖν μῆνιν τελετῆς ἔχει ἣν διέχρησεν,
οὐνέκ' ἀτιμάζοντες Ὀλύμπια πασιάνακτος
Ζηνός—τοῦ πρῶτος μὲν ἰδρύσατο καὶ θέτο τιμὴν
Πεῖσος, καὶ μετὰ τόνδε Πέλοψ, ὅτε δὴ μόλεν αἶαν
Ἑλλάδα, θῆκε δ' ἔπειτα ἔροτιν καὶ ἔπαθλα θανόντι
Οἰνομάωι, τρίτατος δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς πάσις Ἀμφιτρύωνος
Ἡρακλῆς ἐτέλεσσ' ἔροτιν καὶ ἀγῶνα ἐπὶ μήτρωι
Τανταλίδηι Πέλοπι φθιμένωι, τὸν δῆπποθεν ὑμεῖς
λείπετε καὶ τελετήν. ἥς χωσάμενος κατὰ θυμὸν
ᾧρσε κακὴν λιμὸν παρὰ τοῖς καὶ λοιμόν, ὃν ἔστι
παῦσαι ἀνορθώσαντας ἔροτὴν τῷ πάλιν αὔθις.

(7) ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες ἀπήγγειλαν τοῖς Πελοποννησίοις. οἱ δὲ ἀπιστήσαντες τῷ χρησμῷ ἀπέστειλαν πάλιν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀπὸ κοινοῦ δόγματος ἐπιστρεφέστερον ἐπερωτήσαντας τὸν θεὸν περὶ τῶν χρησθέντων. ἡ δὲ Πυθία λέγει τάδε·

ὦ Πελοποννήσου ναέται, περὶ βωμὸν ἰόντες
θύετε καὶ πείθεσθε τά κεν μάντις ἐνέπωσιν.

(8) τούτων χρησθέντων οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι ἐπέτρεψαν τοῖς Ἡλείοις ἀγῶνα τιθέναι τῶν Ὀλυμπίων καὶ ἐκεχειρίαν ἀγγέλλειν ταῖς πόλεσιν. (9) καὶ Ἡλεῖοι δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα βουλόμενοι βοηθεῖν Λακεδαιμονίοις, ὅτε Ἑλος ἐπολιόρκουν, πέμπαντες εἰς Δελφοὺς ἐμαντεύοντο. καὶ χρᾶι ἡ Πυθία τάδε·

Ἡλείων πρόπολοι, πατέρων νόμον ἰθύνοντες
τὴν αὐτῶν ῥύεσθε πάτραν, πολέμου δ' ἀπέχεσθε,
κοινοδίκου φιλίας ἡγούμενοι Ἑλλήνεσσιν,
εὐτ' ἂν πενταετὴς ἔλθῃ φιλόφρων ἐνιαυτός.

χρησθέντων δὲ τούτων τοῦ μὲν πολεμεῖν ἀπέσχοντο, τῶν δὲ Ὀλυμπίων τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἐποιοῦντο. (10) καὶ ἐστέφετο μὲν οὐδεὶς ἐπὶ πέντε Ὀλυμπιάδας, τῇ δὲ ἕκτῃ ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς μαντεύσασθαι, εἰ στέμματα περιθῶσι τοῖς νικῶσι, καὶ πέμπουσι τὸν βασιλέα Ἰφίτον εἰς θεοῦ. ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἔφη τάδε·

ἴφιτε, μήλειον καρπὸν μὴ θῆις ἐπὶ νίκηι,
 ἀλλὰ τὸν ἄγριον ἀμφιτίθει καρπώδη ἔλαιον,
 ὅς νῦν ἀμφέχεται λεπτοῖσιν ἢ ὑφάσμασιν ἀράχνης.

(11) παραγενόμενος οὖν εἰς τὴν Ὀλυμπίαν, πολλῶν ἐν τῷ τεμένει κοτίνων ὄντων, εὐρὼν ἕνα περιεχόμενον ἀραχνίοις περιωικοδόμησεν αὐτόν, καὶ τοῖς νικῶσιν ἐκ τούτου ἐδόθη ὁ στέφανος. πρῶτος δ' ἐστεφανώθη Δαικλῆς Μεσσήνιος, <ὅς> τῇ ἐβδόμῃ ὀλυμπιάδι στάδιον ἐνίκα.

F2 *apud* Stephanus Byzantius *Ethnica* s.v. Γέργις:

Γέργις, πόλις Τροίας . . . Γεργιθία ἢ χρησμολόγος Σίβυλλα, ἣ τις καὶ ἐτετύπωτο ἐν τῷ νομίσματι τῶν Γεργιθίων αὐτὴ τε καὶ σφίγξ, ὡς Φλέγων ἐν Ὀλυμπιάδων α'. ἐν δὲ τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Γεργιθίου Ἀπόλλωνος Σιβύλλης φασὶν εἶναι τάφον.

F3 *apud* Stephanus Byzantius *Ethnica* s.v. Διὸς ἱερόν:

Διὸς ἱερόν, πολίχνιον Ἰωνίας μεταξὺ Λεβέδου καὶ Κολοφῶνος. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Διοσιερίτης, ὡς Φλέγων ἐν πρώτῃ Ὀλυμπιάδων.

F4 and F6 *apud* Stephanus Byzantius *Ethnica* s.v. Δυσπόντιον:

Δυσπόντιον, πόλις Πισαίας, ἀπὸ Δυσπόντου τοῦ Πέλοπος, παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἐξ Ἡλίδος εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν. ἀπὸ ταύτης Ἀντίμαχος ἦν ὀλυμπιονίκης νικήσας [ἐν ὀλυμπιάδι] στάδιον. Φλέγων ἐν ὀλυμπιάδι β', "Ἀντίμαχος Ἡλεῖος ἐκ Δυσποντίου στάδιον". καὶ ἐν κζ', "Δάιππος Κροτωνιάτης πύξ, Ἡλείων ἐκ Δυσποντίου τέθριππον".

F5 *apud* Stephanus Byzantius *Ethnica* s.v. Ὑπερασία:

Ὑπερασία, πόλις [Ἀχαΐας] ἧς τὸ ἐθνικὸν Ὑπερασιεύς. Φλέγων κγ' ὀλυμπιάδι.

F7 *apud* Stephanus Byzantius *Ethnica* s.v. Λήνος:

Λήνος, χώρα τῆς Πισατῶν. ὁ πολίτης Ληναῖος. Φλέγων μὴ ὀλυμπιάδι.

F8 *apud* Eusebius *Praeparatio Evangelica* 10.10.4:

μετὰ δὲ τὰ ὅ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας ἔτη Κῦρος Περσῶν ἐβασίλευσεν, ᾧ ἔτει Ὀλυμπιάς ἦχθη νέ, ὡς ἐκ τῶν Βιβλιοθηκῶν Διοδώρου καὶ τῶν Θαλλοῦ καὶ Κάστορος ἱστοριῶν, ἔτι δὲ Πολυβίου καὶ Φλέγοντος ἔστιν εὐρεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐτέρων, οἷς ἐμέλησεν Ὀλυμπιάδων· ἅπανσι γὰρ συνεφώνησεν ὁ χρόνος. Κῦρος δ' οὖν τῷ πρώτῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔτει, ὅπερ ἦν Ὀλυμπιάδος νέ ἔτος τὸ πρῶτον. . . .

F9 *apud* Joannes Philoponus *De opificio mundi* 208.23–26:

ἱστορεῖ δὲ καὶ Φλέγων ἐν τῇ ἑκατοστῇ εἰκοστῇ τετάρτῃ ὀλυμπιάδι Λυσιμάχου τοῦ Μακεδόνοιο ἄταφον ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας τὸ σῶμα κείμενον ὑπὸ κυνὸς φυλάττεσθαι, εἵργοντος τοῦ νεκροῦ τὰ θηρία, μέχρις οὗ Θῶραξ ὁ Λαρισαῖος περιτυχῶν αὐτὸν ἔθαψε.

F10 *apud* Stephanus Byzantius *Ethnica* s.v. Νίβις:

Νίβις, πόλις Αἰγύπτου. Φλέγων ρμ' Ὀλυμπιάδι. τὸ ἔθνικόν Νιβίτης ὡς Μεμφίτης.

F11 *apud* Stephanus Byzantius *Ethnica* s.v. Βέλιτρα:

Βέλιτρα, πόλις Ἰταλίας, οὐ Ρώμης ἀποτέρω, ὥς φησι Φλέγων Ὀλυμπιάδι ροδ'. τὸ ἔθνικόν Βελιτρανός τῷ ἔθει τῆς χώρας.

F12 (and T3) *apud* Photius *Bibliotheca* Codex 97:

Ἀνεγνώσθη Φλέγοντος Τραλλιανοῦ, ἀπελευθέρου τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος Ἀδριανοῦ, Ὀλυμπιονικῶν καὶ χρονικῶν συναγωγῇ. Προσφωνεῖ τὸ σύνταγμα πρὸς Ἀλκιβιάδην τινά, ὃς εἷς ἦν τῶν εἰς φυλακὴν τεταγμένων τοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ. Ἀρχεται δὲ τῆς συναγωγῆς ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης Ὀλυμπιάδος, διότι τὰ πρότερα, καθὼς καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι σχεδόν τι πάντες φασίν, οὐκ ἔτυχεν ὑπὸ τινος ἀκριβοῦς καὶ ἀληθοῦς ἀναγραφῆς, ἀλλὰ ἄλλο τι ἄλλος τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων καὶ οὐ συμφώνως ἔγραψαν, ὅσοις καὶ γράψαι πεφιλοτίμηται. Τὴν μὲν οὖν ἀρχὴν τοῦ συγγράμματος, ὥσπερ ἔφημεν, ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης Ὀλυμπιάδος ποιεῖται· κάτεισι δέ, ὡς αὐτός φησι, μέχρι τῶν Ἀδριανοῦ χρόνων.

Ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀνεγνώσθη μέχρι τῆς ροζ' Ὀλυμπιάδος, ἐν ἣ ἑνίκα Ἑκατόμνωσ Μιλήσιος στάδιον καὶ δίαυλον καὶ ὀπλίτην τρίς, Υψίκλης Σικυώνιος δόλιχον, Γάϊος Ρωμαῖος δόλιχον, Ἀριστωνυμίδας Κῶς πένταθλον, Ἰσίδωρος Ἀλεξανδρεὺς πάλην, ἄπτωτος περίοδον, Ἀτυάνας Ἱπποκράτους Ἀδραμυτίου πύξ, Σφοδρίας Σικυώνιος παγκράτιον, Σωσιγένης Ἀσιανὸς παίδων στάδιον, Ἀπολλοφάνης Κυπαρισσιεὺς παίδων πάλην, Σωτήριχος Ἥλειος παίδων πύξ, Κάλας Ἥλειος παίδων παγκράτιον, Ἑκατόμνωσ Μιλήσιος ὀπλίτην (οὗτος ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ τὰ τρία ἐστεφανώθη, στάδιον, δίαυλον, ὀπλίτην), Ἀριστόλοχος Ἥλειος τέθριππον, Ἀγήμενος Ἥλείου κέλῃς, Ἐλλαλνίκου Ἥλείου συνωρίς, τοῦ αὐτοῦ πωλικὸν τέθριππον, Κλητία Ἥλείου πωλικὴ συνωρίς, Καλλίππου [Ἥλ<ε>ίου] πωλικὸς κέλῃς.

Λεύκολλος δὲ Ἀμισὸν ἐπολιόρκει, καὶ Μουρήναν ἐπὶ τῆς πολιορκίας καταλιπὼν μετὰ δυοῖν ταγματῶν, αὐτὸς μετὰ τριῶν ἄλλων προῆγεν ἐπὶ Καβείρων, ὅπου διεχέιμαζε. Καὶ Ἀδριανὸν ἐπέταξε πολεμῆσαι Μιθριδάτῃ· καὶ πολεμήσας ἐνίκησε. Καὶ σεισμοῦ ἐν Ρώμῃ γενομένου, πολλὰ ταύτης συνέπεσε. Καὶ ἄλλα δὲ πλεῖστα ἐν ταύτῃ ξυνηνέχθη τῇ Ὀλυμπιάδι. Καὶ Ρωμαίων τῷ τρίτῳ αὐτῆς ἔτει ἀπετιμήθησαν μυριάδες ἐνενήκοντα καὶ μία. Καὶ Σινατρούχην τὸν Πάρθων βασιλεῖα τελευτήσαντα διεδέξατο Φραάτης ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς θεός. Καὶ Φαῖδρον τὸν Ἐπικούρειον διεδέξατο Πάτρων. Καὶ Οὐεργίλιος Μάρων ὁ ποιητὴς ἐγεννήθη τούτου τοῦ ἔτους εἰδοῖς Ὀκτωβρίαις. Τῷ δὲ τετάρτῳ ἔτει Τιγράνης καὶ Μιθριδάτης ἀθροίσαντες πεζοὺς μὲν τέσσαρας μυριάδας ἵππείας δὲ τρεῖς, καὶ τὸν Ἰταλικὸν αὐτοὺς τάξαντες τρόπον, ἐπολέμησαν Λευκόλλῳ·

καὶ νικᾷ Λεύκολλος, καὶ πεντακισχίλιοι μὲν τῶν μετὰ Τιγράνους ἔπεσον, πλείους δὲ τούτων ἠχμαλωτίσθησαν, χωρὶς τοῦ ἄλλου σύγκλυδος ὄχλου. Καὶ τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἐν Ῥώμῃ Κάτλος καθιέρωσε, καὶ Μέτελλος ἐπὶ τὸν Κρητικὸν πόλεμον ὀρμήσας, τρία τάγματα ἔχων, ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν νῆσον, καὶ μάχῃ νικήσας τὸν Λασθένη, αὐτοκράτωρ ἀνηγορεύθη, καὶ τειχήρεις κατέστησε τοὺς Κρήτας. Καὶ Ἀθηνόδωρος πειρατῆς ἑξανδραποδισάμενος Δηλίους τὰ τῶν λεγομένων θεῶν ξόανα διελυμήνατο, Γάιος δὲ Τριάριος τὰ λελωβημένα τῆς πόλεως ἐπισκευάσας ἐτείχισε τὴν Δῆλον.

Μέχρι μὲν οὖν ταύτης μοι τῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος ἐν λόγοις πέντε ἡ ἀνάγνωσις γέγονεν. Ἔστι δὲ τὴν φράσιν οὔτε λίαν χαμαιπετῆς οὔτε τὸν Ἀττικὸν ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς διασφῶζων χαρακτήρα. Ἄλλως τε δὲ καὶ ἡ περὶ τὰς Ὀλυμπιάδας καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐταῖς τῶν ἀγωνισμάτων ὀνόματα καὶ πράξεις καὶ ἡ περὶ τοὺς χρησμοὺς ἄκαιρος φιλοπονία τε καὶ φιλοτιμία, εἰς κόρον ἀπάγουσα τὸν ἀκροατὴν καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο τῶν ἐν τῷ λόγῳ σχεδὸν τι προκύπτειν συγχωροῦσα, ἀδηρὴ τε τὸν λόγον δεικνύει καὶ χάριτος οὐδὲν ἔχειν παρατίθησι. Χρησμοῖς δὲ παντοίοις ἐς ὑπερβολὴν ἐστι κεχρημένος.

F13 *apud* Stephanus Byzantius *Ethnica* s.v. Ταρραχίνη:

Ταρραχίνη, πόλις Ἰταλίας. Φλέγων Ὀλυμπιάδι ρπα' < φησὶν > ὅτι παιδίον ἐκ δούλης γενόμενον τῇ ἐνάτῃ καὶ τεσσαρακοστῇ τῆς γενέσεως τὸν προσαγορεύσαντα ἀντιπροσαγορεύσαι, ἐφ' οἷς τοὺς μάντεις προσαγορεύσαι ὄλεθρον.

F14 *apud* Stephanus Byzantius *Ethnica* s.v. Αὔγουσται:

Αὔγουσται πόλεις ἐν Κιλικίᾳ καὶ Ἰταλίᾳ. οἱ πολῖται Αὔγουστανοί. Φλέγων ἐν Ὀλυμπιάδων η'.

F15 *apud* Stephanus Byzantius *Ethnica* s.v. Κρέμη:

Κρέμη, πόλις Πόντου. Φλέγων ὀγδόῳ χρονικῶν. τὸ ἔθνικόν Κρεμήσιος ὡς Ἰθακήσιος.

F16a *apud* Jerome's translation of Eusebius' *Chronikoi Kanones* 174d Helm:

IHS · XPS · SECUNDUM PROPHETIAS, quae de eo fuerant praelocutae, ad passionem venit anno Tiberii · XVIII · quo tempore etiam in aliis ethnicorum commentariis haec ad verbum scripta reperimus: 'solis facta defectio, Bithynia terrae motu concussa et in urbe Nicaea aedes plurimae corruerunt.' Quae omnia his congruunt, quae in passione Salvatoris acciderant. Scribit vero super his et Flego, qui olympiadarum egregius supputator est, in · XIII · libro ita dicens: 'quarto autem anno · CCII · olympiadis magna et excellens inter omnes, quae ante eam acciderant, defectio solis facta. Dies hora sexta ita in tenebrosam noctem versus, ut stellae in caelo visae sint terraeque motus in Bithynia Nicaenae urbis multas aedes subverterit.'

F16b *apud* Syncellus *Ecloga Chronographica* 391.18–19:

Φλέγων ιστορεῖ ἐπὶ Τιβερίου Καίσαρος ἐν πανσελήνῳ ἔκλειψιν ἡλίου γεγονέναι τελείαν ἀπὸ ὥρας 5 μέχρις 9, δῆλον ὡς ταύτην.

F16c *apud* Joannes Philoponus *De opificio mundi* 99.6–100.6:

Τούτου δὲ τοῦ σκότους . . . καὶ Φλέγων ἐν ταῖς Ὀλυμπιάσιν ἐμνήσθη· λέγει γάρ, ὅτι τῷ 8 ἔτει τῆς διακοσιοστῆς δευτέρας Ὀλυμπιάδος ἐγένετο ἡλίου ἔκλειψις μεγίστη τῶν οὐκ ἐγνωσμένων πρότερον· καὶ νῦν ὥρα 6 ἔκτη τῆς ἡμέρας ἐγένετο, ὥστε καὶ ἀστέρας ἐν οὐρανῷ φανῆναι. ὅτι δὲ τῆς ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ τοῦ δεσπότη Χριστοῦ γενομένης τοῦ ἡλίου ἐκλείψεως καὶ οὐχ ἑτέρας ἐμνήσθη καὶ Φλέγων, πρῶτον μὲν ἐκ τοῦ λέγειν μὴ ἐγνωσθαι τὴν τοιαύτην ἔκλειψιν τοῖς πρότερον χρόνοις ἐστὶ δῆλον. . . . καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτῆς δὲ τῆς περὶ Τιβερίου Καίσαρος ἱστορίας δείκνυται· βασιλεύειν μὲν γὰρ αὐτόν φησιν ὁ Φλέγων τῷ δευτέρῳ ἔτει τῆς ἑκατοστῆς ἐνενηκοστῆς ὀγδόης Ὀλυμπιάδος. τὴν δὲ ἔκλειψιν γεγονέναι ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ ἔτει τῆς διακοσιοστῆς δευτέρας Ὀλυμπιάδος. . . .

F16d *apud* Origenes *Contra Celsum* 2.33:

Περὶ δὲ τῆς ἐπὶ Τιβερίου Καίσαρος ἐκλείψεως, οὗ βασιλεύοντος καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἔοικεν ἑσταυρῶσθαι, καὶ περὶ τῶν μεγάλων τότε γενομένων σεισμῶν τῆς γῆς ἀνέγραψε καὶ Φλέγων ἐν τῷ τρισκαιδεκάτῳ ἢ τῷ τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτῳ οἶμαι τῶν Χρονικῶν.

F16e *apud* Origenes *Contra Celsum* 2.14:

Φλέγων μέντοι ἐν τρισκαιδεκάτῳ ἢ τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτῳ οἶμαι τῶν Χρονικῶν καὶ τὴν περὶ τινων μελλόντων πρόγνωσιν ἔδωκε τῷ Χριστῷ, συγχυθεὶς ἐν τοῖς περὶ Πέτρου ὡς περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, καὶ ἐμαρτύρησεν ὅτι κατὰ τὰ εἰρημένα ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ τὰ λεγόμενα ἀπῆντησε.

F17 *apud* Constantinus VII Porphyrogenitus *De thematibus* II Chapter 12.12–15:

Μαρτυρεῖ καὶ Φλέγων ἐν Ὀλυμπιάδων πεντεκαιδεκάτῃ ὅτι “ἐβασιλεύετο <ὁ> Βόσπορος Κόττι τῷ Βοσποριανῷ βασιλεῖ, ὃ καὶ διάδημα ἐκέλευσε φορεῖν ὁ Καῖσαρ καὶ τὰς πόλεις αὐτῷ καθυπέταξεν, ἐν αἷς συναριθμεῖ καὶ αὐτὴν Χερσῶνα.”

F18 *apud* Stephanus Byzantius *Ethnica* s.v. Νεοκαισάρεια:

Νεοκαισάρεια, Ποντικὴ πόλις. τὸ ἔθνικόν Νεοκαισαρεύς, ὡς Φλέγων ἐ’ Ὀλυμπιάδων. οἱ αὐτοὶ καὶ Ἀδριανοπολῖται.

F19 *apud* Stephanus Byzantius *Ethnica* s.v. Ὀλυμπιεῖον:

Ὀλυμπιεῖον, τόπος ἐν Δήλῳ, ὃν κτίσαντες Ἀθηναῖοι χρήμασιν Ἀδριανοῦ νέας Ἀθήνας Ἀδριανὰς ἐκάλεσαν, ὡς Φλέγων ἐν Ὀλυμπιάδων ιε’.

F20 *apud* Stephanus Byzantius *Ethnica* s.v. Σκορδίσκοι:

Σκορδίσκοι καὶ Σκίρτιοι, ἔθνη Παιονίας, ὡς Φλέγων ἐν Ὀλυμπιάδων ιε΄.

F21 *apud* Stephanus Byzantius *Ethnica* s.v. Τερβητία:

Τερβητία, πόλις Σικελίας. οἱ πολῖται Τερβητῖνοι, ὡς Πλακεντῖνοι ἀπὸ Πλακεντίας. Φλέγων ἐν Ὀλυμπιάδων ιε΄.

F22 *apud* Stephanus Byzantius *Ethnica* s.v. Φουρνίτα:

Φουρνίτα, πόλις Λιβύης. οἱ οἰκήτορες Φουρνιτανοί. Φλέγων ιε΄ τῶν Ὀλυμπιάδων.

F23 *apud* *Etymologicum Magnum* s.v. Ἀδρίας:

<Ἀδρίας>: Τὸ πέλαγος. Διονύσιος Σικελίας τύραννος, † ὃς πρότερον ἐπὶ τῇ [----] Ὀλυμπιάδι πόλιν ἔκτισεν Ἀδρίαν ἐν τῷ Ἰωνικῷ κόλπῳ, ἀφ’ ἧς καὶ τὸ πέλαγος Ἀδρίας καλεῖται. Εὐδοξος δὲ ἐν τῷ θ’ τῶν ἱστοριῶν τὸ πέλαγος καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὀνομασθῆναι Ἀδρίαν [φησὶν] ἀπὸ Ἀδρίου τοῦ Μεσαππίου τοῦ Παύσωνος. Φλέγων ἐν Ὀλυμπιάσιν. Οὕτως Ὠρίων.

F24a *apud* Evagrius Scholasticus *Historia Ecclesiastica* 29.3–6:

Εἰ δέ τῳ περισπούδαστον ταύτας εἶδέναι (sc. the Greek colonists in Antiocheia-on-Orontes) ἱστόρηται περιέργως Στράβωνι τῷ γεωγράφῳ, Φλέγοντί τε καὶ Διοδώρῳ τῷ ἐκ Σικελίας, Ἀρριανῷ τε αὖ καὶ Πεισάνδρῳ τῷ ποιητῇ, καὶ πρὸς γε Οὐλπιανῷ Λιβανίῳ τε καὶ Ἰουλιανῷ τοῖς παναρίστοις σοφισταῖς.

F24b *apud* Jerome *Quaestiones Hebraicae in Genesim* 10.2:

Legamus Varronis De antiquitatibus libros et Sinnii Capitonis et Graecum Phlegonta ceterosque eruditissimos viros: et videbimus omnes paene insulas et totius orbis litora terrasque mari vicinas Graecis accolis occupatas, qui, ut supra diximus, ab Amano et Tauro montibus omnia maritima loca usque ad oceanum possedere Britannicum.

F25 *apud* Procopius of Gaza *Commentarii in Genesim* 313b Migne:

(At the Tower of Babylon) καὶ ἀσφάλτῳ χρήσασθαι ὡς μᾶλλον ἀντέχειν δυναμένη πρὸς ὕδωρ – ἐγίνετο δὲ περὶ τι μέρος τοῦ Εὐφράτου, ὡς ἱστοροῦσι Φλέγων τε καὶ Ἡρόδοτος.

F26 *apud* Stephanus Byzantius *Ethnica* s.v. Ἑλβονθίς:

Ἑλβονθίς, πόλις μεταξὺ Αἰγύπτου καὶ Κυρήνης. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Ἑλβονθίτης, ὡς Φλέγων.

F27 *apud* Stephanus Byzantius *Ethnica* s.v. Μαιανδρούπολις:

Μαιανδρούπολις, Μαγνησίας πόλις, ὡς Φλέγων ἐν Ὀλυμπιάσι. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Μαιανδροπολίτης.

F28 *apud* Stephanus Byzantius *Ethnica* s.v. Μοτιηνή:

Μοτιηνή, χωρίον Ἰβηρίας, ἄποικος Ῥωμαίων. Πολύβιος τρίτῳ. Φλέγων δὲ Μουτίνην αὐτὴν φησι.

F29 *apud* Stephanus Byzantius *Ethnica* s.v. Πικεντία:

Πικεντία, πόλις Τυρρηνίας. Φλέγων δὲ Πικεντόν αὐτὴν καλεῖ.

F30 *apud* Stephanus Byzantius *Ethnica* s.v. Σινώπη:

Σινώπη, πόλις διαφανεστάτη τοῦ Πόντου, κτίσμα Κρητίνου [καὶ] Κῶου, ὥς φησι Φλέγων.

F31 *apud* Stephanus Byzantius *Ethnica* s.v. Τέρινα:

Τέρινα, πόλις Ἰταλίας καὶ ποταμὸς ὁμώνυμος, κτίσμα Κροτωνιατῶν, ὥς Φλέγων.

F32 *apud* Stephanus Byzantius *Ethnica* s.v. Ὠστία:

Ὠστία, πόλις Ἰταλίας. . . . Φλέγων δὲ Ὠστίους αὐτοὺς καλεῖ λέγων “παρέλαβε δὲ τὴν Ὠστίων πόλιν”.

F33 *apud* Suda s.v. Θαλῆς:

Θαλῆς . . . γεγωνῶς πρὸ Κροίσου, ἐπὶ τῆς λείδλυμπιάδος, κατὰ δὲ Φλέγοντα γνωριζόμενος ἤδη ἐπὶ τῆς ζ’.

F34 *apud* Suda s.v. Φλέγων:

Φλέγων, Τραλλιανός . . . τούτου τοῦ Φλέγοντος, ὥς φησι Φιλοστόργιος, ὅσον τὰ κατὰ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους συμπεσόντα διὰ πλείονος ἐπεξελεῖν τοῦ πλάτους, Φλέγοντος † καὶ Δίωνος βραχέως ἐπιμνησθέντων καὶ παρενθήκην αὐτὰ τοῦ οἰκείου λόγου ποιησαμένων. ἐπεὶ τῶν γε εἰς εὐσέβειαν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἀρετὴν ἐλκόντων οὐδ’ ὅτιοῦν οὐδ’ οὗτος δείκνυται πεφροντικῶς, ὄνπερ οὐδ’ ἐκεῖνοι τρόπον. τούναντίον μὲν οὖν ὁ Ἰώσηπος καὶ δεδοικότι ἔοικε καὶ εὐλαβουμένῳ ὥς μὴ προσκρούσειεν Ἑλλήσι.

APPENDIX 5.8

POxy XVII 2082

The text given here is that found at *FGH* 257a.

Fragment One:

[.].τα κρίναντας [. .]ν.ξε.[. . . | ἐσ]τασίασαν δὲ καὶ οἱ τῶν Ἀθη[|να]ίων
στρατηγοί, ὁ τε ἐπὶ τῶν | ὅπλων τεταγμένος Χαρίας καὶ | [Λ]αχάρης ὁ
τῶν ξένων ἡγούμενος· καὶ Χαρίας μὲν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν κατέλαβε τομ[|ε].
[. .]. [[ν.]] μετὰ | [τὴν] στρατ<ε>ίαν, οὐδ[|ἐ]πο]ίησε τ[ὸν | δῆ]μον τρέφειν,
κ[. . .]τερον α[|. .].ς ἐν τῷ πολέμω[ι. .]ρος ἐξ[. . . |.].γησεν· Λαχά[ρης]
δὲ τοῦ[ς | ξέ]νους ἔχων ἐφ[. . .χ]ειροτο.ν[. |. . . .]νδ[|.]ος εἰς
τὴν | [.]των πολ[ι]τ.]οι ἱππεῖ[ς |
[----] | [----]

Fragment Two:

[.]. . . .ειον καταλαβ[|.ν. | [.]ους κατέστησεν, Χαρί[|αν δὲ
μετὰ] τῶν Περραικῶν στρα[|τιωτῶν] ἐξέβαλεν. καὶ τοὺς κα[|ταλαβόν]τας
μετὰ Χαρίου τῆ[ν | ἀκρόπο]λιν καταγωνισάμενος | [ὑποσπό]νδους
ἀφῆκεν, Χα[ρ]ι[|αν δὲ κα]ὶ Πειθίαν καὶ Λύσανδρον | [τὸν Κα]λλιφώντος
καὶ <Ἀ>μεινίαν | [εἰς τὸν] ναὸν καταφυγόντας τῆς | [Ἀθήνη]ς ἐκκλη-
σίαν ποιήσαντ[|ες τῇ] ψήφῳ πάντας ἀπέκτει[|ναν. . Ἀ]πολλοδώρου
τὸ ψήφισμα | [γράψαν]τος. κατέλαβον δὲ κ[α]ὶ (?) | [οἱ Περρ]αικοὶ
στρατιῶτ[αι τὸν Πε]ι[|ραιᾶ μετὰ] τῶν ἐξ ἄστε[ως.]. | [.
.]τα [.] | [----]

Fragment Three:

[----] || [----] | [.]ατ[. . . | . .].α [.]ουν [. . | .
. .]νο[|.ν.ς κα[|. . .]αρακ[. . |. .]τους ἐν Πειραιεῖ πολιορκ[εῖ(?)]. | ἐτελεύτησε
δὲ καὶ [Κά]σανδρος [ὁ τῶν] Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς ἀρρωστή[|σας ἐν Πέλλῃ]

μη[νός] Ἀρτεμι[σί]ου ἐμβολίμου δ[εκάτη (?)] φθίνον|τος, τὴν δὲ β[ασιλείαν]
παρέ|λαβε Φί[λιππος] ὁ πρεσβ[ύτατος] | τῶν νίω[ν, ὅσπερ] ἐβα[σ]ί[ι]λευσε
| μήνας [δ (?)].]ατο Δίυλλ[ος] | Φ[α]νοδ[ήμου].]ς
χρονο[γ]ραφ[ι].]ωι ἔτει Φί[λι]ππο[ς] ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν
Μακεδό|νων [.] μετήλ[ι]λαξε.

Fragment Four:

[----] | [.] τ . . . [.] | [.]ν πο[ι].[.]χ[ι].
|.] μοσολλεσθ[ι].|.]. μ. [.|.
. . .]. σ. [.|.]ς Λαχάρην υ[ι]. . . .|.] ἐκ τοῦ
Πειρ[α]ίεως.] καὶ Λαχάρης[ι]. . . .|.] χρυσᾶς

α[ι]. . .

[ι]. .[ι].|.]μπε[ι]. . . .]ν κ[ι]. . . .|.]ων[ι]. .[ι]. .ων[ι].
. . . .|.]ουσα . . α. .[ι]. . . .|.] καὶ τὸ [τ]ῆς Ἀθ[η]νᾶς
ἄ|γαλμα τὸ χρυσοῦν, καὶ ἀπ[ὸ] τοῦ|των τοῖς] ξένοις ἐμισθοδό[τε]. |

ῥῥᾱ

| [Πυθαγό]ρας Μάγνης ἀ[πὸ] Μαι[άνδ]ρου. σ[τ]ά[δι]ον· οὗτος ἔχει
Ὀ[λύμπια] δί[ς], Πύ[θ]ι[α] δί[ς]· ἔχει δι[ὲ] καὶ | Ἰσ[θμ]ία πεντάκις, Νεμέα
[ἐπ]ιτάκις (?). Απολλώνιος Ἀλεξανδρεὺς διάυλον. Πασ[ι]χο[ι]. | Βοιώτιος
δό[λιχ]ον. Τίμαρχος | Μαντινεὺς πένταθλον. | Ἀμφιάρης Λάκων πάλην.
| Κάλλιππος Ῥόδιος πύξ. | Νίκων Βοιώτιος παγκράτιον· | οὗτος ἔχει
Ὀλύμπια δίς, Πύθια | δίς, Ἰσθμία καὶ Νεμέα τετράκις. | (Σω)σιάδης (?)
Τραλλι[αν]ὸς παίδων | [πά]λην. Ἀντίπ[α]τρος Ἐφέσι[ος] παίδων στά-
διον. Μυρκεὺς | Ἀρ[κ]ὰς (?) ἐκ † Καλειτο παίδων πύξ. | [Πυθαγό]ρας
Μάγνης ἀπὸ Μαιάνδρου | [όπλ]εί[τη]ν δίς. Ἀρχιδάμου Ἡ[λεί]ου τέθριπ-
πον. Πανδίο[νος] Θεσσαλοῦ κέλ[η]ς. Τλασι[μ]άχου Ἀμβρακιώτου συνωρίς.
| τοῦ αὐτοῦ πωλικὸν τέθριππον.

Fragment Five:

[----] | [----]εν.τα[----]. | [----]πανα[----] | [----].εκα[----] | [----] Θ[ι]οῦριοι
[----] | [----] χ[ώ]ραν (?) ε[πο] [----]| [----]λους τῶ[ν] [----] | [----]
Ἀγ[α]θοκλή[ς] | [----] καπα [----]| [----]τακος ἔτη [----] | [----] | ε(?)

Fragment Six:

[----] |]νι. [. . .]α . . .[ι]. . . .]ου. | [όπλ]είτην]. Καρτεροῦ Θεσσαλοῦ
| ἀπὸ.]ς τέθριππον. Μ[ι]. |] Κρανωνίου κέλ[η]ς. |
. . . Θεσσαλοῦ συνωρίς. | [Βιλιστίχης Μ]ακετίδος πωλικ[όν] | [τέθριππον]·
αὕτη Πτολεμα[ίου] | Φιλαδέλφου ἐτ[αί]ρα ἐστίν. |

Fragment Seven

[τῶι πρώτῳ ἔ]τει (?) Ῥωμαῖο[ι. . . . | ἔπο]λέμουν α[. . . |
 ημον τὸν [. . . | ----]

Fragment Eight:

[----]εἰς[----] | [----]ν.ουσ. [----] | [----]νταστ.[----] | [----]των. [----] |
 [----]φο: | [----]

Fragment Nine:

[----] | [----]τηνλ[----] | [----]λαδ[----] | [----]ποινιν[----] | [----]ερωμ[---
 ---] | [----]σι.τ.[----] | [----]

Fragment Ten:

[----] | [----]ου[----] | [----]νοδ[----] | [----]υο[----] | [----]ετο[----] | [---
 --]. [CT]] [----]

Fragment Eleven:

[----] | [----]λπ. . . [----] | [----] ἰμότιον τ[----] | [----]

APPENDIX 5.9

POxy I 12

The text given here is that found at *FGrH* 255.

[Column 1]

(1) [----]|. . . . τούτων] κατὰ [τὸν δεύ|τερον ἐ]ν Συρακούσαις [Δίων | (?) ὑπὸ
Διο]νυσίου τυράν[νου ἔδο|λ]οφονήθη. κατὰ δέ τὸν [τρί|]τον Τιβουρτεῖνοι¹
ὑπὸ [Ῥωμαί|ων] καταπολεμηθε[ντες ἐ]αυτο[υ]ς παρέδωσαν.

(2) Ὀλυμπι|[άδι ἐβ]δόμηι καὶ ἑκατοστῇ | [ἐνίκα] στάδιον. Σμικρί[να]ς
| [Ταραντεῖνος, ἦρχον δ'] Ἀθή|[νησιν Ἀριστόδημ]ος [Θε]σσαλός |
[Ἀπολλόδωρος Κ]αλλίμαχος. | [τούτων κατὰ τὸ] τρίτον ἐ|[τος ἐν Ῥώμηι
τι]μηταὶ πρῶ|[τον ἐκ] τοῦ δήμου ἡιρέθησαν.

(3) Ὀλυμπιάδι ὀγδόηι καὶ ἑκα[τοστῇ] ἐνίκα στάδιον Πολυ|[κλ]ῆς
Κυρηναῖος, ἦρχον δ' Ἀθήνησι Θεόφιλος Θεμιστο|κλῆς Ἀρχίας Εὐβουλος.
ταύ|της κατὰ τὸ πρῶτον ἔτος | [Πλά]των ὁ φιλόσοφος με|[τήλλα]ξεν καὶ
Σπεύσιππος | τὴν σχολὴν διεδέξατο. | κατὰ δέ τὸν δεύτερον Φί|[λιππος]
α[.]αξι[. . .]| [lacuna due to cutting down of papyrus]

[Column 2]

(4) [Ὀλυμ]πιάδι ἐνάτῃ καὶ ἐκ[α]τοστῇ | ἐνίκα στάδιο]ν Ἀριστ[ό]λυκος
[Ἀθηναῖος], ἦρχον δ' Ἀθήνησι | [Λυκίσκος Πυ]θόδοτος Σωσι|γ[ένη]ς
Νι[κό]μαχος. ταύτης² | κατὰ δέ τὸ δεύτερον ἔτος Διονύ|σιος ὁ δεύτερος
τῆς Σικελίας | τύραννος ἐκπεσὼν τῆς | ἀρχῆς κατέπλευσεν εἰς Κό|ρινθον

¹ The *rho* in Τιβουρτεῖνοι is written above the rest of the word. Here as in numerous places in the manuscript the text as originally written was corrected by a different person. The text as given here is that Jacoby printed in Jacoby's *FGrH*, which incorporates these corrections without noting them (along with emendations that have been proposed since the original publication of the manuscript).

² Καῖτω appears in the margin next to ταύτης, indicating that a supplementary note was written on the now lost bottom edge of the text.

καὶ ἐκεῖ κατέμεινε | γράμματα διδάσκων. κατὰ δὲ | τὸν τέταρτον Βαγώας
| εὐνοῦχος Ὡχον τὸν Βασιλέα τῶν Περσῶν δολοφονήσας τὸν νεώτατον
αὐτοῦ τῶν | υἱῶν Ἀρσην κατέστησε βασιλέα, αὐτὸς πάντα διοικῶν.

(5) ὀλυμπιάδι δεκάτῃ καὶ ἑκατοστῇ ἐνίκα στάδιον Ἀντικλῆς Ἀθηναῖος,
ἦρχον δ' Ἀθήνησι Θεόφραστος [Λυσίμα]χίδης Χαιρώ[νης Θρ]ύνιχος.
| τούτων κατὰ τὸν πρῶτον | [Σα]υνεῖται [Ῥωμα]ίοις π[αρ]εῖ[ξ]αντο.
κατὰ δὲ τὸν δεύ[τερον] Λατεῖ[νοι] ἐπὶ τοῦς Ῥωμαίους συν[στάντες]
ἐπ[έβη]σαν. κατὰ δὲ τὸν τρίτον Φίλιππος ὁ τῶν Μακεδόνων |
βασιλεὺς τὴν ἐν Χαιρωνί[αι] ἐπιφανεστάτην μάχην | Ἀθηναίους καὶ
Β<οι>ωτοὺς ἐνίκησεν, συμμαχοῦντος αὐτῷ τοῦ υἱοῦ Ἀλέξανδρου |
[καὶ ἄρ]ιστεύσαντος. τότε [καὶ Ἰ]σοκράτης ὁ ρήτωρ ἀ[π[έθ]α]νεν, π[ερὶ]
ἐνενήκον[τα]. ἔτη βίωσας] [lacuna due to cutting down of papyrus,
text for this entry continues in next column]

[Column 3]

[Βα]γ[ώας] ὁ εὐνοῦ[χος] Ἀρ[σην] | τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Περσῶν | ἀπέκτεινεν
σὺν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς, καὶ Δαρεῖον τὸν Ἀρσάμου βασιλικῷ γένους ὄντα
| βασιλέα ἀντὶ τοῦ Ἀρσου κατέστησε. τότε καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι | ἐπὶ Λατείνους
ἐστράτευσαν. κατὰ δὲ τὸν τέταρτον τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων συνελθόντες
Φίλιππον αὐτοκράτορα στρατηγὸν εἴλαντο τοῦ | πρὸς Πέρσας πολέμου.

(6) ὀλύμπιάδι μιᾷ καὶ ἑκατοστῇ καὶ | δεκάτῃ ἐνίκα στάδιον | Κλεόμαντις
Κλειτόρειος | (ἐνίκα στάδιον Κλεόμαντις Κλειτόριος),³ ἦρχον δ' Ἀθήνησι
Πυθόδ[η]λος Εὐαίνε[τος] Κτη[σικλ]ῆ[ς] Νικοκρά[της]. τούτων κατὰ τὸν
πρῶτον Φίλιππος ὁ τῶν Μακεδόνων Βασιλεὺς ἀνηρέθη ὑπὸ Παυ-
σανίου ἐνὸς τῶν δορυφόρων, καὶ | διεδέξατο αὐτὸν ὁ υἱὸς Ἀλέξανδρος·
ὃς παραλαβὼν τὴν ἀρχὴν πρῶτον μὲν | Ἰλλυριοὺς καὶ Παίονας καὶ ἄλλα
Βάρβαρα ἔθνη ἀποστάντα | ἐχειρώσατο, ἔπειτα Θήβας | δοριαλώτους
λαβὼν κατέσκαψεν. ἐν δὲ Ῥώμῃ αἱ τῆς | Ἑστίας ἱερεῖαι παρθένοι | μ(ὲν)
οὔσ[α]ι, διὰ βίον κατηγορήθησαν ὡς ἐφθαρμέναι καὶ | [.]α.σα[.
.].υξ[.]] [lacuna due to cutting down of papyrus; text for this entry
continues in next column]

[Column 4]

[.].v. κατὰ δὲ τὸν | δεύτερον Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ | τῶν Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς
| εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν διαβὰς τὴν ἐπὶ Γρανίκῳ μάχην ἐνίκησεν τοὺς Δαρείου
Βασιλέως Περσῶν στατηγούς. | κατὰ δὲ τὸν τρίτον ὁ αὐτὸς | Ἀλέξανδρος
παραταξάμενος Δαρείῳ ἐν Ἰσῳί τῆς | Κιλικίας πάλιν αὐτὸν ἐνίκησεν,
καὶ πολλὰς μυριάδας τῶν Περσῶν καὶ τῶν | συμμάχων ἀπέκτεινεν, | καὶ
αἰχμαλώτους πολλοὺς | ἔλαβεν [καὶ λείαν πό]λιν. | τότε κ[αὶ] Ἀλέξανδρος

³ The repeated words are corrections to the original text (see note to Column 1).

ὁ Μο|λοσσο|ς [εἰς Ἰταλίαν δι|έβη | βο|ηθήσω[ν τοῖς ἐκεί] Ἑλ|λησι. κατὰ δὲ
τὸν τέταρ|τον Ῥω|μαῖοι [Καμπα|νοὺς | ἐποιήσαντο π[ολίτας] | Ῥώμης.[. . . .
. ἄνευ ψή]]φου μεν[.

(7) ὀλυμπιά|δι ἑκατοστ[ῇ] δωδεκάτῃ | ἐ|νίκα στά|διον Γρύλλος
Χαλ|ικιδεύς, [ἦρχον δ' Ἀθήνησι] | Νική[της] Ἀριστο[φάνης] Ἀριστοφῶν
Κηφισοφῶν. ταύ|της κατὰ τὸ πρῶτον ἔτος | Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Φιλίππου
Τύ|ρον εἶλεν, καὶ Αἴγυπτον πα|ρέλαβεν, ἐκουσίως αὐτὸν | προσδεξα-
μένων τῶν | ἐνχωρίων διὰ τὸ πρὸς Πέρ|σας ἐχθρόν. τότε καὶ ἐκέλευ[|σεν]
[lacuna due to cutting down of papyrus; text for this entry continues in next
column]

[Column 5]

|επικμιο|ς[.]αν.α.αι. . | ἀνέβη εἰς Ἀμμωνος καὶ | ἐν τῇ ἀναβάσει
Παραιτόνι|ον κτίζει πόλιν. κατὰ δὲ τὸν τρίτον | μάχη πάλιν συνέστη
κατὰ | Ἀρβηλα Ἀλεξάνδρου πρὸς Δα|ρεῖον, ἣν ἐνίκησεν Ἀλέ|ξανδρος.
τότε καὶ ἐδολο|φονήθη Δαρεῖος ὑπὸ τῶν | ἰδίων φίλων, καὶ ἡ Περσῶν
| ἀρχὴ κατελύθη διαμείναι|σα ἀπὸ τοῦ συστήσαντος αὐ|τὴν Κύρου ἔτη
<διακόσια> τριάκοντα | τρία.

(8) ὀλυμπιάδι ἑκατοστῇ | τρισκαίδεκάτῃ Κρίτων | Μακεδῶν ἐνίκα στά-
διον, | ἦρχον δ' Ἀθήνησι Εὐθύκρι|τος Ἠγήμων Χρέμης <Ἀντικλῆς>. ἐν |
ταύτῃ τῇ ὀλυμπιάδι ἐπὶ | τέσσαρα ἔτη Ἀλέξανδρος | τὰς λοιπὰς πράξεις
διεπρά|ξατο τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίαι ἔθνη | [χει]ροῦμενος.

(9) ὀλυμπιάδι | ἑκατοστῇ τεσσαρεσκαίδε|κάτῃ ἐνίκα στάδιον Μι|κίνας
Ρόδιος, ἦρχον δ' Ἀθήνησι Ἠγησίας Κη|φισο|φῶν Φιλοκλῆς Ἀ|ρχι|ππος. |
ταύτης κατὰ τὸ πρῶτον | ἔτος Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ βασιλεὺς | μετήλλαξε ἄρξας
ἔτη δέ|κα τρία, βιώσας δὲ ἔτη τριά|κοντα τρία. κατὰ δὲ τὸν | δεύτερον
Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λά|γου εἰς Αἴγυπτον πεμφθεὶς | ἦρξε τῆς χῶρας. κατὰ δὲ τὸ
τ[---] [lacuna due to cutting down of papyrus]

[Column 6]

[---]ἐνείκαι

(10) ὀλυμπιάδι ἑκαστοστῇ | πεντεκαίδεκάτῃ ἐνίκα | στάδιον Δαμασσίας
[Ἀμφιπο|]λίτης, ἦρχον δ' Ἀθῆν[η]σι Νέ|αιχμος Ἀπολλόδω[ρος Ἀρ|]χιππος
Δημογένης. τοῦ|των κατὰ τὸν πρ[ῶ]τον Ἀν|τίπατρος διαδεξάμενος |
τὴν ἐν Μακεδονί[αι Βασιλεί|]αν ἐν Λαμῖαι παραταξά|μενος τοῖς Ἑλλήσι
κ[ατεπο|]λέμησεν αὐτούς. Ῥωμαῖοι | δὲ παραταξάμε|νοι τοῖς Σαν|νείταις
ἡττή|θησαν. κατὰ | δὲ τὸν δεύτερον Ἀ[ντίπα|]τρος εἰς Ἀσίαν δια|βὰς
ἐπὶ | Περδικκά<ν> τὸν δεύτ[ερον δι] | αμερισμὸν τοῖς δι[αδεχο] | μένοις
Ἀλέξανδρ[ον] ἐποί|ησεν, ἐν ᾧ πάλιν Πτολεμαῖ[ος ἦν]. κατὰ δὲ τὸν

[τρίτον] | Ῥωμαῖοι παραταξάμε|νοι Σαυνείταις ἐνίκησαν | καὶ τοὺς
αἰχμαλωτισθέν|τας αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ προτέ|ραι μάχῃ ἀπέλαβον.

(11) ὀλυμ|πιάδι ἑκαστοστῇ ἐκκαιδε|κάτῃ ἐνίκα στάδιον [Δημο]|σθένης
Λάκων, ἦρχον δ' Ἀ|θήνσι Δημοκ[λείδης Πρά]|ξιβουλος Νικ[όδωρος
Θε]|όδωρος. τ[ούτων κατὰ τὸν] | πρῶτον [Ἀντίπατρος ἐτε]|λεύτησ[εν,
καὶ τὰ πράγμα]|τα διεδ[έξατο Πολυπέρ]|χων, κα[lacuna due to cutting
down of papyrus]

[Three unreadable fragments follow.]

APPENDIX 5.10

CASSIUS LONGINUS

FGrH 259 T1 *apud* Eusebius *Chronographia* 125.15–16 Karst:
aus Kassios Longinos 18 Büchern; in welche er zusammengefaßt hat 138
Olympiaden . . .

APPENDIX 5.II

DEXIPPUS

FGrH 100 T2 *apud* Eunapius *Vitae Sophistarum* 4.3.1:

Κατὰ τούτους ἦσαν τοὺς χρόνους καὶ τῶν ῥητορικῶν οἱ ἐπ' Ἀθήνησι προεστῶτες Παῦλός τε καὶ Ἀνδρόμαχος ἐκ Συρίας. τοὺς τε χρόνους ἐς Γαλλήνων τε καὶ Κλαύδιον ἀκμάζειν συνέβαινε, Τάκιτόν τε καὶ Αὐρηλιανὸν καὶ Πρόβον, καθ' οὓς ἦν καὶ Δέξιππος ὁ τὴν χρονικὴν ἱστορίαν συγγράψας, ἀνὴρ ἀπάσης παιδείας τε καὶ δυνάμεως λογικῆς ἀνάπλεως.

T3 *apud* Scriptores Historiae Augustae *Gallieni Duo* 13.6–8:

Inter haec Scythae per Eu<x>inum navigantes Histrum ingressi multa gravia in solo Romano fecerunt. quibus c<o>mpertis Gallienus Cleoda<m>um et Athen<a>eum Byzantios instaurandis urbibus muniendisque praefecit, pugnatumque est circa Pontum, et a Byzantiis ducibus victi sunt barbari. Veneriano item duce navali bello Goth<i> s<u>perati sunt, cum ipse Venerianus militari[s] perit morte. atque inde Cyzicum et Asiam, deinceps Achaia omni vastarunt et ab Atheniensibus duce Dexippo, scriptore horum temporum, victi sunt. unde pulsi per Epirum, <M>ac[h]e<d>oniam, <M>oe<s>iam pervagati sunt.

T4 *apud* *IG* II/III² 3669 (the text printed here is the updated version found in Sironen 1994):

κατὰ τὸ ἐπερώτημα τῆς ἐξ Ἀρίου πάγου βουλῆς καὶ τῆς βουλῆς τῶν ψῆ καὶ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων τὸν ἄρξαντα τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ἐν θεσμοθέταις ἀρχὴν καὶ ἄρξαντα τὴν ἐπώνυμον ἀρχὴν καὶ πανηγυριαρχήσαντα καὶ ἀγωνοθετήσαντα τῶν μεγάλων Παναθηναίων οἴκοθεν ἱερέα παναγῇ Πό(πλιον) Ἑρέν(νιον) Δέξιππον Πτολεμαίου Ἑρμειὸν τὸν ρήτορα καὶ συγγραφέα ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα οἱ παῖδε[ς].

vacat

ἀλκῇ καὶ μύθοισι καὶ ἐν βουλαῖσι κρατίστους ἀνδρας ἀγακλείτους γείνατο Κεκροπίη, ὣν ἓνα καὶ Δέξιππον, ὅς ἱστορίην ἐσαθρήσας αἰῶνος δολιχὴν

ἀτρεκέως ἔφρασεν· καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτὸς ἐσεῖδε, τὰ δ' ἐκ βύβλων ἀναλέξας εὗρατο παντοίην ἱστορίας ἀτραπὸν. ἥ μέγα κλεινὸς ἀνὴρ, ὃς νοῦ ἀπὸ μυρίον ὄμμα ἐκτείνας χρονίους πρήξιας ἐξέμαθεν. φήμη μὲν περὶ βωτος ἀν' Ἑλλάδα, τὴν ὁ νεανθὴς αἶνος Δεξιππῶ δῶκεν ἐφ' ἱστορίῃ. τοῦνεκα <δ> καὶ παῖδες ἀγάκλειτον γενετῆρα μορφάεντα λίθου θῆκαν ἀμειβόμενοι.

T5 *apud Photius Bibliotheca Codex 82 pg. 64a.11–16:*

Ἀνεγνώσθη Δεξιππου τὰ μετὰ Ἀλέξανδρον ἐν λόγοις τέσσαρσιν. Ἀνεγνώσθη δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἕτερον σύντομον ἱστορικὸν μέχρι τῆς Κλαυδίου ἐπιτρέχον τὰς κεφαλαιώδεις πράξεις βασιλείας. Ἀνεγνώσθη δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ Σκυθικά, ἐν οἷς αἱ Ῥωμαίων αὐτῶ καὶ Σκυθῶν ἀναγράφονται πρὸς ἀλλήλους μάχαι τε καὶ ἀξιόλογοι πράξεις.

T6 *apud Evagrius Scholasticus Historia Ecclesiastica 5.24:*

[Evagrius is listing important sources for profane history. He mentions the work of Charax, Theopompus, Ephorus, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Polybius, Diodorus Siculus, and Cassius Dio, and then continues as follows.]

Ἐκθεμένου δὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ Ἡρωδιανοῦ, τὰ μέχρι τῆς Μαξιμίνου τελευτῆς δηλοῦται. Νικοστράτου τε τοῦ σοφιστοῦ τοῦ ἐκ Τραπεζούντων συγγράψαντος, τὰ ἀπὸ Φιλίππου τοῦ μετὰ Γορδιανὸν ἐκτίθεται ἕως Ὀδαινάθου τοῦ ἐκ Παλμυρῶν καὶ τῆς Οὐάλλεριανῶ πρὸς Πέρσας αἰσχυρᾶς ἀφίξεως. Καὶ Δεξιππῶ δὲ πλεῖστα περὶ τούτων πεπόνηται, ἀπὸ μυθικῶν ἀρξαμένη καὶ λήξαντι ἐς τὴν Κλαυδίου τοῦ μετὰ Γαλλικὸν βασιλείαν· οἷς συνανείληπται περὶ ὧν Κάρποι καὶ ἕτερα βάρβαρα ἔθνη κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ Θράκην καὶ Ἰωνίαν διαπολεμοῦντες ἔπραξαν.

F1 *apud Eunapius Fragmenta historica 207.16t–211.18:*

ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ Η ΜΕΤΑ ΔΕΞΙΠΠΟΝ.
ΝΕΑ ΕΚΔΟΣΙΣ.
ΠΡΟΟΙΜΙΟΝ.

Δεξιππῶ τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ κατὰ τοὺς Ἀθήνησιν ἄρχοντας, ἀφ' οὗ παρὰ Ἀθηναίους ἄρχοντες, ἱστορία συγγέγραπται, προσριθμουμένων καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν ὑπάτων, καὶ πρό γε αὐτῶν τῶν ὑπάτων τε καὶ ἀρχόντων ἀρξαμένης τῆς γραφῆς. τὸ δὲ ἐν κεφάλαιον τῆς ἱστορίας τὰ μὲν ἀνωτέρω καὶ ὅσα τὸ ποιητικὸν νέμεται γένος ἀφεῖναι καὶ ἐπιτρέψαι τῷ πιθανῷ καὶ μᾶλλον ἀναπείθοντι τὸν ἐντυγχάνοντα, τὰ δὲ προϊόντα καὶ ἐπὶ πλέον μαρτυρούμενα συνενεγκεῖν καὶ κατακλεῖσαι πρὸς ἱστορικὴν ἀκρίβειαν καὶ κρίσιν ἀληθεστέραν. (208) βιάζεται γοῦν καὶ συναριθμεῖται τὸν χρόνον ἕς τε τὰς ὀλυμπιάδας περιγράφων καὶ τοὺς ἐντὸς ἐκάστης ὀλυμπιάδος ἄρχοντας. πρόθυρα δὲ κάλλους ἀνάμεστα προθεῖς τῆς συγγραφῆς καὶ προῶν τὰ τε ἔνδον ἐπιδείξας σεμνότερα, τὸ μὲν μυθῶδες καὶ λίαν ἀρχαῖον ἀφαιρεῖ καὶ ἀφήσιν ὥσπερ φάρμακον παλαιὸν καὶ ἀδόκιμον ἐς τοὺς συντεθεικότας·

Αἰγυπτίους δὲ χρόνους ἀναλεγόμενος καὶ συνωθούμενος ἐπὶ τὰ πρῶτα καὶ παλαιότερα τῶν παρ' ἑκάστοις ἀρχῶν, τοὺς ἡγεμόνας καὶ πατέρας τῆς ἱστορίας ἐκτίθησιν, ἔνδηλος ὢν καὶ σχεδόν τι μαρτυρούμενος ὅτι τῶν ἀπιστουμένων ἕκαστον ἕτερος προλαβὼν εἴρηκεν. καὶ περιφέρει γε τὴν ἱστορίαν ἐκ πολλῶν καὶ παντοδαπῶν τῶν ταῦτα εἰρηκότων ὥσπερ ῥῶπόν τινα καὶ ποικίλον καὶ χρήσιμον ἐς ἓν μυροπώλιον τὴν ἰδίαν ἐξήγησιν κατακεκλειμένην καὶ συνηγμένην. πάντα δέ, ὅσα πρὸς τε τὸ κοινὸν ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀξιόλογα καὶ κατ' ἄνδρα δι' ἀρετὴν περιττοῦ τινος ὀνόματος τετυχηκότα, λάβρως ἐπιδραμών καὶ διαθέμενος τῷ λόγῳ, τελευτῶν ἐς Κλαύδιον καταλύει τὴν συγγραφὴν, καὶ Κλαυδίου τῆς βασιλείας ἔτος τὸ πρῶτον, ἐς ὃ δὴ καὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἤρχετο καὶ ἐτελεύτα, ἐνιαυτὸν ἄρξας Ῥωμαίοις ἔνα· οἱ δὲ καὶ ἕτερον αὐτῷ χαρίζονται. εἴτα Ὀλυμπιάδας καταλογίζεται τόσας καὶ τόσας καὶ ὑπάτους καὶ ἄρχοντας ἐπὶ ταύταις, τὴν χιλιάδα τῶν ἐτῶν ὑποβαλὼν, ὥσπερ ἀγωνιῶν, εἰ μὴ πολλῶν λίαν ἐτῶν ἀποδοῖη λόγον τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν. ἐγὼ δὲ ὁ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον ἐς νοῦν βαλλόμενος, ὑπ' αὐτοῦ Δεξίππου ταῦτα ἔχων ἐκδιδάσκεισθαι καὶ συλλαμβάνειν ὅσος καὶ ἡλικὸς ὁ κίνδυνος κατὰ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἕκαστον ἱστορίαν γράφειν, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας ὁμολογεῖν ὅτι ταῦτα οὐκ ἔστιν ἄληθῆ κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους, (209) ἀλλὰ τῷ μὲν οὕτως, τῷ δὲ ἑτέρως ἔδοξε, καὶ περιφανῶς ἑαυτοῦ κατηγορεῖν, ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνος, ὅτι χρονικὴν ἱστορίαν γράφων πλανωμένην τινὰ καὶ μεστὴν τῶν ἀντιλεγόντων, ὥσπερ ἀπρόεδρον ἐκκλησίαν, ἐκτίθησι τὴν γραφὴν, ὁξέως δὲ καὶ τῆς Βοιωτίας ἀκούων παροιμίας, ὅτι οὕτως αὐλεῖν οὐ πρέπει, κἀκεῖνα προσελογιζόμενην ὅτι τέλος ἱστορίας καὶ σκοπὸς ἄριστος τὰ πραχθέντα ὅτι μάλιστα δίχα τινὸς πάθους ἐς τὸ ἀληθὲς ἀναφέροντα γράφειν, οἱ δὲ ἀκριβεῖς λογισμοὶ τῶν χρόνων, ὥσπερ ἄκλητοι μάρτυρες, αὐτομάτως ἐπεσιόντες ἐς ταῦτα ὠφελοῦσιν οὐδέν. τί γὰρ Σωκράτει πρὸς σοφίαν καὶ Θεμιστοκλεῖ πρὸς δεινότητα συντελεῖται παρὰ τῶν χρόνων; ποῦ δὲ ἐκεῖνοι καλοὶ κάγαθοι διὰ θέρος ἦσαν; ποῦ δὲ τὰς ἀρετὰς ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν, καθάπερ τὰ φύλλα, πρὸς τὴν ὥραν τοῦ ἔτους αὐξανόμενας καὶ ἀπορρεούσας παρείχοντο; ἀλλ' ἴσως ἕκαστος αὐτῶν τὸ γοῦν ἐς φύσιν καὶ δύναμιν ἀγαθὸν διαρκῶς καὶ συνεχῶς ἐν ταῖς ἐνεργείαις ἀπεδίδου καὶ διέσωζεν. τίς οὖν λόγος πρὸς ἱστορίας τέλος εἰδέναι καὶ γινώσκειν ὅτι τὴν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχίαν ἐνίκων οἱ Ἕλληνες κυνὸς ἐπιτέλλοντος; τί δ' ὄφελος ἦν τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν ἐς ὠφέλειαν ἱστορικῆς χρείας, εἰ κατὰ ταύτην ἐτέχθη τὴν ἡμέραν ὁ δεῖνα καὶ μελοποιὸς ἀνέσχεν ἢ τραγωδὸς ἄριστος; εἰ γὰρ ἔσχατος ὅρος τῶν περὶ τὴν ἱστορίαν καλῶν τὸ πολλῶν καὶ ἀπείρων πραγμάτων ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ καὶ διὰ βραχείας ἀναγνώσεως πείραν λαβεῖν καὶ γενέσθαι γέροντας ἔτι νέους ὄντας δι' ἐπιστήμην τῶν προγεγονότων, ὥστε τίνα μὲν φευκτέον, τίνα δὲ αἰρετέον, εἰδέναι, τούναντίον ἔμοιγε δοκοῦσι ποιεῖν οἱ περιττοῖς καὶ ἀπρητημένοις ἐπεσοδίοις ὥσπερ ξενικοῖς ἡδύσμασι τὸ

τῆς ἱστορίας ἐδώδιμον (210) καὶ χρήσιμον ἀνατρέποντες καὶ διαφθείροντες Ἰλμυρῶ λόγῳ πότιμον ἄκοήν. κωλύει μὲν γὰρ ἴσως οὐδὲν καὶ περιττόν τι μαθεῖν, ἄλλως τε, ὥς φησιν αὐτὸς Δέξιππος, τῶν μὲν χρονικῶν ἢ πάντων ἢ τῶν πλείστων διαπεφωνημένων, τῶν δὲ ὑπερώρων καὶ φανερῶν πράξεων συμπεφωνημένων. τίς γὰρ οὕτω περιβόητος ἅπασιν ὅσοι λόγων ἦψαντο καὶ κατέλιπον λόγους ὥς Λυκοῦργος Λακεδαιμόνιος; ἐς ὃν καὶ ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ μαρτυρία διὰ στόματος ἅπασι θεὸν ἀντικρὺς ἀνακαλοῦντος ἐπὶ τῷ θεῖναι τοὺς νόμους. τίς δὲ τῶν ταῦτα εἰρηκότων ἐτέρῳ συμφέρεται περὶ τῶν ἡνίκα ἐτίθει τοὺς νόμους χρόνων; ἀλλὰ πάντες, ὥσπερ οἰκίαν ἢ στῦλον δοκιμάζοντες ἢ τι τῶν ὁμοίων, ὅτι μὲν ἔστι καὶ γέγονε συντίθενται καὶ κατανεύουσι, περὶ δὲ τοῦ πότε [ἀπορίῃ] παντοδαπῇ ἔμπεπλήκασιν τὰ βιβλία. ὁπότε καὶ Θουκυδίδης ὁ πάντων ἀκριβέστατος τὸν μέγαν καὶ πολὺμνητον ἐκείνον πόλεμον ἀρχὴν τινα καὶ προφάσεις φησὶ λαβεῖν πρὸς δευτέραν κίνησιν ἐκ διαφορᾶς ἡμερῶν, ἡ περὶ πόλεων ὀλώσεως αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο, καὶ οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ἔχει διαιτᾶν σαφῶς καὶ ἀκριβῶς τίνες ἐπεκάλουν δικαιότερον, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὰς ἡμέρας ἐλθὼν ὑποδηλοῖ καὶ παραδείκνυσιν ὅτι κενὴ τίς που καὶ ἀχρεῖος ἡ περὶ τοὺς χρόνους διατριβὴ καὶ σχολή. Τοιαῦτά τινα καὶ πλείω ἕτερα πρὸς ἑμαυτὸν ἐκκλησιάσας καὶ βουλευσάμενος, καὶ τοῖς ἐς τὰ χρονικὰ σπεύδουσιν καὶ ἀνεστηκόσιν ὁμοιά τινα παρεγγυῶν, ὥς ἡ περὶ τὰς ὥρας καὶ ἡμέρας ἀκρίβεια πλουσίων οἰκονόμοις τισὶ καὶ λογισταῖς πρέπει, καὶ νῆ Δία γε τοῖς ἐς τὰ οὐράνια κεχηνόσι, καὶ ὅσοι πρὸς ἀριθμῶ φανερώς κάθηνται, αὐτὸς δὲ προαγορεύων πόρρωθεν τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν ὅτι πιστεύσας ἑμαυτῷ δύνασθαι (211) γράφειν γεγονότα τε καὶ γινόμενα πρὸς τόδε τὸ ἔργον ὥρμησα, τὸ μὲν κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν ὥσπερ ἀπροσδιόνυσόν τινα ρῆσιν παραιτησάμενος, τὸ δὲ κατὰ χρόνους, οἱ τοῖς βασιλεῦσι περιγράφονται, κρίνας ἀληθέστερον. ἀναγνώσεται γοῦν τις ὅτι ταῦτα ἐπὶ τοῦδε τοῦ βασιλέως ἢ τοῦδ' ἐπράττετο· καθ' ὃν δὲ ἐνιαυτὸν καὶ ἡμέραν, ἕτερος ἐς τὴν ἀπάτην χορεύεται τις· ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ τὸ πιστεῦειν ἑμαυτῷ γράφω, ἀνδράσιν ἐπόμενος, οἱ τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς βίου μακρῶ προεῖχον· κατὰ παιδείαν καὶ διατεταμένως ἐνῆγον μὴ σιωπᾶν τὰ κοινὰ τῶν ἔργων καὶ ὅσα ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἔφερε χρόνος καὶ τὰ πρὸ ἡμῶν μετὰ τὴν Δεξίππου γραφὴν οὕτω λόγου τε καὶ ἱστορίας ἐμφανοὺς τετυχηκότα. ἐγένετο δὲ ἐκείνοις τε κάμοι κοινὸν τὸ ἔργον τόδε, καὶ πάντα γε ἐς τὸν Ἰουλιανὸν ἀναφέρειν ἐδόκει, ὃς ἐβασίλευσε μὲν ἐφ' ἡμῶν, τὸ δὲ ἀνθρώπινον αὐτὸν ὥσπερ τινὰ θεὸν προσεκύνουν ἅπαντες.

F2 *apud* Eusebius *Chronographia* II. 678–83 in Appendix 4.1:

Μέχρι τούτου τὴν τῶν Ὀλυμπιάδων ἀναγραφὴν εὕρομεν. καὶ ὁ μὲν Εὐσέβιος ταῦτα. Ἄλλοι δὲ χρονογράφοι καὶ Δέξιππος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος καὶ τῶν ἐφεξῆς Ὀλυμπιάδων τῶν τε ἐν αὐταῖς νικησάντων μέμνηται. Ἀμέλει τὴν χρονικὴν ἱστορίαν ὁ Δέξιππος μέχρι τῆς διακοσιοστῆς ἐξηκοστῆς δευτέρας

Ὀλυμπιάδος συγγράφας, Διονύσιον Ἀλεξανδρέα φησὶν ἐπὶ ταύτης νικῆσαι.

F3 *apud* Stephanus Byzantius *Ethnica* s.v. Δυρράχιον:

Δυρράχιον, πόλις Ἰλλυρική, [καὶ] Ἐπίδαμνος κληθεῖσα ἀπὸ Ἐπιδάμνου. τούτου θυγάτηρ Μέλισσα, ἥς καὶ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ὁ Δυρράχιος· ἀφ' ἧς ἔστιν ἐν Ἐπιδάμνῳ τόπος Μελισσώνιος, ἔνθα Ποσειδῶν αὐτῇ συνῆλθεν, ὡς Φίλων. [Στράβων δ' ἐν ἡ' φησί] “μετὰ δὲ τὸν Ῥιζονικὸν Λίσσος ἐστὶ πόλις καὶ Ἀκρόλισσος καὶ Ἐπίδαμνος Κερκυραίων κτίσμα, ἡ νῦν Δυρράχιον ὁμωνύμως τῇ χερρονήσῳ λεγομένη ἐφ' ἧς ἵδρυται.” Δέξιππος δὲ ἐν χρονικῶν ἰ' φησὶν οὕτως.

F4 *apud* Stephanus Byzantius *Ethnica* s.v. Σουκχαῖοι:

Σουκχαῖοι, ἔθνος Μαυρούσιον, ὡς Δέξιππος χρονικῶν δεκάτῳ.

F5a *apud* Etymologicum Magnum s.v. Ἐλουρος:

Ἐλουρος: Εὐθεῖα. Ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκεῖσε ἐλὼν Ἐλουροὶ κέκληνται. Δέξιππος ἐν δωδεκάτῳ Χρονικῶν. Καὶ γράφεται διὰ τοῦ ε ψιλοῦ.

F5b *apud* Stephanus Byzantius *Ethnica* s.v. Ἐλουροὶ:

Ἐλουροὶ, Σκυθικὸν ἔθνος, περὶ ὧν Δέξιππος ἐν χρονικῶν ιβ'.

(Fragments 6–8 are assigned by Jacoby to other historical works of Dexippus, a history of the Scythians and a history of Alexander's successors.)

F9 *apud* Syncellus *Ecloga Chronographica* 207.21–5:

Ἡρακλειδῶν κάθοδος Ὑλλου τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου παιδὸς Ἡρακλέους ἡγουμένου τῆς κατὰ Πελοποννησίων μάχης, ἧτις ἐπεκράτησεν ἱκανοῖς ἔτεσι μεταξὺ Πελοποννησίων καὶ τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν. τότε Ῥόδος ἡ νῆσος οἰκίζεται παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίων, ὡς Δέξιππος ἱστορεῖ, μετοικησάντων ἐκ Πελοποννήσου διὰ τὴν τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν ἐπίθεσιν.

F10 *apud* Syncellus *Ecloga Chronographica* 318.7–10:

Ἀλέξανδρος οὖν εἰκοστὸν ἄγων ἔτος κατὰ Δέξιππον πᾶσαν ἄσκησιν ἡσκημένος σωματικῇν, αὐτοῦ τε γνησιώτατος Ἀριστοτέλους γεγωνὺς τοῦ δαιμονίωντος φοιτητῆς, ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίαν παρῆλθε βασιλείαν.

F11 *apud* Syncellus *Ecloga Chronographica* 407.3–4:

Ἐν τούτοις τοῖς χρόνοις ἐφάνη τὸ ὄρνεν ὁ φοῖνιξ, καθὼς ἱστοροῦσιν Αἰγύπτιοι, πρὸ χν' δὲ ἐτῶν φανείς, ὡς καὶ Δέξιππος συμφωνεῖ.

F12 *apud* Suda s.v. Ῥωμαίων ἀρχή:

Ῥωμαίων ἀρχή· αὕτη τῆς Ἀσσυρίων καὶ Περσῶν καὶ Μακεδόνων τῶν πρὶν μακρῷ ὑπερῆρεν, ὀρισμένη πέρατα ἑαυτῆς πρὸς μὲν ἕω Ἰνδοῦς καὶ ἐρυθρὰν θάλατταν καὶ Νεῖλον καὶ καταρράκτας καὶ λίμνην Μαιώτιν. ὅσα δὲ πρὸς

δυσμάς, ὥκεανόν τε αὐτόν, ὃν δὴ μῦθον εἶναι τοῖς ἔργοις ἐδηλώθη, μηδὲ ἄλλως πρὸς ψυγαγωγίαν τοῦνομα αὐτοῦ παρὰ τοῖς ποιηταῖς ᾄδασθαι· εἶγε καὶ ἡ Βρεττανῶν χώρα, ἣν περιρρέων νῆσον ἐργάζεται, νῦν εὐρεθεῖσα ἐν πέρασιν τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς ἀριθμεῖται. λεγέτω μὲν οὖν, ὅτω δοκεῖ, ὥς ἀναμφίλογοι τῶνδε πρὸς τὰ παλαιὰ αἱ ὑπερβολαί, πλήθει τε χειρὸς τῶν ἐπελθόντων εἰκάζοντι καὶ τόλμαις ἑκατέρων καὶ στρατηγήσεσι καὶ μηχανήσεων ἐπινοίαις καὶ τῶν ἀντιπολεμησάντων ἀρετῇ. Δέξιππος.

F13 *apud* Scriptores Historiae Augustae *Severus Alexander* 49.3–4:

Dexippus dixit uxorem eum cuiusdam Macriani filiam duxisse eundemque ab eo Caesarem nuncupatum. verum cum vellet insidiis occidere Alexandrum Macri<a>nus, detecta factione et ipsum interemptum et uxorem abiectam.

F14 *apud* Scriptores Historiae Augustae *Severus Alexander* 49.5:

idem dicit patrum fuisse Antoninum Heliogabalum Alexandri, non [uxoris] sororis eiusdem <matris> filium.

F15 *apud* Scriptores Historiae Augustae *Gordiani Tres* 9.4–6:

. . . ipsum etiam Gordianum Africanum appellaverunt. addunt quidam Africani cognomen<um> Gordiano idcirco inditum, non quod in Africa imperare coepisset, sed quod de Scipionum familia originem traheret. in plurimis autem libris invenio et hunc Gordianum et filium eius pariter imperatores appellatos et Antoninos cognominatos, alii vero Antonios. post hoc Carthaginem ventum cum pompa regali et fascibus laureatis, filiusque legatus patris, exemplo Scipionum, ut Dexippus Graec<a>e historiae <scriptor> auctor est, <p>ari potestate succin<c>tus est.

F16a *apud* Scriptores Historiae Augustae *Gordiani Tres* 2.1:

Gordiani non, ut quidam inperiti scriptores locuntur, duo sed tres fuerunt, idque docente Arriano, scriptore Graec<a>e historiae, docente item Dexippo, Gr<a>eco auctore, potuerunt addiscere, qui etiamsi breviter, ad finem tamen omnia persecuti sunt.

F16b *apud* Scriptores Historiae Augustae *Gordiani Tres* 19.8–9:

Cordus dicit uxorem eum numquam habere voluisse. contra Dexippus putat eius filium esse Gordianum tertium, qui post hoc cum Balbino et Puppieno sive Maximo puerulus est adeptus imperium.

F16c *apud* Scriptores Historiae Augustae *Gordiani Tres* 23.1:

Dexippus quidem adseverat ex filio Gordiani tertium Gordianum esse natum.

F17 *apud* Scriptores Historiae Augustae *Maximini Duo* 32.1–3:

Docet Dexippus nec <H>erodianus tacet omnesque, qui talia legenda posteris tradiderunt, Titum, tribunum Maurorum, qui a Maximino inter privatos

relictus fuerat, timore[m] v<i>olent<a>e mortis, ut <i>l<l>i dicunt, invitum vero et a militibus coactum, ut plerique adserunt, imperasse atque hunc intra paucos dies post vindicatam defectionem, quam consularis vir Magnus Maximino paraverat, a suis militibus interempt<um>; imperasse autem dicitur mensibus sex. . . . alii dicunt ab Armeniis sagittariis, quos Maximinus ut Alexandrinos et oderat et offenderat, principem factum.

F18a *apud* Scriptores Historiae Augustae *Maximini Duo* 32.3:

Addidit Dexippus tantum odium fuisse Maximini, ut interfectis Gordianis viginti viros senatus creaverit, quos opponeret Maximino. in quibus fuerunt Balbinus et Maximus, quos contra eum imperatores fecerunt.

F18b *apud* Scriptores Historiae Augustae *Maximus et Balbinus* 16.5:

Addit praeterea, tantum contra Maximinum Aquilei<ensium> odium fuisse, ut de crinibus mulierum su<a>rum arcubus nervos facerent atque ita sagittas emitterent.

F18c *apud* Scriptores Historiae Augustae *Maximus et Balbinus* 33.3:

Sane quod nullo in loco tacendum est: cum et Dexippus et Arrianus et multi alii Graeci scripser<i>nt Maximum et Balbinum imperatores contra Maximinum factos, Maximum autem cum exercitu[m] missum et apud Ra<v>ennam bellum parasse, Aquileia<m> autem nisi victorem non vidisse, Latini scriptor[or]es non Maximum sed Puppienum contra Maximinum apud Aquileiam pugnasse dixerunt eundemque vicisse.

F18d *apud* Scriptores Historiae Augustae *Maximus et Balbinus* 16.6–7:

D<e>xippus et Herodianus, qui hanc principum historiam persecuti sunt, Maximum et Balbinum fuisse principes dicunt, delectos a senatu contra Maximinum post interitum duorum in Africa Gordianorum, cum quibus etiam puer tertius Gordian<u>s electus est. sed <ap>u<d> Latinos scriptores plerosque Maximi[ni] nomen non inven<i>o et cum albino Puppienum imperatorem repperio, usque adeo ut idem Puppienus cum Maximino apud Aquileiam pugnasse dicatur, cum memoratis historicis <as>erentibus ne Maximus quidem contra Maximinum pugnasse doceatur, sed res<e>disse apud Ra<v>ennam atque illic patratam audisse victoriam . . .

F19 *apud* Scriptores Historiae Augustae *Maximini Duo* 32.4:

Idem addidit in conspectu[m] Maximini iam deserti a militibus et praefectum praetorio ipsius et filium eius occisum.

F20 *apud* Scriptores Historiae Augustae *Maximus et Balbinus* 16.3:

Fuit et Scyt<h>ici belli princip<i>um, fuit et Histriae excidium eo tempore, ut autem Dexippus dicit, Histricae civitatis.

F21 *apud* Scriptores Historiae Augustae *Maximus et Balbinus* 16.4:

Dexippus Balbinum satis laudat et dicit for<t>i animo militibus occurrisset atque interfectum, ut mortem non timeret, quem omnibus disciplinis instructum fuisse dici<t>; Maximum vero negat eius modi virum fuisse, qualem Graeci plerique dixerunt.

F22 *apud* Syncellus *Ecloga Chronographica* 459.5–16:

Σκύθαι περαιωθέντες οἱ λεγόμενοι Γότθοι τὸν Ἰστρον ποταμὸν ἐπὶ Δεκίου πλείστοι τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐπικράτειαν κατενέμοντο. οὗτοι τοὺς Μυσοὺς φεύγοντας εἰς Νικόπολιν περιέσχον· Δέκιος δὲ ἐπελθὼν αὐτοῖς, ὡς Δέξιππος ἱστορεῖ, καὶ τρισμυρίους κτεῖνας ἐλαττοῦται κατὰ τὴν μάχην, ὡς καὶ τὴν Φιλιππόπολιν ἀπολέσαι ληφθεῖσαν ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ Θρᾷκας πολλοὺς ἀναιρεθῆναι. ἐπανιοῦσι δὲ Σκύθαις ἐπὶ τὰ σφέτερα ὁ αὐτὸς Δέκιος ἐπιθέμενος ἀναιρεῖται ἐν Ἀβρύτῳ, τῷ λεγομένῳ φόρῳ Θεμβρωνίῳ, σὺν τῷ παιδὶ λίαν οἰκτρῶς ὁ θεομάχος, οἱ τε Σκύθαι μετὰ πλείστων αἰχμαλώτων καὶ λαφύρων ἐπανέρχονται. καὶ τὰ στρατόπεδα βασιλέα πάλαι τινὰ γενόμενον ὕπατον Γάλλον ἀναγορεύουσιν ἅμα Βουλουσιανῶ τῷ Δεκίου παιδί· οἱ καὶ βασιλεύουσι κατὰ Δέξιππον μῆνας ιη', πράξαντες οὐδὲν ἄξιόλογον, κατὰ δὲ ἄλλους τινὰς ἔτη γ', καὶ καθ' ἑτέρους ἔτη β'.

F23 *apud* Scriptores Historiae Augustae *Divus Claudius* 12.5–6:

Quintillus autem ob brevitatem temporis nihil dignum imperio gerere potuit, nam septima decima die, quod se gravem et serium contra milites ostenderat ac verum principem pollicebatur, eo genere, quo Galba, quo Pertinax interemptus est. et Dexippus quidem Claudium non dicit occisum, sed tantum mortuum, nec tamen addit morbo, ut dubium sentire videatur.

APPENDIX 6

A CATALOG OF OLYMPIC VICTORS BEFORE HIPPIAS?

There are six pieces of evidence that might be taken to mean that a cumulative catalog of Olympic victors was extant before the time of Hippias. As we will see, however, none of the six stand up to close scrutiny. The first of the six is an inscription from Olympia (*IvO* 22) dated on letter forms to c. 500. The inscription records a decree concerning the reintegration of exiles at Selinus. The heavily damaged text includes a series of provisions about the restoration of property and ends with the following note:

Τὸ δὲ πέτος ἀρχεῖ(ι) ἡλυμπιάς ἡα[.]ΕΠΑ[.] οκρά[τεος]
τὸ [.]ΘΑΝ[. . .].¹

This is the first year of the Olympiad in which [? son of ?] and [? son of ?] presided over the Games.

Asheri, followed by Camassa, took the dating provision in this inscription as proof that the Eleans were already maintaining a continuous Olympic victor list in 500.²

There is in fact good reason to believe that Elean officials at Olympia produced victor lists as early as 500.³ It is, however, important to avoid conflating these lists with a cumulative catalog of the sort compiled

¹ The text of *IvO* 22 given here comes from van Effenterre and Ruzé 1994, 1: 76–82 and is based on readings proposed in Asheri 1979. These works should be consulted for discussion of the content and meaning of this inscription and for previous bibliography.

² Camassa 2002. Dittenberger and Purgold, in the original publication of the inscription, suggested that the text referred to a local Olympic festival at Selinus, but this is very unlikely given the find spot.

³ See Section 2.7.

by Hippias. The Elean officials in charge of any given iteration of the Olympics produced a list, inscribed on bronze and displayed outdoors at Olympia, of the names of the presiding officials and victors. Each list was a separate document that had no organic connection to others like it. Hippias used these lists, the earliest of which probably dated to the sixth century, and a variety of other sources to produce a cumulative catalog of Olympic victors that began in 776.

Moreover, *IvO* 22 as preserved uses magistrates' names, not victors' names, to identify the Olympiad when the decree was passed. The nature of the decree was such that its date was of considerable importance, because it contained provisions about the restoration of property that were to some extent time-sensitive. When the decision was made to display the decree at Olympia, it was natural to attempt to find some way to date the decree relative to the Olympics. It is noteworthy that magistrates' names are used for this purpose. (The fragmentary state of the text means that a victor's name may have been included, but there is no sign that this was the case.) This stands in sharp contrast to the practice that is evident shortly after Hippias produced his *Anagraphe*, in accordance with which Olympiads were identified on the basis of an eponymous *stadion* victor, without any mention of the magistrate(s) presiding over that iteration of the Games. One might also note in this regard that the names of *Hellandikai* are used in four later decrees from Olympia (*IvO* 31, 36, and 44, dated to 365–363, and *IvO* 39, dated to the end of the third century), in all four cases seemingly as a dating formula.⁴ The absence of victors' names in *IvO* 36 and 39 (the texts of which are complete), both of which appeared well after Hippias' *Anagraphe*, indicates that *IvO* 22 did not incorporate the names of Olympic victors. This inscription cannot, therefore, be taken as evidence for the existence of a cumulative catalog of Olympic victors before Hippias.

Another inscription, this from Selinus itself, dated to the middle of the fifth century, prescribes that a ritual be performed at specific intervals, including before the Olympic truce.⁵ This shows an awareness of the cycle of the Olympic Games, but cannot be taken as proof that

⁴ On the dating of *IvO* 39, see Moretti 1957, #596.

⁵ On the inscription from Selinus, see Jameson, Jordan, and Kotansky 1993.

Olympiads were being used as a time-reckoning system or that the Olympic victor list must therefore already have been in circulation.

The third piece of evidence that might be taken to indicate the existence of a cumulative catalog of Olympic victors before the time of Hippias is Pindar's *Olympian X*, which provides a list of victors in the iteration of the Olympics ostensibly organized by Heracles.⁶ This is not, however, particularly informative in regard to the history of the Olympic victor list. Pindar did not need to consult an Olympic victor list for this information, which was no doubt part of the rich body of myths about Heracles. Further, the Greeks had an enduring fascination with "firsts" (*heuremata*) and with the heroic period.⁷ The intermediate period, between the present and the heroic past, was of considerably less interest. This phenomenon is reflected in the oral traditions maintained by some ancient Greek families. Rosalind Thomas points out that "we often find that there is apparently a sharp jump in a tradition from the very recent members of the family to the heroic ancestors."⁸ Pindar's naming of the winning athletes at Heracles' Olympics does not, therefore, imply the existence of a continuous list of Olympic victors beginning with that iteration of the Games. In addition, the founding myths of the Panhellenic athletic festivals were all "doubled," in that the myths included both a foundation by one or more divine or heroic figures and a later, separate foundation by mortals, with a hiatus between the two.⁹ One of the few points of commonality between the various, divergent stories about the founding of the Olympics that circulated in ancient Greece was that the Games were held only intermittently before the time of Iphitos. As Iphitos was placed well after Heracles, there was an inherent discontinuity in the early history of

⁶ Pindar lists six victors: Oionos, Echemos, Doryclos, Samos, Phrastor, and Niceus. As one might expect, these are figures from myths associated with the time of Heracles. Echemos, for instance, was the son of Aeropos and the husband of Timandra and thus the brother-in-law of Tyndareus and Leda ([Apollodorus] *Bibliotheca* 3.10.6 and Pausanias 8.5.1).

⁷ On *heuremata*, see Kleingünther 1933.

⁸ Thomas 1989, 157. On the related phenomenon of "telescoping," see n. 177 of Chapter 2.

⁹ On doubling in the foundation myths of the Panhellenic athletic festivals, see Peiser 1993, 106–34, though Peiser's explanation of the origin of the phenomenon is less than convincing.

the Olympics that also militates against a running victor list starting with Heracles.

For comparanda, one might point to the Isthmian and Pythian Games. A list of the victors in the first Isthmian Games, ostensibly organized by Poseidon and Helios, is given in [Dio Chrysostom] 37.14–15. (The victors include Castor, Orpheus, Heracles, Peleus, and Theseus.) There was, however, no complete catalog of Isthmian victors.¹⁰ Similarly, hypothesis a to Pindar's Pythian odes provides a list of victors for the iteration of the Pythian Games ostensibly organized by Apollo. The only complete listing of Pythian victors was compiled by Aristotle and Callisthenes in the 330s, and it began with the iteration of the Pythian Games held in 586.¹¹ Lists of victors in mythical "first" Isthmian and Pythian Games were poetic in nature and had little to do with catalogs of victors in the historical games. The same can be said of Pindar's *Olympian X* and the Olympic victor list.

The fourth piece of evidence to be considered is a fragment of the work of Hippys of Rhegium, who might have been active before the time of Hippias:

Hippys of Rhegium . . . says that in Athens, during the reign of Epainetos, in the 36th Olympiad, in which Arytamas of Laconia won the *stadion*. . . (FGrH 554 F3)

This passage conflicts with the Eusebian victor catalog, which gives Phrynon of Athens as the *stadion* victor in the 36th Olympiad. Moretti concluded that Hippys consulted an Olympic victor list that was both anterior to and divergent from that of Hippias.¹² The key issue here is that the text of the entry for the 36th Olympiad in the Eusebian victor catalog is corrupt, which accounts for the conflict between that list and the Hippys fragment.¹³ It is in any case difficult to put much interpretive weight on this fragment. It remains unclear when Hippys lived, the fragment is unique in putting Athens under a king in the seventh century, and the text seems to have been transmitted in the

¹⁰ See Section 2.5.

¹¹ See Section 3.4.

¹² Moretti 1957, #58.

¹³ On the corruption in the entry for the 36th Olympiad in the Eusebian Olympic victor list, see Christesen and Martirosova-Torloni 2006.

form of a later epitome that may have resulted in the alteration of the original.¹⁴

The fifth piece of evidence to be considered is a fragment of Xanthus of Lydia, an older contemporary of Herodotus, which contains a numbered Olympiad:

Xanthus the Lydian says that Thasos was founded sometime around the 18th Olympiad, Dionysius sometime around the 15th. (*FGrH* 765 F30 *apud* Clement of Alexandria *Stromata* 1.31.7)

This might be taken to indicate the existence of numbered Olympiads in the middle of the fifth century (and hence a cumulative catalog of Olympic victors earlier than Hippias'), were it not for the fact that Xanthus' text seems to have come to Clement (who was active in the second century CE) through an epitome of some kind. The appearance of a numbered Olympiad in this fragment has thus been rightly taken as a later interpolation.¹⁵

Finally, Thucydides mentions two Olympic *pankration* victors in association with specific Olympiads. This has been interpreted to mean that *pankration* rather than *stadion* victors were originally used as eponyms to identify specific Olympiads, which in turn implies the existence of a cumulative list of Olympic victors prior to that of Hippias. The relevant evidence is considered in detail in Appendix 8. The discussion there shows that there is no reason to believe that Olympic *pankration* victors were ever used as eponyms.

There is, in sum, no good evidence for the existence of a catalog of Olympic victors before the time of Hippias. This conclusion is strongly reinforced by the means by which Thucydides dated the start of the Peloponnesian War, a point that is discussed in detail in Section 2.1.

¹⁴ For a discussion of the passage from Hippys that includes a numbered Olympiad, see Jacoby 1923–58, 3b1: 484–5 and Jacoby 1949, 307–8. See Vanotti 2002 and the bibliography cited therein for general information on Hippys. Jacoby suggests that Epainetos was in fact eponymous archon in Syracuse. Pearson (1987, 8–10) argues that Hippys' entire work was a later forgery masquerading as a fifth-century history.

¹⁵ On Xanthus' date, see Fowler 1996. On Xanthus' work in general and F30 in particular, see Pearson 1939, 109–38, esp. 115.

APPENDIX 7

ARISTOTLE ON THE FOUNDATION OF THE OLYMPIC TRUCE AND OF THE OLYMPIC GAMES

Some scholars believe that Aristotle's view was that Iphitos reestablished the Olympics on his own and worked with Lycurgus only in regard to the truce.¹ These scholars point to the facts that Plutarch (*Lycurgus* 1.1) mentions only the Olympic truce when discussing the connection Aristotle made between Lycurgus and Iphitos and that Spartans do not appear in the Olympic victor list until the 15th Olympiad. The separation of the founding of the truce and the reestablishment of the Olympics makes it possible to argue that the truce was founded after Iphitos reestablished the Games. Scholars who adapt this position tend to date the foundation of the Olympic truce to around 720, when the Spartans' conquest of Messenia gave them direct access to Elis and when Spartans begin appearing in the Olympic victor list.

One must, however, keep in mind that Aristotle (and almost certainly Hippias before him) used the discus to establish a date for the beginning of the series of continuous Olympiads and that the discus was inscribed with the terms of the Olympic truce and did not offer a lengthy history of the Olympics. The summary given in Plutarch (and Heraclides Lembus; see footnote 32 of Chapter 2) is thus a reflection of a precise statement by Aristotle based on the evidence at hand and the purpose for which that evidence was used. In addition, it is clear that there was a strong tradition, probably going back at least as far as Aristotle, that Lycurgus participated in reestablishing the Olympics.

¹ See, for example, Bollansée 1999a. Bultrighini (1990, 199–215) argues that Hippias believed that Lycurgus and Iphitos collaborated only on the truce, but that the truce was founded at the same time as the reorganization of the Olympics.

This is apparent from Hieronymus of Rhodes F33 (see Section 2.3) and from a fragment of the work of Hermippus of Smyrna, a student of Callimachus and an author with a particular interest in Aristotle's work:²

Some, such as Hermippus, say that Lycurgus in the beginning did not take heed of and was not acting in concert with Iphitos and his colleagues. But he happened to be traveling and watching (the contests) when he heard a voice like that of a man coming from behind him. The voice reproached him and expressed surprise that he did not urge his fellow citizens to take part in the festival. When he turned around, there was no sign of the speaker. Lycurgus concluded that it was a god, and so he went to Iphitos and helped him arrange the festival on a more distinguished and enduring basis. (F85 Wehrli *apud* Plutarch *Lycurgus* 23.2)

The absence of Spartan victors before 720 in the Olympic victor list is meaningless, because preexisting traditions about the Messenian Wars influenced the positioning of victors in the list. This means that the date of the first Spartans in the Olympic victor list cannot be used to reconstruct the early history of the Olympics (see Section 2.6).

² On Hermippus and his work, see Bollansée 1999b and Lord 1986.

APPENDIX 8

OLYMPIADS AND PANKRATION VICTORS IN THUCYDIDES

Thucydides twice uses the name of an Olympic victor to identify a specific Olympiad. In both cases the victors are pancratiasts. Some scholars have taken this as evidence for an early tradition of using *pankration* victors as eponyms for Olympiads.¹ It seems clear, however, that in the two instances in which Thucydides wished to specify particular Olympiads, he did so by naming the most famous victor at the Olympiad in question. Both victors, by coincidence, happened to be pancratiasts.

At 3.8.1 Thucydides describes a meeting held at Olympia between representatives of the Mytilenians and of the Peloponnesian League:

The envoys of the Mytilenians . . . since the Lacedaemonians told them to come to Olympia so that the other allies might hear them and take counsel, arrived at Olympia. This was the Olympiad in which Dorieus of Rhodes won for the second time.

At 5.49.1 Thucydides discusses the exclusion of the Spartans from Olympia:

The Olympic Games were held during this summer, in which Androstheneis of Arcadia won the *pankration* for the first time. The Lacedaemonians were excluded from the sanctuary by the Eleans with the result that they could neither sacrifice nor compete. This was because they did not pay the fine that the Eleans imposed upon them in accordance with Olympic law. The Eleans charged them with attacking the fortifications at Phyrkos and with sending their hoplites to Lepreon during the Olympic truce.

¹ See, for example, Körte 1904.

In both cases, Thucydides is interested in identifying a specific Olympic festival at which something relevant to his war narrative took place and does so using the name of an Olympic victor. Thucydides does not, however, use the *stadion* victor, as was later to become standard practice.

The reasons behind his choice of victors have been the subject of some discussion. Dorieus and Androstenes shared two traits: they were pancratiasts and won multiple victories at Olympia. The fact that both Dorieus and Androstenes competed in the *pankration* has been taken as evidence for the use of pancratiasts as eponyms before Hippias made it standard to employ *stadion* victors for this purpose. A key piece of evidence for scholars subscribing to this point of view is an inscription from the end of the third century from Magnesia. This inscription describes the establishment of an athletic contest at Magnesia and dates its foundation in part on the basis of an Olympiad that is identified by number and by the name of the *pankration* victor:

ἐπιφανοῦς δὲ γενομένης [Ἀρτέμιδος] | προσδεξάμενοι >-< τὸν χ[ρ]ησμὸν
 ὧ ἐπὶ στ[εφανηφόρου] | Ζηνοδότου, ὧ ἐν Ἀθήναις ὧ δὲ ἄρ[χον]τος
 Θρασυφ[ῶντος], ὧ Πύθι | α δὲ κιθαρωιδοῦ νικῶντο[ς] τ[ῶ]ι προτέρωι ἔτ[ει].
]ου Βοιωτίου, ὧ Ὀλύμπια δὲ τῶι ὑστέρωι ἔτει τήν [ἐκατοστήν]
 | καὶ τετταρακοστήν Ὀλυμπιάδα ὧ νικῶντος [τὸ τρίτον] π[α]γκράτιον
 Ἀγησιδάμου Μεσσήνιου >-< πρῶ[τον] ἀργυί | την ἀγῶνα Θεῖναι τῶγ
 κατοικούντων τὴν Ἀσίαν [ἐψηφίσαν] | το . . .² (*IMagn.* 16.10–18)

After the manifestation of Artemis had occurred, and they received the oracle, when Zenodotos was *stephanephoros*, and Thrasyphon was archon in Athens, the first year of the Pythia in which [---] of Boeotia won as *kithara* singer, one year before the 140th Olympiad when Hegesidamos of Messenia was victor in the *pankration* [for the third time?]; they (the Magnesians) first voted to hold a chrematitic contest for those who live in Asia . . . (trans. K. Rigsby *Asyilia*, slightly modified)

The text immediately preceding παγκράτιον Ἀγησιδάμου Μεσσήνιου has been variously restored as ἀνδρῶν, παίδων, or τρίτον.³

² The text of *IMagn.* 16 given here is taken from Sumi 2004, which is based on a revised edition of the inscription produced by Ebert that included a number of new readings (Ebert 1982).

³ Ebert 1982, 201.

This is an exceptional inscription in two ways: it contains the earliest known use of a numbered Olympiad in an epigraphic document, and it uses a *pankration* victor as an eponym for an Olympiad. Olympiads were first numbered in the Aristotelian *Olympionikai* that appeared in the 330s, and in the late fourth or early third century Timaeus pioneered the practice of using numbered Olympiads to date historical events. Olympiad numbers are found with some frequency in literary sources after the time of Timaeus, but they remained rare in inscriptions. This was the case even at Olympia, where the extensive epigraphic corpus contains only a handful of inscriptions that include Olympiad numbers. The earliest such inscription dates to 64 BCE (*IvO* 530).⁴ The appearance of an Olympiad number in an inscription from Magnesia dating to the third century is, therefore, surprising.

The combination of a numbered Olympiad and a *pankration* victor is even more surprising. Catalogs of Olympic victors listed winners in a fixed sequence, which was structured around the order in which events were added to the Olympic program. The details of the expansion of the Olympic program were, therefore, a critical feature of *Olympionikai*, and there seems to have been a unanimous belief among ancient Greeks that there was but a single event, the *stadion*, for the first thirteen Olympiads.⁵ There could, as a result, be only one possible eponym for the Olympics, the *stadion* victor. The practice of using the *stadion* victor to identify individual Olympiads virtually certainly began with Hippias, since it appears in a fragment of Philistus of Syracuse from the early fourth century. The use of an Olympic *pankration* victor as an eponym in an inscription from the third century is, therefore, little short of bizarre.

The men responsible for the Magnesia inscription must have had a particular reason to deviate from what was a well-established practice. The most likely explanation is that suggested long ago by Jacoby:⁶ the Magnesians were attempting to add a patina to their new festival, and

⁴ On the use of Olympiads to date historical events, see Sections 3.2, 3.4, and 4.5. Peter Siewert believes that numbered Olympiads began to be used for dating purposes at Olympia after Sulla held the Olympics at Rome. See Zoumbaki 2001, 33 n. 31.

⁵ See Section 3.5.

⁶ Jacoby 1923–58, 3b2: 145 n. 11.

they intentionally employed what they believed to be an archaic dating formula by using the *pankration* victor as an eponym.⁷

Jacoby's explanation finds strong support in the special nature of the Magnesia inscription.⁸ After an epiphany of Artemis Leucophryene in 221, the Magnesians consulted the Delphic oracle and decided to augment a preexisting local festival. They attempted to establish chrematitic contests in which all the Greeks settled in Asia would participate, but the results were disappointing. Fourteen years later they renewed their efforts, this time deciding to establish a Panhellenic festival modeled on the Pythian Games. The Magnesians sent envoys to kings, leagues, and *poleis* seeking recognition of the new festival and of the inviolability of Magnesia's territory. This attempt was more successful, and shortly before 200 they set up a series of roughly seventy inscriptions in the agora of Magnesia that documented the responses to their envoys' requests. The first two inscriptions in this series supplied narrative accounts of the founding of the festival (*IMagn.* 16, above) and of the *polis* of Magnesia (*IMagn.* 17).

In a recent analysis of this series of inscriptions, Geoffrey Sumi has shown that the Magnesians were intent upon giving both Magnesia's territorial claims and the new festival a firm historical grounding. He argues that

The archive monument (Sumi's terminology for the series of seventy inscriptions) and festival were a means by which Magnesia expressed its civic identity, asserted its longstanding claims to the territory that surrounded the city, and more generally, represented itself to the larger Greek world. . . . It is . . . important to bear in mind that a keen sense of their own past and how it intersected with the "pasts" of other Greek city-states – a "historical consciousness" – lay at the heart of Magnesia's self-representation. This historical consciousness was expressed . . . in the documents that were included as part of the archive monument . . .⁹

⁷ There is no known connection between Hegesidamos and Magnesia. It is possible that Hegesidamos was an unusually successful athlete and was named for that reason, but little is known about his athletic career. See Moretti 1957, #580.

⁸ On the Magnesia inscriptions, see Gehrke 2001, Sumi 2004, and the bibliography cited therein.

⁹ Sumi 2004, 79.

The Magnesians seem to have been feeling considerable anxiety about the integrity of their territory in the face of the larger forces operative in the Hellenistic world, and so they went about reinforcing their claims to that territory by appealing to the past. Louis Robert has pointed out that religious festivals (frequently including stephanitic athletic contests) were founded by numerous Greek cities during the Roman imperial period in order to try to establish the territory of the city in question as sacred and inviolable.¹⁰

The Magnesians' use of a *pankration* victor to help identify the 140th Olympiad should be seen as part of a wider attempt to link past and present in the foundation of a new festival. The Magnesians were aware of current Olympiad dating practice when they cut the inscription (witness the use of an Olympiad number) but chose to use a *pankration* instead of a *stadion* victor because it gave the text an ancient feel.¹¹ The model to which the Magnesians looked in doing so was probably Thucydides.¹² Most reasonably educated Greeks of the third century would have had some familiarity with Thucydides' work. The absence of numbered Olympiads in his account of the Peloponnesian War must have been striking in comparison to later histories that relied on Olympiad dates.¹³ From the perspective of a third-century reader, Thucydides was decidedly archaic in this respect, and the two points in his text where he uses *pankration* victors to identify specific Olympiads may well have been the inspiration for the appearance of an eponymous *pankration* victor in the Magnesia inscription.¹⁴

The irony in all this is that it is far from clear that Thucydides named Dorieus and Androsthene because they were *pankration* victors. If there was an established practice of using Olympic *pankration* victors as eponyms, Thucydides would surely have named the *pankration* victor at the 87th Olympiad (432) at 2.1.1–2.1, where he was doing everything

¹⁰ Robert 1984–7.

¹¹ It is almost certainly not coincidental that *IMagn.* 17.13–15 expresses a date relevant to the founding of the city in terms of the priestess of Hera at Argos and the enneateric archon at Delphi, both decidedly obscure and archaic means of reckoning time.

¹² The relevance of Thucydides to *IMagn.* 16 is highlighted in Ebert 1982, 201.

¹³ On Thucydides' readership in the Hellenistic period, see Hornblower 1995.

¹⁴ The absence of Olympiad dates in Thucydides was noticed and criticized by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*De Thucydide* 9). On this passage, see the discussion in n. 4 of Chapter 2.

possible to specify the date at which the Peloponnesian War began. Instead, he singled out particular iterations of the Olympics only when something important happened at the Olympic festival in question, in one case a meeting of the Peloponnesian League and in the other the exclusion of the Spartans from the Games. Thucydides probably used Dorieus and Androstenes to identify these Olympiads because they were both famous athletes and thus immediately known to his audience, not because they were *pankration* victors.¹⁵

Dorieus was perhaps the most renowned athlete of his generation, and a reference in Aristotle's *Rhetoric* (1357a19–21) shows that his name was proverbial for the successful athlete well after his death. He came from a family that produced an improbable number of Olympic victors and himself won the *pankration* at three successive Olympiads, in addition to four Pythian, eight Isthmian, and nine Nemean victories. Despite the fact that Dorieus was a well-known member of the pro-Spartan party at Rhodes, the Athenians, when they took Dorieus captive, released him without harm on account of their admiration for his athletic achievements. Less is known about Androstenes, but he did win at least two Olympic victories and, like Dorieus, had a statue at Olympia that survived for Pausanias to see.¹⁶ It is probably significant that Thucydides does not take the trouble to specify the event in which Dorieus won. The standard formula for using a *stadion* victor to identify an Olympiad invariably made it clear that the victor in question won the *stadion*. Thucydides seems to have expected his audience to know who Dorieus and Androstenes were, and does not seem to be much concerned with the specific information that Dorieus won the *pankration*. This suggests that when Thucydides wanted to identify a specific Olympiad, he did so by using the name of the most famous victor at that Olympiad. The fact that both Dorieus and Androstenes were pancratiasts was coincidental.

¹⁵ Ebert (Ebert 1982, 201) and Wilamowitz (Wilamowitz-Moellendorf 1922, 482) both took the position that Thucydides cited Dorieus' and Androstenes' names because they were famous athletes, though without considering the possibility of eponymous *pankration* victors. On Thucydides' references to Dorieus and Androstenes, see Gomme et al. 1945–81, 4: 64; Hornblower 1991–6, 1: 389–91; and Rhodes 1994, 181–2.

¹⁶ On Dorieus' and Androstenes' athletic careers, see Moretti 1957, #322 and #336, respectively.

Further support for the idea that there was an early tradition of using *pankration* victors as eponyms is sometimes sought in a passage from the *De Gymnastica*, in which Philostratus states that

Of all the events in the competition, the *pankration* has been held in the most esteem . . . (11)

Philostratus, however, wrote in the third century CE, so that it is difficult to use his comments as evidence for eponymous *pankration* victors in the fifth century BCE. In addition, Philostratus makes no mention of the use of *pankration* victors as eponyms.

APPENDIX 9

MORE ON THE ACCURACY OF HIPPIAS' OLYMPIC VICTOR CATALOG

The accuracy of the early parts of Hippias' catalog of Olympic victors has been much debated. The most important and conclusive arguments are treated in Sections 2.5 and 2.6. It is also worthwhile to review briefly the other arguments that have been brought forward because some readers will be curious to know how particular issues and evidence have been treated in the scholarly literature. Debate has been driven by the attacks launched by critics against the assumption that the Olympic victor list is trustworthy, and subsequent rebuttals by its defenders.¹ There are seven points to be considered, all of which are based on too little evidence to be conclusive one way or the other.

The first point involves Plutarch's remark about Hippias relying upon untrustworthy sources in compiling the Olympic victor list (*Numa* 1.4; see Section 2.1 for the text). Critics of the accuracy of the Olympic victor list see Plutarch's remark as indicative of obvious problems with Hippias' work, in part because it is taken to be representative of a long tradition of doubt going back to Eratosthenes, Timaeus, and possibly Aristotle. Defenders of the accuracy of the list see this remark as nothing more than Plutarch's own, uninformed judgment, an "embarrassed phrase" from a scholar with no real interest

¹ The most complete statement of critics' views on the reliability of the Olympic victor list can be found in Mahaffy 1881, the most thorough defense in Brinkmann 1915. Unless otherwise specified, the reader should seek out these two articles for further discussion of the points raised here. Bilik 2000 includes a detailed listing of the issues touched upon by many of the scholars who have written on the reliability of the Olympic victor list.

or expertise in chronology.² Defenders of the accuracy of the list also invoke Aristotle, but as a guarantor of its reliability, based on the idea that Aristotle, who produced a version of the Olympic victor list and had access to records at Olympia, would not have put his name on an unreliable document. This entire line of argumentation is inconclusive because Plutarch does not explain the reasons for his negative assessment of Hippias' work, so it is impossible to say whether or not his criticism had a firm evidentiary basis. Further, the contents of the Aristotelian *Athenaion Politeia* make the idea that Aristotle had impeccable sources and an unerring eye for the shape of the distant past difficult to sustain.³ One might also point to Thucydides' account of the early history of Greece in the first book of his history of the Peloponnesian War as an indication that even the most astute and critical ancient Greek authors were capable of putting faith in sources that a modern historian would hesitate to rely upon.

The next point revolves around the program of events at the Olympics.⁴ All extant catalogs of Olympic victors are founded upon the belief that the Olympics of 776 consisted solely of the *stadion*.⁵ Critics have argued that this was patently not the case, so that the Olympic victor list is built around a flawed premise, whereas defenders have sought to prove that the *stadion* was the only event held at the early Olympics. Four different issues have been considered in relation

² Meyer 1892, 1: 240 n. 1. Den Boer argued that Plutarch's remarks apply only to the dates for Numa (den Boer 1954, 45–7). Defenders of the authenticity of the Olympic victor list also point out that Plutarch introduces his comments with the qualifier *φασις*, which may mean that he is trying to distance himself from this criticism. In addition, elsewhere in his corpus, Plutarch discusses the expansion of the program of events at Olympia, using information that must have come directly or indirectly from the Olympic victor list (*Moralia* 675c). This might mean that he himself believed the Olympic victor list to be accurate.

³ On Aristotle's attitude toward the past, see Huxley 1973. Huxley points out that:

[Aristotle] radically differs from the moderns . . . in his treatment of myth. He believed, as Pindar had believed before him, not simply that myth conveyed truth, but that it was true. . . . In the *Politeiai* mythical origins were inseparable from the subsequent constitutional changes in each city state, so that it was impossible to say that history began with the first Olympiad or after the Trojan war, or before the thalassocracy of Minos . . . (284–5)

⁴ For a good summary of the evidence for the evolution of the Olympic program, see Ziehen 1937–9, 2529–31.

⁵ See Section 3.5.

to this subject. For the sake of clarity, these issues will be designated with the letters A through D. Issue A has to do with the account of the funeral games for Patroclus in Book 23 of the *Iliad*. Critics say that Book 23 proves that a full spectrum of athletic contests was the norm in eighth-century Greece and that Hippias erred because he took the earliest record he could find of a victory in any given event to be a reflection of the addition of that event to the Olympic program. Defenders argue that the Olympics originated in initiatory rather than funeral rites and that the limitation of the initial program of events to the *stadion* is what one ought expect. They point to the games for Hera held at Olympia, which consisted solely of a footrace for girls, albeit in three different age classes.⁶ The key question here is whether the Olympics were funerary or initiatory in origin, a question that generations of scholars have been unable to come close to resolving.⁷

Issue B involves Pindar's *Olympian* X. Pindar gives an account of the Olympics over which Heracles the son of Alcmene presided and mentions competitions in the *stadion*, wrestling, boxing, four-horse chariot, javelin, and discus. This is taken by critics to show that Greeks of Pindar's time had reason to believe that the program of events at the early Olympics was much more extensive than that given in the Olympic victor list. Defenders reply, quite properly, that this passage refers to the mythical and not the historical Olympics⁸ and that Pindar's *epinikia* cannot be used as a reliable guide to the program of the early contests at Olympia.

Issue C pertains to Thucydides' use of *pankration* victors to identify Olympiads and an inscription from Magnesia that employs a *pankration* victor as an eponym.⁹ Critics argue that the prominent role played by

⁶ On the Heraia, see Scanlon 1988 and Serwint 1993. The Eleusinia games at Athens, which by the fourth century had a full array of gymnastic and hippic contests, may have originally consisted of a single contest, called the *patrios agon*. This pattern of development has been cited as a parallel for the Olympics. Some caution is, however, in order because the precise nature of the *patrios agon* is far from clear. It may, for example, have been a sort of mock battle. See the discussion in Brumfield 1981, 182–91 and Healey 1990, 9–28, esp. 22–3. The parallel with Olympia may be rather inexact.

⁷ The scholarship on the origins of the Olympics is considered at length in Ulf and Weiler 1980.

⁸ See Appendix 6 for further discussion.

⁹ See Appendix 8.

pankration victors in these sources shows that the *stadion* was just another event until Hippias elevated it to eponymous status, thus undercutting his portrayal of the early Olympics. Defenders reply that there are clear signs that Greeks always conferred a special status on *stadion* victors. They point out that the prize for the *stadion* was larger than that for other gymnastic events at the Panathenaia and that lists of gymnastic events in ancient literary sources such as Pindar *Olympian* X place the *stadion* first, indicating that it was singled out.¹⁰ Here the critics seem to have the worst of it, which is not to say that the *stadion* can be shown to have been the only event held at the early Olympics, but that Thucydides and the Magnesia inscription cannot be used to refute that idea.

Issue D has to do with small bronze votives that were dedicated at Olympia in the Geometric period. A considerable number of these votives represent chariots, which critics take to be a sign that chariot racing was part of the Olympic program from the beginning, as one might expect from the *Iliad*.¹¹ Defenders point out that similar dedications are found at sites where no games were ever held and that the Olympia dedications include numerous warrior figures, although there is little evidence that armed combat was ever part of the Olympics, in spite of it being held at Patroclus' funeral games in the *Iliad*. It is by now apparent that there is simply not enough information to form a judgment about the range of events contested at the early Olympics, so that the belief that only the *stadion* was held for a considerable period of time can neither be proved nor disproved.¹²

This brings us to the third inconclusive point that has been raised in relation to the reliability of the early parts of the Olympic victor list: the dedication of tripods at Olympia starting in the first half of

¹⁰ On the Panathenaia, see Kyle 1992; Kyle 1996; and Tracy and Habicht 1991.

¹¹ On the small bronze votives from Olympia, see Morgan 1990, 26–105 and the bibliography cited therein. There has been repeated argument (see, most recently, Decker 1992) that it is impossible to conceive of eighth-century contests at Olympia that did not include chariot racing.

¹² Compromise positions have been proposed in the hope of reconciling the various pieces of evidence. Gaspar, for instance, argued that there was a full program of events from the outset, but that the written records originally recorded only the names of *stadion* victors. As writing became more common, the officials at Olympia kept better and better records until all the victors in each Olympiad were registered (Gaspar 1875–1919, 174).

the ninth century.¹³ The clearly demonstrated use of tripods as prizes for victorious athletes has led some scholars to conclude that athletic contests began at Olympia long before 776 and that the Olympic victor list is therefore inaccurate. Tripods were, however, dedicated for a range of reasons at Greek sanctuaries, not all of which had to do with athletic contests. This is apparent from the fact that tripod dedications began at Isthmia c. 750, long before the start of athletic contests at that site.¹⁴ The tripods at Olympia cannot, therefore, be used to test the accuracy of the Olympic victor list.

The next point to be considered is the names in the Olympic victor list. The names of three early victors, Androclos, Polychares, and Dotades (in the 3rd, 4th, and 10th Olympiads, respectively), are also the names of major figures in the extant stories about Messenian history.¹⁵ Critics believe that this shows that Hippias fabricated a victor list using figures known to him from myth. Defenders argue that Olympic victors were prominent figures in the ancient world and that the Olympic victor list may have been responsible for the presence of these men in myths, not the other way around. In addition, they point out that when the names of early victors are checked against lists of names known from inscriptions, some appear as important individuals and others have names that fit with what is known about local peculiarities in personal names. Ambiguity reigns once again. There is no evidence for the content of Messenian historical tales prior to Hippias' *Olympionikai*, which makes it impossible to judge the direction of influence. The ostensible validation provided by the personal names of the victors is illusory. Even if Hippias fabricated the entirety of the early part of the Olympic victor list, he could easily have used the names of prominent individuals who may or may not have won an Olympic

¹³ On the tripods from Olympia, see Maass 1981 and the bibliography cited therein.

¹⁴ On the tripods from Isthmia, see Morgan 1999, 326–8, 405–6. On the beginning of athletic contests at the site, see Gebhard 1992 and Gebhard 2002. Catherine Morgan has recently pointed to the tripods from Olympia and other changes in dedication patterns there and tentatively argued that games were held sporadically from a very early period and were refounded along new lines in the first decades of the eighth century. Even Morgan, however, admits that “the absolute date of 776 . . . bears little relation to . . . archaeologically detectable change” (Morgan 1990, 47–9, at 48).

¹⁵ On Androclos, see Pausanias 4.4.4, 4.5.6–7, 4.14.3, 4.15.7. On Polychares, see Pausanias 4.4.5–6. On Dotades, see Pausanias 4.3.10.

victory as a means of flattering their families. This would fit well with the prominence of Spartans in the victor list.¹⁶ Moreover, even if the individuals listed as Olympic victors had in fact won at Olympia, there is no way of knowing whether or not Hippias accurately placed them in time.

The fifth point that has been raised in discussions about the accuracy of the Olympic victor list is the absence of the *apene* (a mule-cart race) and the *kalpe* (a race for mares) in *POxy* II 222. The list of victors for Olympiads 77, 78, and 82 in *POxy* II 222 includes thirteen different gymnic and hippic events. There is, however, no trace of the *apene* or the *kalpe*, which were held between the 71st and 84th Olympiads (Pausanias 5.9.1, Polemon *FHG* (3.122) F21). Critics have argued that the Eleans could hardly have known in advance that they were going to discontinue these events, and so the victors in them would have been included in official Elean records if such records existed. If Hippias simply transcribed such records, the victors in the *apene* and *kalpe* would be included in Olympic victor catalogs. The absence of these events is thus taken to show that Hippias based his work on the program of events as it existed in his own time and did not have official records at his disposal. Defenders counter that *POxy* II 222 was written some seven centuries after Hippias lived and that the victors in discontinued events might have been dropped from the list at any time. Alternatively, Hippias may have chosen to omit victors in discontinued events even if he had complete records with which to work. The only other complete victor catalogs for single iterations of the Olympics pertain to the 121st (*POxy* XVII 2082) and 177th Olympiads (Phlegon *FGrH* 257 F12). There is, therefore, not enough evidence to decide whether the absence of the *apene* and *kalpe* from *POxy* II 222 is meaningful.

The two remaining points that have been raised can be treated very rapidly. There are only minor variations in the various extant versions of the Olympic victor list.¹⁷ This might mean that the Olympic victor list was based on archival sources, or it might result from the use of Hippias' catalog as the basis of all later lists. Finally, the first registered

¹⁶ See Section 2.6.

¹⁷ See the chart in Appendix 17.

Olympic victor, Coroibos, is described in some ancient sources as a *mageiros* (cook). This might indicate a flaw in the Olympic victor list, because cooks were not high-status individuals and thus a cook was unlikely to be competing at Olympia at a time when athletics were dominated by elites. On the other hand, the term *mageiros* might identify Coroibos as a cult official.¹⁸ As promised, no definite conclusions can be based on any of these seven points.

¹⁸ On *mageiroi*, see Berthiaume 1982 and Zoumbaki 2001, 131–2. For a discussion of Coroibos' identity, see Young 1984, 98–9 and the bibliography cited therein.

APPENDIX IO

THE OLYMPIC VICTOR LIST AND THE FIRST MESSENIAN WAR

It has in the past been argued that the close match between the patterning of Messenian and Spartan victors in the early parts of the Olympic victor list on one hand and traditions about the First Messenian War on the other prove the accuracy of the Olympic victor list.¹ This, of course, presumes that that list was not shaped in accordance with the traditions in question. The most detailed arguments brought forward to justify such a presumption are found in the work of Franz Kiechle.² Kiechle claims (1) that when Hippias wrote his *Olympionikai*, Tyrtaeus F5 (which mentions two separate Messenian Wars) had not yet been used to reconstruct the Messenian Wars and (2) that Hippias believed in only a single Messenian War that dated to the seventh century and thus would not have used the traditions about the Messenian Wars in compiling the portions of the Olympic victor list pertaining to the eighth century. In regard to the number of Messenian Wars, Kiechle points to the account of the founding of Taras given by Antiochus of Syracuse (active in the fifth century, *FGrH* 555 F13 *apud* Strabo 6.3.2), in which Antiochus states that the city was settled after the outbreak of the Messenian War. Both Herodotus and Thucydides apparently believed in only a single Messenian War, so it is entirely possible that the same was true of Antiochus (though the views of all three authors on the subject of the Messenian Wars are difficult to discern clearly).

One cannot, however, conclude on this basis that Hippias necessarily believed in a single Messenian War. Hippias may well have related

¹ See Section 2.6.

² Kiechle 1959, 6–14.

Tyrtaeus F5 to the Messenian War(s), which in turn would have made it quite possible for him to have believed in multiple Messenian Wars.³ When Isocrates wrote the *Archidamus* in 366, he referred to a Spartan siege of a Messenian stronghold that ended a war that had lasted twenty years (23, 57). This information must have come directly or indirectly from Tyrtaeus, which in turn makes it clear that Tyrtaeus was being used to reconstruct Messenian history by the second quarter of the fourth century.⁴ Hippias assembled a collection of short quotations from earlier authors⁵ and memorized material important to Spartans,⁶ so it would be rather surprising if he was not thoroughly familiar with Tyrtaeus' poems.⁷ When Hippias compiled the Olympic victor list he may well have made use of Tyrtaeus' poems to help sequence the names in the early part of the list and thus may well have believed in two Messenian Wars.

Moreover, it is quite possible both that Hippias believed in a single Messenian War *and* that he shaped the Olympic victor list in accordance with contemporary traditions about that war, provided that he dated that war to the eighth century. Messenians disappear from the Olympic victor list after the 11th Olympiad (736), which may have been because Hippias, in assigning Messenian victors to specific Olympiads in the absence of reliable chronological information, arranged their names based on the idea that the Spartans conquered Messenia not long after the 11th Olympiad.

Kiechle rejected this idea and claimed that in the fifth century, the single Messenian War was dated to the seventh century, so

³ We have no direct information about Hippias' views on the Messenian Wars, and the reconstruction of fifth-century views of Messenian history is extremely difficult because most of the relevant sources considerably postdate the fifth century and because Messenian history was continuously refashioned. On the regular rewriting of Messenian history in the ancient world, see Alcock 1999. For a more aggressively pessimistic view of the value of the ancient sources for the study of early Messenian history, see Pearson 1962.

⁴ See Luraghi 2003, 121–3.

⁵ See Section 2.1.

⁶ See Section 2.8.

⁷ The fifth century was a critical period in the evolution of Messenian identity, and it would not be at all surprising if either Hippias or a contemporary made use of Tyrtaeus F5 in thinking about Messenian history. On changes in Messenian identity in the fifth century, see Luraghi 2001.

Hippias could not have based the patterning of eighth-century Messenian Olympic victors on the chronology of the Messenian War. Kiechle points to five pieces of evidence that he believes support this conclusion. First, Epaminondas stated that he liberated Messenia after 230 years of subjection (Aelian *Varia Historia* 13.42, Plutarch *Moralia* 194b). This suggests a date of sometime around 600 for the completion of the Spartan conquest of Messenia. Kiechle assumes that this must refer to the end of a single Messenian War. However, it is impossible to say what Epaminondas' views were as to the number of Messenian Wars. We have already seen that Tyrtaeus F5 was being used in reference to the Messenian Wars just three years after Epaminondas' liberation of Messenia and that it is entirely possible that Hippias had made the same connection well before Isocrates. Epaminondas could, therefore, easily have believed in multiple Messenian Wars. Epaminondas' statement has in fact almost universally been taken to refer to the end of the Second Messenian War or to a Messenian revolt after the end of that war.⁸

Second, Theopompus tells a story about Pherecydes in which Pherecydes advises his Messenian host Perilaos to emigrate (*FGrH* 115 F71). Perilaos ignores his advice and subsequently suffers when Messenia is conquered by the Spartans. Pherecydes was reputed to be a pupil of Pittacus, who is sometimes dated to the first half of the sixth century. This story may indicate that Theopompus believed that the Spartan conquest of Messenia was not complete until the sixth century. However, unless one assumes that Theopompus believed in a single Messenian War, the story about Perilaos cannot be taken to show that Greeks of Hippias' time dated the beginnings of Spartan intervention in Messenia to the seventh century or later. Indeed, by the time Theopompus wrote, belief in multiple Messenian wars was becoming widespread. Moreover, it is not at all clear what date Theopompus would have assigned to Pittacus since there was little agreement among ancient authors as to when precisely he lived.⁹

⁸ For the bibliography on Epaminondas' statement about freeing Messenia, see Parker 1991, 26 n. 8.

⁹ On Pittacus' dates, see Mosshammer, 1979, 246–53 and Shaw 2003, 77–86.

Third, Pausanias states that Anaxilas of Rhegium was the great-grandson of Alcidas, who fled Messenia after the First Messenian War (4.23.6). Anaxilas has sometimes been dated to the fifth century, which would in turn imply a seventh-century date for Alcidas (and hence the First Messenian War). The problem is that Pausanias himself dates Anaxilas to the 29th Olympiad (664), so it is difficult to use Pausanias to support a seventh-century date for Alcidas.¹⁰

Fourth, Pausanias states that the Messenian Phanas won an Olympic victory in the *dolichos* (4.17.9) and died in the Battle of the Great Trench, which Pausanias dates to 683/2 (4.17.2). This indicates that the Olympic victor list included Messenian victors dated to the late eighth or seventh century, which is not compatible with an eighth-century date for the conquest of Messenia. Here again, Kiechle assumes that Hippias believed in a single Messenian War. Once this assumption is removed, Phanas could easily have come from those portions of Messenia that were believed to have remained unconquered until the Second Messenian War.¹¹ In addition, it is far from certain that Hippias' Olympic victor list included Phanas. The extant *Olympionikai* fragments give primarily *stadion* victors for this period, which means that Phanas is not present in any extant version of the Olympic victor list. Pausanias does not specify the source of his information about Phanas' athletic prowess. He does not assign Phanas' victory to a specific Olympiad, and it is very possible that he found the information about that victory in a source other than an Olympic victor list. Pausanias drew upon a number of sources for his information about Messenia, including Myron of Priene and Rhianus of Bene, and may have found that the (largely if not entirely fictionalized) account of Phanas' life in his source included mention of an Olympic victory.¹²

¹⁰ Our only source for Alcidas' genealogy is Pausanias, who seems to make a conscious effort to avoid or even conceal evidence in order to suggest a very early date for a Messenian presence in Sicily. On this subject see Luraghi 1994. The discrepancies in Anaxilas' dates have given rise to much scholarly discussion. On this subject, see Shaw 2003, 13–15, 102–7. On the literary and archaeological evidence pertinent to the foundation of Rhegium, see Ganci 1998, 5–127 and the bibliography cited therein.

¹¹ On Phanas, see Moretti 1957, #31.

¹² On Pausanias' sources for the history of Messenia and their dubious reliability, see Pearson 1962.

Phanas' name may, therefore, not have appeared in Hippias' Olympic victor list (or any of the later versions of that list).

Fifth, the presence of a victor (Oxythemis) from Corone in Messenia in the entry in the Olympic victor list for the 12th Olympiad (732), according to Kiechle, is incompatible with an eighth-century date for a single Messenian War. Here again there are numerous problems. To begin with, the hometown of the victor in question, Oxythemis, is given as Corone in the Eusebian list but as Cleonai in the Argolid in Philostratus' *De Gymnastica* (12). In addition, there was more than one Corone on the Greek mainland, so it is by no means clear that Oxythemis was from Messenia.¹³ Here again, one must also note that Kiechle's argument assumes that Hippias believed in a single Messenian War. If, however, Hippias believed that the Spartans fought more than one such war, he could easily have been of the opinion that Oxythemis came from a part of Messenia that remained unconquered until the seventh century.

One other point made by Kiechle merits brief mention. Kiechle argues that the foundation of Rhegium, which can be archaeologically dated to the last third of the eighth century, confirms the accuracy of the Olympic victor list. Some ancient sources state that Messenian refugees helped settle Rhegium. This fits nicely with the cessation of Messenians in the Olympic victor list in the late eighth century. The problem is that some ancient accounts (e.g., Pausanias 4.23.5–10) state that the Messenians in Rhegium arrived there as immigrants to an already established colony after the Second Messenian War, which was fought long after the eighth century. In addition, the key source for the link between the Messenians, the First Messenian War, and the foundation of Rhegium is Strabo (6.1.6), who could easily have been influenced by a preexisting tradition that Messenian refugees went to Rhegium and by the cessation of Messenian victors in the Olympic victor list. Kiechle argues that Strabo draws on Antiochus, who predated Hippias, but there is no explicit source citation in Strabo.¹⁴

¹³ On Oxythemis' hometown, see Moretti 1957, #12.

¹⁴ Luraghi (2002, 67) and Musti (1994, 37–40) specifically reject the idea that Antiochus was the source for Strabo's information about Messenian settlers at Rhegium. Jacoby

There is, in sum, no evidence to support the idea that Hippias constructed the Olympic victor list independent of the traditions about the Messenian Wars.

suggests that the source behind Strabo 6.1.6 was Timaeus (Jacoby 1902a, 130). Cordiano concludes that the source is unidentifiable (Cordiano 1991). See also Ducat 1974; Kiechle 1959, 106–30; Parker 1991; and Vallet 1958, 59–80.

APPENDIX II

MEMORIZATION AND THE OLYMPIC VICTOR LIST

W. K. Pritchett¹ has recently argued that officials in Argos memorized the list of priestesses of Hera at Argos, and it is worth considering whether officials at Olympia might have memorized the names of Olympic victors (and then transmitted those names to Hippias). The two key pieces of evidence that are typically highlighted in regard to the memorization of information in Archaic Greece are the Homeric rhapsodes, who were clearly capable of considerable feats of memory, and the existence of officially appointed *mnemones* in many Greek communities. The parallels with the Olympic victor list, however, are inexact in both cases. The accurate transmission of substantial amounts of memorized information over the course of multiple generations was a time-consuming undertaking and only the most important information could receive this treatment. As Astrid Möller and Nino Luraghi point out, “a society as such does not remember for the sake of remembering: the image of the past plays a role in the legitimization, justification, reconciliation and transformation of persons, groups or social structures.”²

The Homeric rhapsodes memorized great literary works that reflected and expressed many of the fundamental values that defined Greek culture. *Mnemones* were magistrates who carried out a number of functions, including the preservation, either in memory or in writing, of laws and judicial decisions. The operation of the legal system was a critical part of the functioning of Greek communities,

¹ Pritchett 1996, 36–7.

² Möller and Luraghi 1995, 5.

particularly after the formation of more centralized political units in the eighth century, and it is easy to see why communities would have invested time and energy in maintaining a record of the basic structuring principles on which that system operated—laws and precedents.³

It is not clear, however, why anyone would have taken the trouble to memorize the names of victors in what were originally a set of games of purely local importance. In his examination of list-keeping in oral cultures, Jan Vansina concludes that “list keeping . . . is not something that comes easily to oral cultures, but oral lists are kept when they have a social meaning, though they are never long.”⁴ This does not encourage belief in the idea that the Eleans memorized the names of dozens of victors in the Olympics beginning in the eighth century. More or less accurate memories of genealogies were preserved by some families, especially the royal families of Sparta, because of their political value, but the utility of a list of names of victors in the Olympics of the eighth century was very limited.⁵

One might also add that there is no evidence of any kind for *mnemones* at Olympia. There were two hereditary families of priests at Olympia, the Iamidai and the Clytidai.⁶ The activity of the Iamidai can be traced beginning in the fifth century and continuing through the third century CE, and their presence at Olympia must have extended back before the fifth century. There is, however, no indication in the ancient sources that either the Iamidai or the Clytidai memorized the names of Olympic victors. These families were responsible for cult activity, particularly the operation of the oracle. The registration of victors, at least in later periods, was the responsibility of the

³ The earliest evidence for *mnemones* in ancient Greece can be found in a law from Tiryns dating to the seventh century that makes these officials responsible for exacting fines (SEG 30.380). The earliest known example of an official unambiguously appointed by a Greek community to preserve a record of the past is found in an inscription from Crete dated to c. 500 (SEG 27.631). See Jeffery and Morpurgo-Davies 1970 for the *editio princeps* of the Crete inscription. The best recent treatments of *mnemones* can be found in Simondon 1982, 293–8 and Thomas 1996. Thomas cites the earlier scholarship, to which should be added Pritchett 1996, 17–18, 36–9.

⁴ Vansina 1985, 178–85, at 179.

⁵ On the political uses of systems of time-reckoning in ancient Greece, see den Boer 1956.

⁶ On the Iamidai and Clytidai, see Parke 1967, 164–93; Sinn 1991; and Weniger 1915.

magistrates in charge of the Games, a separate group from the priestly families. This division of responsibility between religious officials in charge of cult activity and civic magistrates in charge of the Games is apparent in the earliest extant written sources for Olympia, a series of inscriptions from the middle of the sixth century. In his study of these inscriptions, Peter Siewert concludes that “cult officials as *theokoloi*, *iaromaoi*, *iareis*, *manteis* are not concerned with the Olympic Games. On the other hand the *diatiteres* or the Hellanodikai have almost nothing to do with ritual or sacrifice.”⁷ There must have been significantly less continuity among the civic magistrates at Olympia than among the priestly families due to the constant rotation of office holders and due to the struggle between Pisatis and Elis for control of Olympia. Under those conditions, establishing an unbroken chain of transmission of a significant amount of memorized information over the course of nearly four centuries would have been very difficult. The idea that Hippias had access to a memorized list of victors must, therefore, be classified as highly unlikely.

⁷ Siewert 1992, 116.

APPENDIX 12

HIPPIAS' CALCULATION OF THE DATE OF 776

As pointed out in Section 2.8, Hippias could have calculated a date for the first Olympiad in one of five ways. He may have assembled the most complete possible list of Olympic victors and ended up with a register that began in 776. He may have worked backward from the earliest written records to 776 using oral traditions or numerology. He may have used written records, synchronizations, or generational reckoning to place a major reform of the Olympics in the years corresponding to 576 or 476 and worked backward from there to 776 using oral traditions or numerology.¹ He may have synchronized the first Olympiad with the outbreak of the First Messenian War and provided a date for that war, and hence the first Olympiad, using the Spartan king list. Or he may have linked what he believed to be the first of the series of continuous Olympiads to a specific individual and then established a date for that individual by means of a king list with regnal years or by generational reckoning.²

The most likely possibility is that when Hippias calculated the date of 776, he linked the first Olympiad to Lycurgus and then made use

¹ Theoretically Hippias could have calculated the date of the first Olympiad by working backward from any dateable, intermediate event that had relevance to the Olympics. The possible intermediate events identified here are the most obvious candidates, either because they were (at least potentially) firmly dateable on the basis of written records at Olympia or because they were events that had a notable effect on the Olympics and that may have taken place at dates that have a potentially significant numerical relationship with 776.

² The discussion supplied here of the manner in which Hippias may have calculated the date of 776 is intended to be thorough but not absolutely exhaustive. A number of possibilities exist but are not treated here because they are too arcane or improbable.

of Lycurgus' connection to the kings of Sparta, of the Spartan king list, and of generational reckoning. This possibility is treated in detail in Section 2.8. The discussion here centers on the other four scenarios, which are less likely but which cannot be ruled out. All five of these scenarios are in a sense untestable hypotheses. There is no evidence that can be marshaled to prove or disprove them in a definitive manner, and any assessment of each one's viability is based largely on one's assessment of the likelihood of the alternatives. We will proceed by reviewing each scenario in turn before considering their relative merits.

The idea that Hippias simply put together the most complete possible victor list and dated the first Olympiad on that basis has never been the subject of serious scholarly discussion, and it is sufficiently straightforward to obviate the need for elucidation. The possibility that Hippias worked backward from the earliest written records is a bit more complex. Hippias had access to written records in the form of victor lists for specific iterations of the Olympics that were inscribed on bronze and put on display at Olympia. Greeks seem to have developed the habit of erecting this type of inscription at some point in the sixth century.³ Hippias no doubt transcribed and sequenced as many victor lists as he could find at Olympia.

The sequence of lists would have ended at some point before the beginning of the sixth century, and Hippias could have worked backward from that point to 776 using oral traditions or numerology. Oral traditions would have supplied Hippias with the names of *stadion* victors, and he could have calculated a date for the first Olympiad by starting at the point where the written records ended and assigning four years for every known, earlier *stadion* victor. He could also have assigned a convenient but arbitrary number of Olympiads or generations to the period before the earliest victor attested in a written record. For instance, if the register of victors he compiled from the written sources at Olympia took him back to the year corresponding to 576 BCE, he may have assumed the existence of fifty earlier Olympiads. Some admixture of these approaches was also possible, so, for instance, Hippias may have had written records going back to the

³ See Section 2.7.

year equivalent to 500 BCE, assembled the names of forty-four *stadion* victors from oral sources, added twenty-five more Olympiads to make up for an unknown number of missing *stadion* winners, and ended up in 776.⁴

A third possibility is that Hippias placed a major reform of the Olympics in 576 or 476 and worked backward from there. The identification of 576 as a possible epoch for Hippias is based on the belief that the Eleans seized Olympia during or shortly before what was ultimately designated as the 50th Olympiad (580–577) and that they then instituted a series of reforms, which took effect at the iteration of the Games held in 576.⁵ The relevant evidence comes primarily from Pausanias, who states that in the 48th Olympiad (588–585) the Eleans invaded Pisatis because they suspected that Damophon, the leader of the Pisatans, was plotting against them (6.22.3). According to Pausanias, Damophon managed to placate the Eleans, who left without doing any damage. Not long after, however, during the reign of Damophon's brother Pyrrhos, the Pisatans went to war with the Eleans and were defeated (6.22.4). A more precise date is derived from Pausanias' summary of changes in the number of *Hellandikai* (5.9.4). He claims that there was originally one judge, with a second being added in the 50th Olympiad. This may indicate that the Eleans

⁴ It is conceivable that Hippias found a dateable, written record of an Olympiad organized by one of Iphitos' descendants or of an Olympic victory won by a member of the Spartan royal family and then worked backward from that point to the Lycurgus–Iphitos Olympics using generational reckoning or regnal years. For instance, if Hippias found upon compiling the victor lists at Olympia that one of Iphitos' descendants had served as *Hellandikes* in 476 and believed that this man was nine generations removed from Iphitos, he could easily have assigned the date of 776 by allotting three generations per century. The obvious objection is that it would have been much simpler for Hippias to have worked directly back from his own time through the relevant genealogies to Lycurgus or Iphitos. The utility of working backward from an intermediate point to Lycurgus or Iphitos would have been minimal. If, however, the line of Iphitos' descendants ended before Hippias' time, he may have needed to start from an earlier point, at which time Iphitos' line was still in existence and could thus be traced backward from there to the first Olympiad.

⁵ The most detailed and enthusiastic presentation of the idea that the Eleans took 576 as an epoch can be found in Weniger 1921/2. Weniger provides a long list of changes that he believes took place around 580, including changes in cult practice with a shift in emphasis from Hera to Zeus, but much of his argumentation is little more than speculation.

reorganized the running of the festival after having gained control of Olympia.

Three other pieces of evidence have been used to supplement Pausanias' account. First, the last known Olympic victor identified as coming from Pisatis won in the 48th Olympiad (*FGrH* 257 F7). Second, Herodotus reports that an Elean delegation visited Psammis II (Psammetichus II), the ruler of Egypt, to consult with him about the running of the Olympic Games (2.160). Psammis died sometime in the early part of the 580s, which can be made to fit with an Elean seizure of Olympia shortly after 588. Third, the Pythian Games were reorganized in various ways starting in 591, which may have provided impetus for changes at Olympia.

Not all of this evidence stands up to scrutiny. Although there can be little doubt that the Eleans took over Olympia in the first half of the sixth century, the question of exactly when they did so is more complicated than it might seem.⁶ To begin with, we have already seen that the chronology of the struggle between Hollow Elis and Pisatis provided by ancient authors is hopelessly contradictory.⁷ In addition, Pausanias' account of the changes in the number of *Hellānodikai* is at variance with other sources.⁸ Pausanias states that the Eleans changed the number of *Hellānodikai* from one to two in the 50th Olympiad, to nine in the 75th Olympiad (480),⁹ to ten in the 77th (472), to

⁶ Doubts about whether 576 functioned as an epoch for the Eleans are expressed in much of the modern scholarship, including Jacoby 1923–58, 3b1: 224; Möller 2004b; and Ziehen 1937–9, 2531–6.

⁷ See Section 2.6.

⁸ The ancient tradition regarding the *Hellānodikai* is complex, and the discussion here cannot cover all the nuances. For full reviews, see Bultrighini 1990, 146–231; Foerster 1889; and Ruggeri 2004, 35–53.

⁹ As transmitted, Pausanias' text ascribes the change to nine *Hellānodikai* to the 25th Olympiad. This has been plausibly emended to the 75th. On this point, see Hitzig and Blümner 1896–1910, 2.1: 316. A related issue is the title of the judges overseeing the Olympics. The judges at Olympia seem to have been known as *diatēteres* rather than *Hellānodikai* prior to the early fifth century. Siewert, on the basis of an inscription from Olympia (B6362), has argued that the Eleans were put in charge of supervising the general truce that was imposed in 481 as part of the unified Greek resistance against the Persians. (B6362 mentions judgments made by Elean magistrates in favor of Athens and Thespiāi and against the Boeotians and Thessalians.) He links the change in name of the judges at Olympia to the assumption of this Panhellenic responsibility. If correct,

twelve in the 103rd (368), to eight in the 104th (364), and to ten in the 108th (348), after which time the number remained stable (5.9.4–5). Hellanicus (*FGrH* 4 F113) and Aristodemus of Elis (*FGrH* 414 F2b), however, believed that there were originally two *Hellanodikai* and later ten.¹⁰ An inscription from Olympia dated to the first half of the fifth century indicates that there was only one *Hellanodikes* at that time (*IvO* 2).¹¹ Despite various attempts by modern scholars to reconcile these accounts, there seems to be an irreducible element of confusion in them.¹²

There is also some positive evidence that the chronology suggested by Pausanias is flawed. Peter Siewert has argued, on the basis of unpublished bronze inscriptions from Olympia, that script, dialect, and content show that the Eleans were not dominant at Olympia until the middle third of the sixth century at the earliest.¹³ The dates of the 48th and 50th Olympiads provided by Pausanias for major events at Olympia may well, therefore, be less precise than they appear.

The disappearance of Pisatan victors after the 48th Olympiad may speak to the incorporation of Pisatis into Elis, but the paucity of

this would fit nicely with the possible change from two to nine judges in 480, but here again certainty is impossible. On this question, see Crowther 2003a and Siewert 1992.

¹⁰ Both of these fragments come from the scholiast to Pindar *Olympian* III 22a, the text of which is damaged and has been plausibly emended (on the basis of Pausanias) from what appears to be twelve (ιβ') to two (β'). See Drachmann 1903–27, 1: 111.

¹¹ On *IvO* 2, see Jeffery and Johnston 1990, 218; van Effenterre and Ruzé 1994 1: 108–11; and Ziehen 1937–9, 2535. Three other inscriptions from Olympia are potentially relevant. *IvO* 22, dated to c. 500, identifies an Olympiad using what appear to be the names of two magistrates whose titles are not supplied in the preserved text. An inscription unearthed at Olympia in 1965 that dates to the first half of the fifth century refers to a decision made by two Elean magistrates whose names but not titles are given (B6362). In both cases the magistrates in question might have been *Hellanodikai*. *IvO* 44, tentatively dated to the middle of the fourth century, contains a list of names of *Hellanodikai*, but the text is incomplete and the total length of the list (and hence the number of names) cannot be established with certainty (there appear to be either eight or ten). On *IvO* 22, see the bibliography cited in note 1 of Appendix 6. On B6362, see Siewert 1981. On *IvO* 44, see Dittenberger and Purgold 1896, 83 and Wilhelm 1950.

¹² One might also note that, as Brouwers has pointed out, the dates of the changes in the number of *Hellanodikai* show signs of being artificially constructed (Brouwers 1952). The change from two to nine *Hellanodikai*, according to Pausanias, comes precisely 100 years after the change from one to two.

¹³ Siewert 1987. See also Kiechle 1960 and Striano 1991, though note that the dates that Kiechle supplies for some of the relevant documents, such as *IvO* 2, are suspect.

Pisatan victors from any period means that this incorporation could have happened long after the 48th Olympiad. There are only four known victors from *poleis* in Pisatis: Antimachos of Dysponton in the 2nd Olympiad, Hyphenos of Pisa in the 14th, the people of Dysponton (in the four-horse chariot race) in the 27th, and a victor of unknown name from Lenos in the 48th. The absence of Pisatan victors after the 48th Olympiad does not, therefore, offer much in the way of precise chronology. The story about an Elean delegation visiting Psammiis has not inspired much confidence among modern scholars on general grounds of plausibility.¹⁴ In addition, most chronologies give 589 as the year of Psammiis' death (which would put it earlier than any likely date for Elean control of Olympia), and Diodorus associates the Elean visit with the pharaoh Amasis, who ruled from 570 to 526 (1.95).¹⁵ The reorganization of the Pythian Games may have stimulated activity at Olympia but here again the timing is rather imprecise.

In sum, the evidence for a major reform of the Olympics in the late 580s and early 570s is less clear than one might wish. Nonetheless, there were definitely significant changes at Olympia in the first half of the sixth century. Moreover, it is ultimately irrelevant for the question being considered here whether major reforms of the Olympics were actually put in place in the 580s or 570s. All that matters is that Hippias might well have attached special significance to the iteration of the Olympics that took place in the year corresponding to 576.

A related possibility is that the Eleans carried out a major reform of the Olympic Games sometime around 476 and that Hippias used this date as an epoch.¹⁶ The evidence for significant changes at Olympia in this period is as follows. First, Pausanias says that the order in which the

¹⁴ Lloyd 1975–88, 3: 165–6.

¹⁵ On Psammiis II, see Myśliwiec 2000 (1993), 119–21. On the chronology of his reign, see Kitchen 1991, Lloyd 2000, and Shaw 2000.

¹⁶ The possibility that the date of 776 was calculated using 476 as an epoch is presented by Jacoby (Jacoby 1923–58, 3b1: 223–6) and Sinn (Sinn 2000, 54–7). Jacoby believed that the Eleans began recording the names of Olympic victors in 472 thanks to the efforts of Paraballon (on whom see Section 2.5). This presumes what is probably an incorrect date for Paraballon's work. Christian Wacker has argued that Aristodemus of Elis produced the first Olympic victor list in 376 and that he looked backward a century, took 476 as an epoch, and placed the first Olympiad 300 years earlier (Wacker 1998). The evidence that Hippias produced the first Olympic victor list can only be described as compelling (see Section 2.1).

contests were held at Olympia was changed in the 77th Olympiad (472) and remained constant thereafter (5.9.3). Second, Pausanias records a change in the number of *Hellandikai* to ten in the 77th Olympiad (5.9.5), which is the number recorded in Hellanicus, Aristodemus of Elis, and Philostratus. This may indicate that a further change of lasting importance was made at the 77th Olympiad. Third, the Zeus temple at Olympia was begun at an indeterminate point in the 470s, and the stadium was rebuilt not long thereafter.¹⁷ Fourth, the Olympics of 476 was the first iteration of the Games after the Persian Wars and seems to have been a memorable celebration of Panhellenic unity.¹⁸ Finally, Diodorus states that Elis synoecized in 471/0 (11.54.1). Diodorus' chronology is frequently less than precisely accurate, so it is possible to place the synoecism a little earlier.

Here again, there are problems of some weight. It is not clear that a change in the order in which the events were contested would have been understood as a fundamental restructuring of the Games. We have already seen that Pausanias' account of the changes in the number of *Hellandikai* is open to question. The precise date at which construction was started on the Zeus temple remains unclear.¹⁹ In addition, a certain amount of caution is necessary when assuming a connection between architectural changes at Olympia and contemporary historical developments. Much of the construction at Olympia, including the building of the Hera temple c. 600 and of Stadium II c. 500, took place at times when there is no evidence for any significant changes in the political history of Elis or in the organization of the Olympics. The precise significance of the synoecism of Elis is also unclear, because

¹⁷ It was at one point believed that the stadium at Olympia was rebuilt in the 470s, but it is now clear that it was renovated sometime around 500 and again after 465. On this subject, see Romano 1993, 17–25 and Schilbach 1992. As we have seen, Peter Siewert has argued that the Eleans were put in charge of monitoring the general truce that came into effect in 481 and that the judges at Olympia were given new titles at this time. This might also be taken as an indication that the first Olympics after the Persian Wars was an unusually significant iteration of the Games. For a good summary of the changes that took place at Olympia in the years after 476, see Mallwitz 1972, 94–100.

¹⁸ The oracle at Olympia seems to have played a particularly important role in regard to military campaigns, and this may have reinforced the significance of the Persian Wars to Olympia. On this subject, see the bibliography cited in note 6 of Appendix 11.

¹⁹ For a detailed review of the literary and archaeological evidence for the Temple of Zeus, see Mallwitz 1972, 94–5, 211–34.

Hollow Elis had functioned as a single political unit long before the 470s.²⁰

The ancient sources do, however, make it clear that the victory over the Persians meant that there was something special in the air at the Olympics of 476. (See, for example, Plutarch *Themistocles* 17.2.) The title of the Elean officials in charge of the Olympics may have changed from *diaitateres* to *Hellandikai* sometime around 480, emphasizing the Panhellenic nature of the Olympic Games.²¹ Moreover, the construction of the Zeus temple indicates that the Eleans were lavishing resources on Olympia, and the synoecism that took place in Hollow Elis shows that the Eleans were carrying out reforms of some sort during the period in question. Pausanias states that the Temple of Zeus was constructed with spoils from the sack of Pisatis and her allies after they revolted (5.10.2). As Pisatis seems to have been subdued a century before, this statement has been interpreted to mean that the profits from the earlier conquest of Pisatis were somehow conserved or that the Pisatans revolted in the early fifth century.²² The latter possibility seems by far the more likely, particularly since we know from Herodotus (4.148) and other sources that the Eleans were actively expanding in the fifth century.²³ The residents of Hollow Elis may well have been seeking to highlight their claims to southern Elis in general and Olympia in particular during this time and thus busied themselves at Olympia in various ways. It is, therefore, possible that Hippias took the iteration of the Olympics held in the year corresponding to 476 as an epoch.

If Hippias did indeed calculate the date of 776 by working backward from a major reform of the Olympics, he would have had to have begun by supplying a date for that reform. One must keep in mind that systems of absolute chronology were rare or perhaps even nonexistent

²⁰ Excavations have shown that the city of Elis was by far the most important site in the region long before the synoecism of 471/0. On this subject, see Eder and Mitsopoulos-Leon 1999 and Yalouris 1996, 103–13. The evidence presented in Siewert 2001 makes it clear that the city of Elis was functioning as a legal center in the first half of the sixth century. On the synoecism of Elis, see Roy 2002b and the bibliography cited therein.

²¹ See n. 8 of this Appendix.

²² Frazer 1913, 3: 492–3.

²³ See Section 2.2.

in Greece prior to the second half of the fifth century.²⁴ The Eleans would no doubt have maintained a memory of a major reform, but they would have been hard pressed to specify the precise number of years that elapsed since it took place. Hippias would, therefore, have needed to calculate an absolute date for a reform of the Olympics that he wished to use as an epoch. He could have done so in a number of different ways. He could have used written records by working backward through an unbroken series of victor lists until he found one that contained a special note about a major reform that was enacted during that iteration of the Games. He could have synchronized the reform with an event that had already been dated by other means. For instance, he may have synchronized a reform of the Olympics with the Elean conquest of Pisatis that had been dated on the basis of the Spartan king list. Or he could have placed a reform of the Olympics a certain number of generations before his own time and calculated accordingly.

Once Hippias had established a date for a major reform of the Olympics, he could then have worked backward from there to the first Olympiad. The means by which he could have done so are precisely the same as those outlined above with respect to the possibility that Hippias worked backward from the earliest written records: oral traditions or numerology. The interval between 476 or 576 on one hand and 776 on the other consisted of either fifty or seventy-five Olympiads or of six or nine generations (allotting three generations per century).²⁵ In addition, the halfway point between 580 and 776 is the 25th Olympiad, at which time the four-horse chariot race, a signature event, was ostensibly introduced. These neat intervals may be traces of numerological reckoning on the part of Hippias.

Another possibility is that Hippias synchronized the first Olympiad with the outbreak of the First Messenian War and provided a date for that event, and for the first Olympiad, using the Spartan king list. In Section 2.6, we saw that Strabo's (unknown) source for the early

²⁴ See Section 1.2.

²⁵ On the possible assignment of six generations to the period before an epoch of 576, see Beloch 1912–27, 1.2: 153–4. Beloch believed that the Oxyliid genealogy was used to establish a date for Iphitos.

history of Olympia may have synchronized the first Olympiad with the beginning of the First Messenian War. We also saw that it is possible that Aristotle believed Lycurgus to have been active during that war. The First Messenian War was typically dated by ancient chronographers based on the widely held belief that King Theopompos of Sparta played a leading role in the fighting, which in turn made it possible to refer to the Spartan king list.

This brings us to our final possibility, that the date of 776 was calculated by means of associating the first Olympiad with a specific individual and then using generational reckoning or a king list with regnal years to date that individual. Given that the first Olympiad was typically believed to have been organized by Iphitos and Lycurgus, these are the two most obvious candidates for Hippias to have used for dating purposes.²⁶ The preface to the Eusebian catalog of *stadion* victors contains the statement that there were either ten generations or three Olympiads between Heracles and Iphitos (ll. 20–21). This indicates that at least some Greek authors placed Iphitos in time on a generational basis. A date for Heracles could have been calculated on the basis of the list of Spartan kings, who were ostensibly descended from Heracles, and hence a date for Iphitos and the refounding of the Olympics. It may be significant that in the version of the Spartan king list found in Herodotus (8.131), ten generations from Heracles is the reign of Charilaos, who was ostensibly Lycurgus' ward. One might also note that Pausanias states that Iphitos was descended from Oxylos and that he knew, but did not wish to go through, the names of Oxylos' descendants (5.4.5). Oxylos was closely associated with the Return of the Heracleidai, which was one of the favorite epochs of ancient chronographers. If the list of Oxylos' descendants reached down to Iphitos, which it presumably did, then the date of 776 could have been reached by starting with a date for the Return of the Heracleidai and reckoning according to generations. Alternatively, if the list of Oxylos' descendants extended well past Iphitos, it would have been possible to count generations backward from the present.

²⁶ The idea that Hippias dated the first Olympiad by means of its association with Iphitos is mentioned but not defended at length in Mahaffy 1881, 177.

Hippias may also have generated the date of 776 by associating Lycurgus with the first Olympiad in that series and then using the Spartan king list. This possibility is discussed in Section 2.8 and need not be reviewed here. It is worth noting, however, that if Hippias did indeed calculate the date of 776 using the Spartan king list, he probably worked backward from his own time. For instance, if Hippias had a date for the Battle of Thermopylai, he could have used Leonidas' genealogy and worked backward from there to Leonidas' ancestor Leobotes, who was, according to some sources, the ward of Lycurgus. (See Section 2.8.) It is also possible that Hippias established a date for Lycurgus by working forward from Heracles or backward from an intermediate point.²⁷

Four further possibilities relevant to the date of the first Olympiad merit brief mention. First, it has been argued by Thomas Lenschau and others that Hippias' written records started in 580 and that the Olympics were annual rather than penteteric until that year, though Hippias was not aware of this.²⁸ Lenschau thus concluded that the Olympics actually began in 632 rather than 776. The idea that there

²⁷ A related, flawed argument was put forth by Albert Brouwers (Brouwers 1952), who pointed out that the genealogy of King Archidamos found in Herodotus shows nine generations between Archidamos and Anaxandridas (8.131). Archidamos' succession to the throne is dated to 476/5 by Diodorus (11.48.1–2). If one assigns three generations to each century, Anaxandridas would have come to the throne in 776. Anaxandridas was closely associated with his Agiad colleague Alcamenes (both are listed as thirteenth in line from Heracles by Herodotus, 7.204). One of the two versions of the Spartan king list preserved by Eusebius places the Coriobos Olympiad in the tenth year of the reign of Alcamenes (106.16–18 Karst), which indicates a close association between Alcamenes and the first Olympiad.

Although this scenario is at first sight convincing, it is not without problems. In order to use the Spartan king list to date the first Olympiad, a synchronization had to be found between the first Olympiad and a figure in the Spartan king list. The extant ancient sources show no hint of a belief that Alcamenes or Anaxandridas played a role in reestablishing the Olympics or founding the Olympic truce. If the Spartan king list was used to date the first Olympiad, then the means of connecting the Olympics and the Spartan king list was almost certainly Lycurgus. Lycurgus, however, was linked to either Leobotes or Charilaos, both of whom appear much earlier than Alcamenes or Anaxandridas in the Spartan king list (see Appendix 13). The overlap between Alcamenes and Anaxandridas and the first Olympiad is probably a matter of chronological coincidence in a particular version of the Spartan king list and does not reflect the means by which 776 was calculated.

²⁸ Lenschau 1936, 398–410.

were some sort of “lesser” Olympics held on an annual basis is found in a scholion to Plato’s *Phaedrus* (236b). This scholion provides very basic information about Olympia and the Olympic Games and concludes with the statement:

ἦγετο δὲ καὶ κατ’ ἐνιαυτόν, ἅπερ ἐλαττω ἐκάλουν.

They (the Olympics) were also held on a yearly basis. These games were called “the lesser”.

This scholion was written at a late date, at a time when readers needed to have the words Olympia and Olympic Games glossed. It is of minimal interpretive value, and it seems quite likely that its author was confused by the existence of a Lesser Panathenaia that was held annually, as opposed to the Greater Panathenaia, which was penteteric. The only other potentially relevant passage is Lucian’s statement that Herodotus wanted the largest possible audience for his book and so decided to read his work aloud on the occasion of Ὀλύμπια τὰ μέγала (*Herodotus* 1.24). As Krause pointed out in his analysis of this passage, it is doubtful that this should be read as an implicit differentiation between a Greater and Lesser Olympics.²⁹ Instead it is likely meant either to emphasize the importance of the festival at which Herodotus recited his work or to separate the Elean Olympics from the many local festivals by the same name held in cities all over the Roman Empire during Lucian’s lifetime. More importantly, the archaeological evidence from Olympia shows that it was being heavily used by c. 700, which makes a late seventh-century date for the inception of the Olympics unlikely.

Second, Alfred Mallwitz has argued that the Olympics may have been annual rather than penteteric prior to the introduction of the four-horse chariot race in 680 and on this basis tentatively dates the first Olympics to 704.³⁰ This suggestion is overtly speculative and is designed to reconcile the Olympic victor list with the archaeological evidence as it is interpreted by Mallwitz. The problem is that the date of 680 for the introduction of the four-horse chariot race comes from the Olympic victor list, and one can only with difficulty argue that the

²⁹ Krause 1972 (1938), 218.

³⁰ Mallwitz 1988.

early parts of the list are both accurate (in terms of the date of 680) and inaccurate (in terms of mistaking annual for penteteric festivals). We have just seen, moreover, that there is no evidence that the Olympics were annual at any point.

Third, Eugène Cavaignac suggested an entirely different, and entirely untenable, hypothesis.³¹ He assumed that the Olympiads were originally enneateric and that in 456 Oenopides of Chios corrected the errors springing from an enneateric system by making adjustments to the number and timing of intercalary months. The nature of the errors was ostensibly such as could only have accumulated over the course of forty enneateric periods, which in turn made it possible to establish the date of the first Olympiad as 776 (456 + 320). Many, fatal problems with this reading of the evidence were identified by H.T. Wade-Gery nearly a century ago and need not be reviewed here.³²

Fourth, Benny Peiser has argued that Hippias dated the first Olympiad using Herodotus' date for Homer.³³ Peiser's position is that Hippias noted the absence of explicit mention of the Olympics in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* and thus assumed that the first Olympiad postdated Homer. Herodotus dated Homer to roughly 400 years before his time, and so Hippias placed the first Olympiad roughly one generation after Herodotus' date for Homer. This is a possible scenario, but there is no evidence that Hippias proceeded in this fashion.³⁴

As is the case with many aspects of *Olympionikai*, a definitive conclusion on the question of how Hippias arrived at the date of 776 is elusive. It seems most likely that Hippias proceeded by associating the first in the continuous series of Olympiads with Lycurgus and then using Lycurgus' relationship to the line of Spartan kings, the Spartan king list, and generational reckoning to calculate a date of 776. Ancient chronographers relied heavily on generational reckoning and the Spartan king list when assigning dates on a *post eventum* basis. Moreover, Lycurgus was for a long period of time strongly associated with the iteration of the Olympics held in the year corresponding to 776.

³¹ Cavaignac 1913–19, 1.2: 333–46.

³² Wade-Gery 1923–9a, 762–3.

³³ Peiser 1993, 110–14.

³⁴ On the varied dating of Homer in the ancient sources, see Koiv 2003, 367–72 and Rohde 1881.

For example, when Eratosthenes placed Lycurgus' activity as a lawgiver in the early ninth century, he seems to have felt a need to postulate twenty-eight "unregistered" Olympiads in order to explain the gap between his date for Lycurgus and the Coroibos Olympics. It would have been an obvious choice for Hippias to make use of the association of Lycurgus with the first Olympiad and with the preexisting chronological framework found in the Spartan king list. Finally, there are some hints in the ancient sources that this is in fact how Hippias proceeded. Although certainty is impossible, evidence and logic both point in the same direction.

APPENDIX 13

THE SPARTAN KING LISTS

A convenient listing of the Spartan kings can be found in Lazenby 1985, 64–6. The various lists are summarized in Tables Apx 13.1 and 13.2.

TABLE APX 13.1. *The Spartan King Lists: Agiads*

Herodotus 7.204	Diodorus (as cited in Eusebius <i>Chronographia</i> 105.11–106.27 Karst and the relevant entries in the <i>Chronikoi Kanones</i>)	Pausanias 3.2.1–4.10 (except where otherwise indicated)
Heracles		Heracles
Hyllos		Hyllos (1.35.8)
Cleodaios		Cleodaios (3.15.10)
Aristomachos		Aristomachos (2.7.6)
Aristodemos		Aristodemos
Eurysthenes	Eurystheus (ruled 42 years)	Eurysthenes
Egis	Agis (1)	Agis
Echestratos	Echestratos (35)	Echestratos
Leobotes	Labotas (37)	Labotas
Doryssos	Doristhos (29)	Doryssos
Hegesilaos	Agésilaios (44)	Agésilaios
Archelaos	Archelaos (60)	Archelaos
Teleclos	Teleclos (40)	Teleclos
Alcámenes	Alcámenes (37)	Alcámenes
Polydoros		Polydoros
Eurycrates		Eurycrates
Anaxandros		Anaxandros

(continued)

TABLE APX 13.1. (*continued*)

Herodotus 7.204	Diodorus (as cited in Eusebius <i>Chronographia</i> 105.11–106.27 Karst and the relevant entries in the <i>Chronikoi Kanones</i>)	Pausanias 3.2.1–4.10 (except where otherwise indicated)
Eurycratidas		Eurycrates II
Leon		Leon
Anaxandridas		Anaxandridas
Cleomenes		Cleomenes
Leonides		Leonidas

TABLE APX 13.2. *The Spartan King Lists: Eurypontids*

Herodotus 8.131	Diodorus (as cited in Eusebius <i>Chronographia</i> 105.11–106.27 Karst)	Pausanias 3.7.1–11 (except where otherwise indicated)
Heracles		Heracles
Hyllos		Hyllos (1.35.8)
Cleodaios		Cleodaios (3.15.10)
Aristomachos		Aristomachos (2.7.6)
Aristodemus		Aristodemus
Procles	Procles (ruled 51 years)	Procles
		Soos
Euryphon		Eurypon
Prytanis	Prytanis (49)	Prytanis
Polydectes		Eunomos
Eunomos	Eunomios (45)	Polydectes
Charilaos	Charicles (60)	Charillos
Nicandros	Nicandros (38)	Nicandros
Theopompos	Theopompos (47)	Theopompos
Anaxandridas		
Archidemos		
		Zeuxidamos
Anaxilaos		Anaxidamos
Leotychidas		Archidamos
Hippocratidas		Agessicles
Hegesilaos		
Menares		Ariston
		Demaratos
Leotychidas II		Leotychidas
Archidamos		Archidamos

Despite the fact that Pausanias relied heavily upon Herodotus for his information about early Sparta (see Meadows 1995), there are clear variations in the Eurypontid list transmitted by these two authors. Various attempts have been made to fuse the divergent sources into a single king list. See, for example, Beloch 1900; Chrimes 1971, 333–47; den Boer 1954, 65–9, 82–8; and Huxley 1962, 117–19. Unfortunately, it is impossible to verify the soundness of the results. Huxley discusses the reasons that a truly satisfactory solution is probably impossible. Cartledge concludes that “we must . . . admit the depth of our ignorance” (Cartledge 2002, 295). One of the enduring problems with the lists of names given by Herodotus is that they might be genealogies of Leonidas I and Leotychidas II rather than king lists. On this distinction, and for a more theoretical perspective on the interpretive difficulties involved in the Spartan king list, see Henige 1982, 207–13.

APPENDIX 14

VARIANT OLYMPIAD DATING SYSTEMS

There is near-unanimous agreement in the ancient sources that the Coroibos Olympics took place in the year corresponding to 776 BCE.¹ There is, however, one ancient author who offers a slightly different date. Moreover, some modern scholars have attempted to prove the existence of variant dates for the Coroibos Olympics. Finally, a different system of numbering the Olympiads, which put Olympiad 1 in the year corresponding to 1581/80 BCE, was used at least briefly at Olympia. All these facets of Olympiad dating are considered here.

Velleius Paterculus (1.8) places the first Olympiad 823 years before the consulship of Marcus Vinicius, which is typically dated to 30 CE. This gives a date for the first Olympiad of 793. The text has been variously emended so that it agrees with received chronologies.² It is also possible that Velleius had some problems synchronizing Greek and Roman systems of time reckoning.

Dimitri Panchenko has recently argued that Hippias dated the first Olympiad to 744/3 and that this was later adjusted to 776/5 by either Timaeus or Eratosthenes. Panchenko's conclusion is based on the assumption that Hippias calculated his date for the first Olympiad using Democritus' statement that he published his *Diakosmos* 730 years after the Fall of Troy. There is no evidence of any kind for this assumption, and Panchenko is surely wrong when he writes that "there was no obvious reason to relate the list of Olympic victors with that of the

¹ See Section 1.2.

² Elefante 1997, 61, 172.

Spartan kings.”³ It is difficult to understand why one would ignore the strongly attested connection of Lycurgus with the first Olympiad and with the Spartan king list in favor of an unattested dependence on Democritus on the part of Hippias.

The discussion in Section 2.8 showed that there was a certain amount of confusion in the ancient sources as to whether the Coroibos Olympics should be numbered the 1st, 14th, or 28th Olympiad. This confusion was almost certainly a product of the assignment of different dates to Lycurgus and the need to reconcile those dates with the established date of 776 for the Coroibos Olympics. There is, however, another possibility, i.e., that the confusion about Olympiad numbers arose due to the existence of different dates for the Coroibos Olympics.

This argument has been presented at length by Specht Heidrich, who concludes that there were three different dates for the Coroibos Olympics: 776, 724, and 720.⁴ There is, however, no evidence to support Heidrich’s position. We have seen that Aristotle dated the first Olympiad to 776,⁵ and in every case where an ancient source specifies a date for the Coroibos Olympics by means of an interval referring to a later event (such as Xerxes’ invasion of Greece), the Coroibos Olympics is placed in 776. Eratosthenes and Apollodorus, the two most influential chronographers in the ancient world, definitely dated the Coroibos Olympics to 776 (see Section 2.8). Opinions about the interval between the Coroibos Olympics and earlier events, particularly the Fall of Troy and the Return of the Heracleidai, were not nearly as uniform. Eratosthenes and Apollodorus assigned 407 years to the period between the Fall of Troy and the Coroibos Olympics (*FGrH* 241 F1, *FGrH* 244 F61). Sosibius assigned 395 years to the same period, Eusebius 405 years, Timaeus 417 (or 668), Aretes 514 (all from *FGrH* 566 F125).⁶ These variant intervals may indicate differing

³ Panchenko 2000, 59.

⁴ Heidrich 1987, 26–31. Heidrich’s views are somewhat tentatively endorsed in Nelson 2007 and Shaw 2003, 47–90.

⁵ See Section 3.2.

⁶ For a full summary of the ancient opinions on the date of the Fall of Troy and the interval between the first Olympiad and the Fall of Troy, see Clinton 1834, 1: 123–40. For detailed analyses of the ancient sources, see Jacoby 1904, 146–9 and Laqueur 1907. For a discussion of the various dates assigned to the Trojan War before the standardization that followed the work of Eratosthenes, see Brohler 2003 and Panchenko 2000.

dates for the Coroibos Olympics. It is, however, much more likely that they indicate differing dates for the Fall of Troy, which were calculated largely on the basis of the Spartan king list, which itself existed in numerous variants.

An entirely different system for numbering the Olympiads was used at least briefly at Olympia. The primary evidence for this system is an inscribed bronze discus found at Olympia (*IvO* 240/1, see Figure Apx. 14.1). On one side is a dedication by a pentathlete, Publius Asclepiades of Corinth, indicating that he was the victor in the 255th Olympiad (241 CE):

Πόπ(λιος) Ἀσκληπιάδης Κορίνθιος πένταθλος εὐχарιστήριον Διεῖ
Ὀλυμπίῳ, Ὀλυμπιάδι) σνέ. (*IvO* 241)

Publius Asclepiades of Corinth pentathlete (gives this) thank-offering to Olympian Zeus, in the 255th Olympiad.

On the other side is another dedicatory inscription, this one giving the name of one of the Elean officials in charge of running the sanctuary, Flavius Scribonianus, and listing the date as the 456th Olympiad:

Διὶ Ὀλυμπίῳ ἀλκυτάρχου Φλ(αβίου) Σκρειβωνιανοῦ, συγγενεοῦς
συνκλητικῶν καὶ ὑπατικῶν, Ὀλυμπιάδος ννς'. (*IvO* 240)

To Olympian Zeus, from Flavius Scribonianus, *alytarches*,⁷ kinsman of senators and consulars, in the 456th Olympiad.

(The number for 456 is too neatly cut to be an engraver's mistake.) The last Olympiad was held sometime in the first half of the fifth century CE, which would be roughly the 300th Olympiad in the standard system of numeration. The mention of the 456th Olympiad, therefore, requires some explanation. If one assigns four years to each of 456 Olympiads and counts backward from 241 CE, the discus implies the existence of a numbered series of Olympiads beginning in 1581/80.

⁷ The *alytarches* was originally the supervisor of the *alytai*, who were charged with keeping order at Olympia, particularly when the Olympics were being held. By the Roman period the position of *alytarches* at Olympia had become a prestigious magistracy with a wide range of duties attached to it. See the comments on *IvO* 240/1 in Dittenberger and Purgold 1896; Reish 1894; and Zoumbaki 2001, 144–8. For information on Flavius Scribonianus, see Zoumbaki 2001, 390–1.

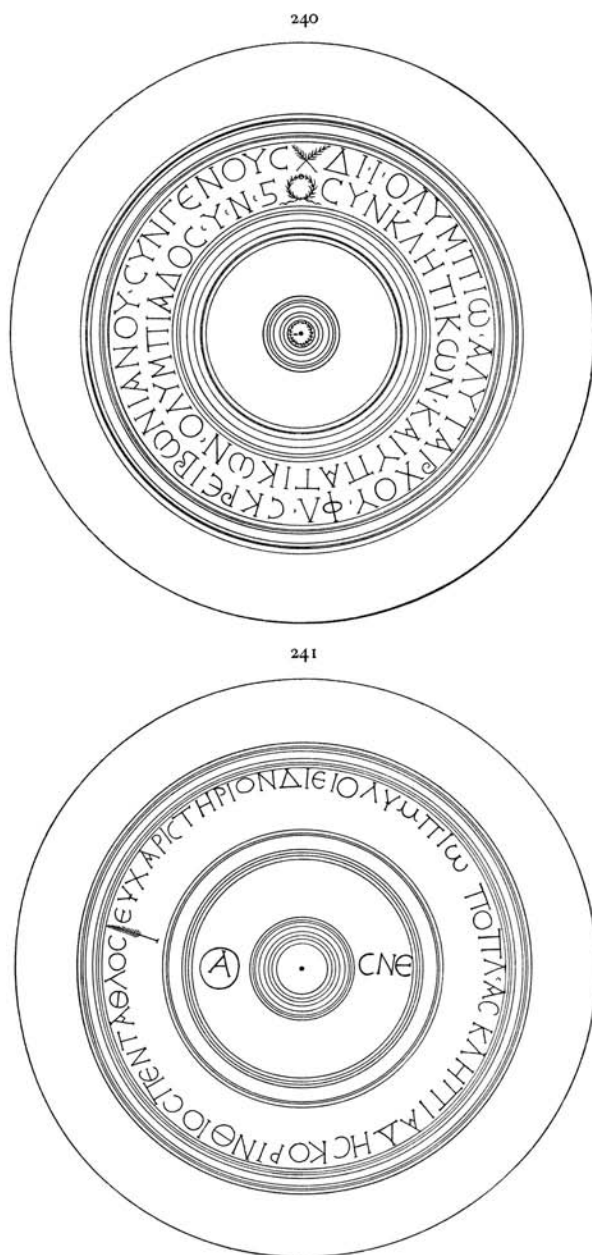


Figure Apx 14.1. Discus from Olympia with dedicatory inscriptions giving alternate numbers for the same Olympiad (255th and 456th) (*IvO* 240/1).

There are strong indications that this was a significant date for some ancient chronographers. An inscription dated to 245 CE that records the founding at Ephesus of games modeled on the Olympics uses 1581/80 as a reference (*CIG* II 2999 = *IEphesos* 1121).⁸ In addition, the *Marmor Parium* begins in the year corresponding to 1581/80 with the accession of King Cecrops in Athens.⁹ Interestingly, the *Marmor* mentions the founding of the Pythian, Isthmian, Nemean, Panathenaic, Eleusinian, and Lycaian Games, but the Olympics do not appear. In his discussion of *IvO* 240/1, Manfred Lämmer makes the reasonable suggestion that the author of the *Marmor* was aware of two radically different founding dates for the Olympics, and so omitted them entirely.¹⁰

The placement of the first Olympiad in 1581/80 was almost certainly based upon the story that the earliest celebrants of games at Olympia were the Idaian Dactyls. (The story is most clearly recounted by Pausanias (5.7.6–7).) Clement of Alexandria presents a series of intervals, taken from an unknown earlier chronographer, that date the discovery of metals by the Idaian Dactyls to 1558 (*Stromata* 1.136.5–137.4). This indicates that the very first Olympics, those celebrated by the Idaian Dactyls, could easily have been dated to 1581/80.

A point that requires particular emphasis is that the existence of a system of numbered Olympiads that began in 1581/80 did not conflict with a date of 776 for the Coroibos Olympics. There was general agreement in ancient Greece that games had been held intermittently at Olympia, until the time of Iphitos and Lycurgus, when the unbroken series of Olympiads began. It was, therefore, perfectly possible for an ancient Greek to date the first Olympics to 1581/80 and the Coroibos Olympics to 776. Systems of numbering the Olympiads that placed Olympiad 1 in 1581/80 and in 776 were mutually exclusive, but the only evidence that the date of 1581/80 was used as the basis of a numbered series of Olympiads is *IvO* 240/1. On the other hand, there are literally hundreds of uses of numbered Olympiads in the ancient sources that take the Coroibos Olympics as the 1st (or 14th or 28th) Olympiad. *IvO* 240/1 itself references both systems.

⁸ On *CIG* II 2999, see Lämmer 1967a, 14–19 and Robert 1987, 170–71. On the local Olympic festival at Ephesus, see Engelmann 1998 and Krause 1972 (1838), 216–17.

⁹ The first entry in the *Marmor* is designated as Ep. 1, on which see Jacoby 1904, 27–9.

¹⁰ Lämmer 1967a.

The fact that it was an Elean official who referred to the 456th Olympiad may imply that this system of numeration was the product of a special antiquarian interest (and a little bit of math) on the part of Flavius Scribonianus. It is likely that he had the discus produced as a present for the victor in the pentathlon with the expectation that the victor would immediately dedicate it to Zeus and leave it at Olympia. The discus was certainly not designed to be used in competition. It weighs 5.7 kg and is 34 cm in diameter. There was no standard weight or size for ancient discuses, but virtually all the extant examples weigh between 1.3 and 4 kg and are between 17 and 23 cm in diameter, and most are roughly 2 kg and 21 cm.¹¹ (For the sake of comparison, the discus used in modern men's competitions weighs 2 kg and is 22 cm in diameter.) The discus on which *IvO* 240/1 was inscribed must have been specially made as a dedication. The lettering of *IvO* 241 is slightly shallower than that of 240, which probably indicates that Flavius Scribonianus had the discus produced and inscribed in advance and then had the pentathlon's victor name added.¹² As a presentation piece that was intended for display at Olympia, the discus was an excellent place for Flavius Scribonianus to exhibit special knowledge of the history of the Olympics (and his social status, hence his mention of his influential relatives).

¹¹ For detailed information on ancient Greek discuses, see Jüthner 1965–8, 2: 231–46.

¹² On the depth of the lettering, see Ebert 1997a, 302–9. Ebert makes an unnecessarily elaborate argument with the intention of pushing the date of the first Olympiad in the numbering system used on the discus back before 1581/80. He does so in order to explain the absence of the founding of the Olympics on the Marmor. Ebert also argued that the discus was originally made in 221 or 225 CE to celebrate the 1,000th year of the Olympics (Ebert 1993). This is an interesting but entirely speculative suggestion, and it seems improbable because it disconnects the founding date for the Olympics implied on the discus from 1581/80, a date of known chronographic significance, to two possible dates that had no obvious chronographic importance.

APPENDIX 15

MENAECHMUS OF SICYON'S *PYTHIKOS*

Aristotle and Callisthenes were not the first authors to write on the history of the Pythian Games at Delphi. There was a slightly earlier work on this subject by the historian Menaechmus of Sicyon. It is necessary to consider this work in some detail in order to clarify its relationship with the Aristotelian *Pythionikai* and to establish the ways in which Aristotle's and Callisthenes' treatise on the Pythian Games broke new ground.

The list of Aristotle's work compiled by Hesychius contains one significant piece of information that is not found in the version of the list transmitted by Diogenes, the statement ἐν ᾧ Μέναιχμον ἐνίκησεν attached to Πυθιονίκος βιβλίον.¹ This statement was evidently taken from Andronicos' treatise on the Aristotelian corpus (first century) and added to the Hesychian list by one of its editors.²

In his analysis of this material, Paul Moraux understood ἐνίκησεν to mean that the amphictyons held a competition to produce a *Pythionikai* in which Aristotle and Callisthenes outdid Menaechmus. As Angelos Chaniotis has pointed out, this is unlikely because there is no evidence for contests of this sort at Delphi or anywhere else in the Greek world.³ August Brinkmann had made the same suggestion at an earlier date and pointed to the competition that the Messenians held for a war memorial at Olympia, the result of which was the Nike of Paionios.⁴

¹ See Section 3.4.

² Düring 1968, 188.

³ Moraux 1951, 201; Chaniotis 1988, 296.

⁴ Brinkmann 1915, 627. On the Nike of Paionios, see Stewart 1990, 1: 89–92.

The parallel is, however, inexact, because the sculptors who produced nonwinning entries could sell their work, whereas the pecuniary value of a treatise on Pythian victors was effectively nil. In addition, the historical context in which the *Pythionikai* was produced makes it likely that it was a commissioned work that was directly assigned to Aristotle and Callisthenes.

The verb ἐνίκησεν can more plausibly be translated as “supersede,” in which case Menaechmus wrote a treatise that was rendered obsolete by the Aristotelian *Pythionikai mousikes*.⁵ The Menaechmus in question must be Menaechmus of Sicyon, who is known to have written a local history of Sicyon and a history of Alexander the Great.⁶ The Suda places his *akme* in the period of the Diadochi, so he was a younger contemporary of Aristotle.⁷ Menaechmus also wrote two treatises with the titles *Peri Techniton* and *Pythikos*. The former dealt with artists and musicians. The latter must be the treatise that is indirectly referenced in the list of Aristotle’s works. Its subject matter is less obvious than it might seem because there were Pythian Games at both Delphi and Sicyon. Cleisthenes of Sicyon played a role in the addition of gymnastic and hippic events to the preexisting musical contests at Delphi after the First Sacred War in the early sixth century. He shortly thereafter founded the Sicyonian Pythia, modeling it on the games at Delphi.⁸

The most likely scenario is that Menaechmus’ *Pythikos* treated the musical component of the Pythian Games at both Delphi and Sicyon. Music was a subject that held a particular attraction for Menaechmus, as is evident from the fact that the five extant fragments of *Peri Techniton* discuss musical instruments, harp-playing, and rhapsodes (*FGrH* 131 F3, 4, 5, 6, 9). There was, moreover, an established local tradition of writing on the history of music at Sicyon. A pair of passing references in the Pseudo-Plutarch’s *De Musica* show that there was an inscription

⁵ Diels 1901, 79 n. 1 and Chaniotis 1988, 296.

⁶ The basic treatment of Menaechmus and his work remains Jacoby’s (*FGrH* 131), but see also Laqueur 1932; Pearson 1960, 250–52; and Puricelli 2004.

⁷ Meissner tentatively suggests that Menaechmus was a student of Aristotle’s (Meissner 1992, 207).

⁸ On Cleisthenes’ interest in athletic festivals, see Griffin 1982, 40–59; McGregor 1941; and Parker 1994. On the Pythia at Sicyon, see Griffin 1982, 31, 53–4, 61, 158; Hubbard 1992; and Krause 1975 (1841), 76–80. For a full list of the relevant ancient sources, see Krause 1971 (1841), 710 n. 1.

at Sicyon that recounted the historical development of music (for more on the Sicyon inscription, see Appendix 16). This inscription is typically dated to the late fifth or first half of the fourth century, which would mean that it was relatively new in Menaechmus' time. Jacoby thought it "sehr wohl möglich" that Menaechmus used this inscription in writing *Peri Techniton*.⁹

The Delphic element in Menaechmus' *Pythikos* is evident from its (implicit) citation in the list of Aristotle's works and in the extant fragments. Of the twelve extant fragments of Menaechmus' corpus,¹⁰ only one is clearly ascribed to the *Pythikos* (F2), and it pertains to a Delphic oracular response about Orpheus and Apollo. Another fragment, which discusses Hermione's fate, is also likely to have come from the *Pythikos*, as Hermione was married to Neoptolemos, whose death at Delphi was the subject of varied myths (F8). The Sicyonian connection can be deduced from Menaechmus' demonstrated interest in the history of Sicyon. Connecting the Delphic and Sicyonian Pythia would have been an obvious choice. It seems safe to conclude, therefore, that Menaechmus wrote a treatise on the musical contests at the Pythian Games at Delphi and Sicyon and that this work was "superseded" by the book of the Aristotelian *Pythionikai* dedicated to musical contests (*Pythionikai mousikes*). There is, however, no evidence that Menaechmus produced a list of victors at the Pythian Games, in either the musical or athletic contests.

⁹ Jacoby 1923–58, 3b2: 283 n. 4. Menaechmus is identified as the author of the inscription by both Diels and Pfister (Diels 1901, 79 n. 1; Pfister 1913, 535), an idea that Jacoby refuted (Jacoby 1923–58, 2d: 443). Jacoby's reading of the evidence is accepted in Chaniotis 1988, 89–91.

¹⁰ Jacoby assigns eleven fragments to Menaechmus in *FGH*, to which should be added *POxy* 11.1365.

APPENDIX 16

THE SICYONIAN ANAGRAPHE

There was an inscription at Sicyon that gave a history of music and that seems to have included a list of Sicyonian kings.¹ This inscription is of some importance in the present context because it was probably used by both Menaechmus of Sicyon (see Appendix 15) and Castor of Rhodes (see Section 5.4).

The Sicyon inscription is known through two references in the Pseudo-Plutarch's *De Musica*:

Heraclides in his *Synagoge* says that the first invention among the famous things in music was singing with the *kithara* and *kithara* playing and that Amphion, the son of Zeus and of Antiope, invented this, obviously learning from his father. This is attested in the register preserved in Sicyon (ἐκ τῆς ἀναγραφῆς τῆς ἐν Σικυῶνι ἀποκειμένης), from which Heraclides took the names of the priestesses of Hera at Argos and of poets and musicians. (*FGrH* 550 F1 *apud* [Plutarch] *De Musica* 3 (*Moralia* 1131f–1132a))

It is recorded in the register at Sicyon (ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐν Σικυῶνι ἀναγραφῇ) that deals with the poets that Clonas invented the *trimeres* musical mode. (F2 *apud* [Plutarch] *De Musica* 8 (*Moralia* 1134a–b))

The date at which the inscription was cut can be fixed within relatively narrow limits. A *terminus post quem* is supplied by the use of the priestesses of Hera at Argos, which means that the inscription almost certainly postdates the publication of the list of priestesses by Hellanicus in the last third of the fifth century. A *terminus ante quem* is provided

¹ On the Sicyonian *anagraphe*, see Jacoby's collection of the relevant material and his comments thereupon in *FGrH* 550, as well as Chaniotis 1988, 89–91 and Möller 2001.

by the use of the inscription by Heraclides Ponticus, a student of Plato who wrote extensively about the history of music. Heraclides was put in charge of the Academy during Plato's third visit to Sicily (361/60) and was still alive in 322.² One would presume some time lag between the publication of the priestess list by Hellanicus and the cutting of the inscription at Sicyon, which can therefore be placed in the fourth century.

The Sicyon inscription provided the names of Sicyonian kings. This king list was copied and modified by Castor for use in his *Olympionikai*. The inclusion of the names of Sicyonian kings in the inscription and the refashioning undertaken by Castor are both evident from the list of Sicyonian kings given by Pausanias (2.5.6–6.7). Pausanias' list diverges markedly from that of Castor, and a series of analyses carried out by Pfister and Jacoby, among others, have shown that Pausanias reports the sequence of kings as it was originally given in the inscription, before Castor modified it to suit his purposes.³

The question of how Castor accessed the Sicyonian material cannot be definitively resolved on the basis of the extant evidence, but Pfister reasonably suggested that Menaechmus was the intermediary.⁴ A literary source of some kind is virtually certain, because it is hard to believe that Castor would have known about and made a special trip to see an inscription in a relatively obscure *polis* in the Peloponnese. Menaechmus wrote the only known local history of Sicyon and probably made use of the Sicyonian inscription. One possibility that Pfister does not consider is at least worth mentioning, i.e., that the author of the Aristotelian *Sikyonion Politeia* transcribed the king list found in the Sicyonian inscription.

² On Heraclides' biography and his work on music, see Gottschalk 1980, 1–12, 133–9. The fragments of Heraclides' *Synagoge* are collected in Wehrli 1944–59, 7: 46–50.

³ Pfister 1913 and Jacoby 1923–58, 2d: 819–21. See also Section 5.4.

⁴ Pfister 1913. Pfister builds upon the argument presented in Luebbert 1884, 3–4.

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN *OLYMPIONIKAI*

Tracing relationships between *Olympionikai* is a complex task because earlier versions influenced later ones in numerous, overlapping ways that are hard to document. Each of the three different types of *Olympionikai* fulfilled a relatively narrow range of functions and thus tended to contain a similar array of material arranged in similar ways. There was, in addition, an unusually high level of interconnection among *Olympionikai*. Later authors who compiled catalogs of Olympic victors did not feel compelled to visit Olympia and carry out their own search of the relevant records going back to the first Olympiad. They found it far more expedient to take a preexisting catalog and make the requisite additions and modifications. This is reflected in the fact that, in the places where the preserved *Olympionikai* overlap, they show little variation in regard to victors' names, dates, and hometowns. (The relevant information is displayed in chart form below.) The striking uniformity in the victor catalogs of *Olympionikai* of widely variant dates demonstrates the degree to which later authors depended upon their predecessors. Authors of *Olympionikai* no doubt also took from their predecessors a considerable amount of information above and beyond victors' names. *Olympionikai* compiled after Hippias were, therefore, to a greater or lesser degree composites of earlier, similar works. A final difficulty springs from the fact that most *Olympionikai* survive in fragmentary condition and many are lost entirely. The end result is that while one can relate individual works to the group of *Olympionikai* as a whole with some confidence, it is difficult to trace the influence of any individual *Olympionikai* upon another.

In a small number of cases, direct influence can be clearly demonstrated. Sextus Julius Africanus excerpted the victor catalog that he found in the Olympiad chronicle of Cassius Longinus. Eusebius subsequently copied and supplemented Africanus' catalog, and Panodoros later did the same to Eusebius' catalog. Eratosthenes cites Aristotle (*FGrH* 241 F7), and Panodoros cites Dexippus (*FGrH* 100 F2). It also appears likely, though not certain, that Aristotle made use of Hippias' *Olympionikai*.¹ Against this relatively meager harvest stand a number of scholarly suggestions that founder on the failure to take into account the complex relationship among *Olympionikai*. There has been a tendency in the relevant scholarship to assume that any similarity between two *Olympionikai* must be the result of direct influence of one upon the other. An excellent example of this tendency can be found in the identification of both *POxy* XVII 2082 and II 222 as partial copies of Phlegon's *Olympionikai*.

Arthur Hunt, the original editor of *POxy* 2082, argued that it was a copy of Phlegon's *Synagoge*. He pointed to the similar structure of the two texts, both of which are divided into numbered Olympiads and provide a listing of winners in each event held at the Olympics. Hunt acknowledged that there was a major difficulty in linking *POxy* 2082 and the *Synagoge*. *POxy* 2082 gives a detailed account of the events surrounding the tyranny of Lachares in Athens in the first decade of the third century. This is hardly consonant with the fact that Phlegon covered the entirety of the period between 776 and 72 BCE in five books.² Hunt's solution for this problem was that "some allowance must be made for idiosyncrasy."³ A more satisfactory approach is to see the similarity of the preserved sections of *POxy* 2082 and Phlegon's *Synagoge* as a reflection of the existence of a particular type of literature, the Olympiad chronicle, which had standard features that appear in both texts.⁴

¹ See Sections 4.4 and 2.3, respectively.

² See Section 5.7.

³ Hunt 1927, 84.

⁴ Jacoby tentatively accepted the ascription of *POxy* 2082 to Phlegon (Jacoby 1923–58, 2d: 848), whereas Diels (Diels 1901) and de Sanctis (de Sanctis 1928) were both skeptical. De Sanctis believed that *POxy* 2082 had been copied from Eratosthenes' *Olympionikai*. His argumentation, however, is based on a series of untenable assumptions. De Sanctis,

Shortly after *POxy* II 222 was published, Carl Robert tentatively identified it as a copy of Phlegon's *Epitome Olympionikon*.⁵ He argued that there were important similarities between the victor list in *POxy* 222 and that in Phlegon's *Synagoge* and that the *Epitome* consisted of a bare victor list, so *POxy* 222 must have been copied from that work.

Robert found that the victor lists in *POxy* 222 and the *Synagoge* shared five features that he believed were significant:

- The victors are not given patronymics, but some versions of the Olympic victor list must have included this information because Pausanias used an *Olympionikai* and typically gives patronymics for the Olympic victors he mentions.
- When the same athlete won two consecutively listed contests, αὐτός or τοῦ αὐτοῦ appears in the second entry.
- *POxy* 222 uses δῖς to denote a second victory in the same event (over two or more Olympiads) by the same athlete; Phlegon uses τρίς to denote three victories by a single athlete in the same Olympiad.
- The names of the victors in the hippic events are given in the genitive.
- The events are listed in the same order (though Phlegon's list for the 177th Olympiad includes events that are not present in *POxy* 222 because they were introduced subsequent to the 96th Olympiad).

All of these features are generic to Olympic victor lists and not specific to Phlegon, and the fact that the victor lists in *POxy* 222 and the *Synagoge* share these features does not demonstrate a direct connection between the two. In regard to the first two features, the catalog of *stadion* victors from Eusebius' *Chronographia* is helpful. Eusebius did not take his Olympic victor list from Phlegon (see below), yet the

for instance, believed that all Egyptian literary papyri derive from authors whose names are otherwise known, thus excluding the very real possibility that *POxy* 2082 comes from an *Olympionikai* of which we are otherwise unaware. Jacoby dismissed de Sanctis' arguments as "unglaublich."

⁵ Robert 1900.

Eusebian catalog is like that provided by Phlegon in that it does not include patronymics and uses αὐτός when the same athlete won the *stadiion* in consecutive Olympiads (see, for example, the entries for Olympiads 22, 30, 55, 72). The situation in regard to multiple victories is somewhat complicated because the author of *POxy* 222 and Phlegon do not use δῖς and τρίς in the same way, as Robert implies. In fact, δῖς and τρίς were likely to appear in any Olympic victor list, either to denote multiple victories in the same event by the same athlete (over two or more Olympiads) or to denote multiple victories by a single athlete in the same Olympiad. To use these words for both purposes in the same list, however, could only have caused confusion, and *POxy* 222 and Phlegon actually diverge on this point. *POxy* 222 uses δῖς to denote a second victory in the same event over multiple Olympiads by the same athlete, whereas Phlegon uses τρίς to denote three victories by a single athlete in different events at the same Olympiad. The names of hippic victors in *POxy* 222 and the *Synagoge* are probably in the genitive (as opposed to the names of the gymnastic victors which are in the nominative) because this reflects the actual victory announcement. The herald presumably announced that the horse or chariot-team of a certain person won the event, so the victor's name would have been in the genitive. One might note in this regard that the names of hippic victors in *POxy* 2082 are also given in the genitive. Finally, the order in which the events are listed is directly based on the order in which events were added to the Olympic program, and so is not a Phlegonian idiosyncrasy.⁶

Robert believed that the apparent similarities between *POxy* 222 and the *Synagoge* could only be explained by identifying one as a copy of the other, as he rejected the idea that both drew on a common source. He pointed to three words that are used in the victor lists in *POxy* 222 and Phlegon's *Synagoge*, but not in Pausanias' *Graeciae Descriptio* or the Eusebian list: πύξ (boxing, as opposed to πυγμή in Pausanias and Eusebius), τέθριππον (four-horse chariot, as opposed to ἄρμα in Pausanias and both τέθριππον and ἄρμα in Eusebius), and κέλης (horse race, as opposed to ἵππος κέλης in Pausanias, though

⁶ See Section 3.5.

Eusebius also uses κέλῃς). These divergences are significant in that they show that Pausanias and the ultimate source of the Eusebian list, Cassius Longinus, did not directly copy the victor catalog in Phlegon's *Olympionikai*. However, the argument that this must mean that *POxy* 222 was a copy of one of Phlegon's *Olympionikai* rests on the unstated assumption that there were only two basic versions of the Olympic victor list in circulation and that if the author of *POxy* 222 did not use the version from which Pausanias and Eusebius worked, then he must have used Phlegon. Yet we know of roughly twenty different *Olympionikai*, and there must have been considerably more than that in circulation in the ancient world. It is possible that *POxy* 222 is a copy of Phlegon's *Epitome*, but since the similarities between *POxy* 222 and Phlegon's *Synagoge* are much less striking than Robert made them out to be, and since we know next to nothing about the *Epitome*, any connection between the two is purely a matter of speculation. As things stand, there is no positive reason for linking *POxy* 222 and the *Epitome*.

The vast majority of other attempts to trace influences among the various *Olympionikai* have involved Eusebius' Olympic victor list. Scholars have concentrated on Eusebius' list because its preservation in full makes it rewarding to study and because it clearly draws on earlier *Olympionikai*. It is important to keep in mind that the Eusebian Olympic victor list actually consists of three separate components: an introduction partially written by Eusebius himself and partially taken from earlier sources, a catalog of *stadion* victors taken from Sextus Julius Africanus, and stories about famous athletes that were added by Panodorus.⁷ The catalog of *stadion* victors constitutes the bulk of the material in the Eusebian list and represents the heart of an *Olympionikai*, so it has attracted the most attention.

A particularly elaborate attempt to identify the sources behind the Eusebian catalog of *stadion* victors can be found in a short treatise penned by Gustav Gilbert in 1875. Subsequent scholarship on this subject has been based directly or indirectly on the ideas in this treatise,

⁷ See Section 4.4.

so they are worth examining in some detail.⁸ Gilbert argued that the Eusebian Olympic victor list came from Africanus and that Africanus in turn drew upon the *Olympionikai* of Aristotle (for Olympiads 1–113), Eratosthenes (for Olympiads 114–45), and at least two later, unidentified authors for the remainder. He attached the first part of the list to Aristotle on the grounds that the fragments of the Aristotelian *Olympionikai* show that it included notes on the additions to the program of events at Olympia and stories about famous athletes. Both of these elements are present in the Eusebian catalog of *stadion* victors, and Gilbert concluded that Africanus copied Aristotle's catalog up to the point where it ended, sometime around the 113th Olympiad (328 BCE). This part of Gilbert's work requires little attention, since it is obvious that Longinus (the source from which Africanus excerpted his victor catalog) could have found the information he provides for Olympiads 1–113 in virtually any *Olympionikai*. In the absence of some demonstrable connection between the *Olympionikai* of Aristotle and Longinus, none can be presumed.

Gilbert's arguments for connecting the intermediate parts of the Eusebian list to Eratosthenes are better founded. They are not, however, without flaws, and we will begin with the weak points. Gilbert noted the prominence of Egyptian affairs in the Eusebian victor catalog and concluded that it reflected the interests of Eratosthenes, who compiled his *Olympionikai* in Alexandria. He believed that the special focus on Egyptian affairs was evident from the entry for the 114th Olympiad in the Eusebian catalog:

114th. Micinas of Rhodes *stadion*.

Alexander died, after which his empire was divided up among many, and Ptolemy became king of Egypt and Alexandria.

Gelzer, however, showed that the rather odd description of the Ptolemies as rulers of Egypt and Alexandria was in fact a convention

⁸ Gilbert 1875, 7–10. Gilbert drew on Rutgers 1980 (1862), iii–iv. Gilbert's treatment was the point of departure for later work on the same subject. See, for instance, Busolt 1893–1904, 1: 585 n. 8.

that began with the Church fathers, long after the time of Eratosthenes.⁹

Gilbert also believed that the similarity between a fragment from Eratosthenes' *Olympionikai* and an entry from the Eusebian catalog indicated a connection between the two:

Eratosthenes says, according to what Favorinus claims in the eighth book of his *Miscellaneous History*, that he (Pythagoras) was the first to box scientifically, in the 48th Olympiad, keeping his hair long and wearing a purple robe. When he was disbarred from the boys' contest and mocked, he went immediately to the men's and won. This is clear in the epigram that Theaitetos wrote:

If you remember a certain Pythagoras, O foreigner, long-haired
Pythagoras, the famous Samian boxer,
I am that Pythagoras. If you ask someone of the Eleans about
my deeds, you will say that he speaks unbelievable things.

(FGrH 241 F11a *apud* Diogenes Laertius 8.47)

The long-haired man (from Samos): They say that the adage comes from a Samian boxer with long hair who arrived at Olympia and, despite having been mocked by his opponents as effeminate, won. Eratosthenes records that Pythagoras of Samos won at the 48th Olympiad wearing long hair. (F11b *apud* Proverb. Cod. Paris. Suppl. Gr. 676)

Eusebius *Chronographia*:

48th. Glycon of Croton *stadion*.

Pythagoras of Samos, having been excluded from the boys' boxing and mocked as effeminate, and after entering the men's contest defeated everyone, one after the other.

Unfortunately, the fact that information about Pythagoras appears in both Eratosthenes and the Eusebian list of *stadion* victors means little. Eratosthenes was active in the third century BCE, Longinus in the third century CE. A substantial number of *Olympionikai* were written in the intervening period, and Longinus could have read about Pythagoras in any one of a number of different works.

Gilbert was on sounder ground in regard to two interesting peculiarities of the Eusebian victor catalog that might well ultimately derive

⁹ Gelzer 1880–85, I: 167.

from Eratosthenes. The entry for the 126th Olympiad (276 BCE) in the Eusebian catalog reads as follows:

Idaios or Nicator of Cyrene *stadion*.

The Eusebian catalog provides alternate appellations for victors in a number of places (e.g., “Theonas, also known as Smaragdos” in the entry for the 221st Olympiad). The entry for the 126th Olympiad may be special in that the alternate name (“Conqueror”) might be Idaios’ nickname. Eratosthenes came from Cyrene and was born c. 285, so Idaios would have been a famous athlete in Eratosthenes’ hometown when the latter was about ten years old. Gilbert suggested Eratosthenes remembered Idaios’ nickname and entered it into his list of Olympic victors.¹⁰

The second peculiarity involves the use of the term *periodonikes*, which appears only three times in the Eusebian catalog, in the entries for Olympiads 118, 135, and 145 (held in 308, 240, and 200, respectively). Aristotle’s catalog must have ended sometime around the 113rd Olympiad, and Eratosthenes died in the early part of the second century, so these entries fall precisely into the time range for which Eratosthenes compiled an updated list of Olympic victors. Moreover, one of the extant fragments of Eratosthenes’ victor catalog shows that he listed *periodonikai*:

Eratosthenes in the [numeral missing] book of his *Olympic Victors* under the heading of the 116th Olympiad says: “Astyanax of Miletus [won] the *periodos* uncontested, the sixth to do so.” (FGrH 241 F8)

It is not unreasonable, therefore, to trace the relevant entries in the Eusebian list back to Eratosthenes.

The presence of possibly Eratosthenic features in the Eusebian Olympic victor list does not, however, necessarily mean that Longinus used Eratosthenes’ *Olympionikai*. Longinus worked roughly 400 years after Eratosthenes, and numerous *Olympionikai* came into being

¹⁰ Pausanias identifies the 126th Olympiad as that in which Idaios won the *stadion* (6.12.2), but provides no other information about him. Nothing else is known about Idaios (Moretti 1957, #537).

during this interval. When Longinus sat down to compose an Olympiad chronicle, he no doubt would have preferred to base his victor catalog and historical notices on the most recent sources possible, not on a work that was long out of date. Any Eratosthenic features present in Longinus' work almost certainly arrived indirectly, via multiple intermediaries.

The conclusion that emerges from the preceding discussion is that it is exceedingly difficult to trace connections between individual *Olympionikai*. The relationships between works of this type were complex, the time spans involved long, and the evidence lacunose. As much as one would like to be able to explore how each author influenced his successors, there is insufficient evidence to do so in a responsible fashion.

A final example is illustrative of the dangers. Phlegon wrote a well-known Olympiad chronicle in the second century CE. This chronicle was still being actively read in the time of Eusebius, and one might well be tempted to assume that Longinus made use of Phlegon's chronicle when compiling his own, evidently quite similarly structured, work in the early third century. We can, however, be certain that Longinus did not copy the relevant sections of his victor catalog from Phlegon. Small but significant divergences in the terminology in Phlegon's and Eusebius' victor catalog, which was derived from Longinus' *Olympionikai*, have just been discussed. In addition, we have seen that the brief history of the Olympic Games found in the Eusebian Olympic victor list probably comes from Longinus' Olympiad chronicle and that Longinus cannot have copied this history directly from Phlegon.¹¹ Further, the extant fragments show that Phlegon identified Hecatomnos of Miletus as the *stadion* victor in the 177th Olympiad (*FGrH* 257 F12), whereas the Eusebian catalog gives Hecatomnos' hometown as Elis. This example serves as an important reminder that we cannot simply assume connections between *Olympionikai* where they cannot be proven.

¹¹ See Section 4.4.

¹² See Christesen and Martirosova-Torloni 2006.

TABLE APX 17.1. *Overlap in Victor Listings in Extant Olympionikai*^a

	Eusebius ^b	Diodorus	Dionysius	P ^{Oxy} 12	P ^{Oxy} 222	Aristotle	Erastosthenes	Philegon	P ^{Oxy} 2082
7 ^d	Διοκλῆς Μισσηνίος ^c Ἀκανθος Λάκων <i>dolichos</i>		Δακίλῆς Μισσηνίος Ἀκανθος ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος (unspecified event) Εὐρυβάτης Ἀθηναῖος Σφαῖρος ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος						
27	Εὐρύβος Ἀθηναῖος								
35	Σφαῖρος Λάκων								
38	Δευτελίδας Λάκων boys' pentathlon					Εὐτελίδας Λ[ακεδαιμόνιος] boys' pentathlon			
41	Κλεώνιδας Θηβᾶτος Φιλώτας Συκερίτης boys' boxing		Κλεώνιδας Θηβᾶτος			Φιλώτας Συβαρ[ίτης] boys' boxing			
48	Πυθαγόρας Σάμιος boxing						Πυθαγόρας Σάμιος boxing		
50	Ἐπιτελίδας Λάκων	Ἐπιτελίδας Λάκων	Ἐπιτελίδης Λάκων						
61	Ἀγάθαρχος		Ἀγάθαρχος						
63	Κερκυραῖος	Παρμενίδης Καμορνιαῖος	Κερκυραῖος						
65	Παρμενίδης Καμορνιαῖος								
65	Δαμόφροτος Ἡραεῖς <i>hoplites</i>					[Δ]ημόρα[τ]ος Ἡρα[ιεὺς] <i>hoplites</i>			
68	Ἰσόμεχος		Ἰσόμεχος						
69	Κροτωνιάτης Ὁ αὐτὸς τὸ δεύτερον		Κροτωνιάτης Ἰσόμεχος Κροτωνιάτης τὸ δύτερον						
70	Νικαιάστας Ὀπούντιος		Νικέας Λακρᾶς ἐξ Ὀπούντος						
71	Τισικράτης Κροτωνιάτης		Τισικράτης Κροτωνιάτης						

72	Ὁ αὐτὸς τὸ δεύτερον	Τσιφράτης Κροτωνιάτης Ἀστύλος	
73	Ἀστύλος	Κροτωνιάτης	
74	Ὁ αὐτὸς τὸ δεύτερον	Κροτωνιάτης	
75	Ὁ αὐτὸς τὸ τρίτον	Ἀστύλος Συρακόσιος	
76	Σκαμάνδριος Μιτυληναῖος	Σκαμάνδριος Μιτυληναῖος	Σκάμινδρος Μιτυληναῖος
77	Δάνδης Ἀργεῖος	Δάνδης Ἀργεῖος	Δάνδης Ἀργεῖος
78	Παρμενίδης Πασειδωνιάτης	Παρμενίδης Πασειδωνιάτης	Παρμενίδης Πασειδωνιάτης
79	Ξενοφὼν Κορίνθιος	Ξενοφὼν Κορίνθιος	Ξενοφὼν Κορίνθιος
80	Τορύμιας Θεσσαλός	Τορύλλας Θετταλός	Τορύμβος Θεσσαλός
81	Πολύμναστος Κυρηναῖος	Πολύμναστος Κυρηναῖος	Πολύμναστος Κυρηναῖος
82	Λύκος Λαριασαῖος		Λύκος Λαριασαῖος
83	Κρίσανν Ἰμεραῖος	Κρίσαν Ἰμεραῖος	Κρίσαν Ἰμεραῖος
84	Ὁ αὐτὸς τὸ δεύτερον	Κρίσαν Ἰμεραῖος	
85	Ὁ αὐτὸς τὸ τρίτον	Κρίσαν Ἰμεραῖος τὸ δεύτερον	
86	Θόταπιτος Θεσσαλός	Θόταπιτος Θετταλός	
87	Σώφρων	Σώφρων	
88	Ἀμβρακιώτης Σύμμαχος Μερλίνιος	Ἀμβρακιώτης Σύμμαχος	
89	Ὁ αὐτὸς τὸ δεύτερον	Μισσθίνιος Σύμμαχος τὸ δεύτερον	

(continued)

TABLE APX 17.2. (continued)

	Eusebius	Diodorus	Dionysius	P ^{Oxy} 12	P ^{Oxy} 222	Aristotle	Eratostrhenes	Philegon	P ^{Oxy} 2082
90	Υπέρβιος Συρρακούσιος	Υπέρβιος Συρακούσιος							
91	Ἐξαινετος	Ἐξαινετος							
92	Ἀκραγαντινός Ὁ αὐτὸς τὸ δεύτερον	Ἀκραγαντινός Ἐξαινετος							
93	Εὐκατος Κυρναῖος	Ἀκραγαντινός							
94	Κροκίας Λαρισσαῖος	Εὐβάτος Κυρναῖος Κροκίας							
95	Μένων Ἀθηναῖος	Λαρισσαῖος							
96	Εὐπόλεμος Ἡλείος	Μίνως Ἀθηναῖος Εὐπόλις Ἡλείος			Εὐπόλεμος Ἡλείος				
97	Τερίαςος	Τέρρις							
98	Σώσιππος Δελφός	Σώσιππος Ἀθηναῖος							
99	Δίκων Συρρακούσιος	Δίκων Συρακούσιος							
99	Εὐρύβατος Λάικων four-colt chariot	Εὐρύβατος Λάικων four-colt chariot				Εὐρυβάτιδης Λακεδαιμόνιος] four-colt chariot			
100	Διονυσόδωρος Ταραντῖνος	Διονυσόδωρος Ταραντῖνος							
101	Δάμων Θούριος	Δάμων Θούριος							
102	Ὁ αὐτὸς τὸ δεύτερον	Δάμων Θούριος							
103	Πυθόστρατος Εφέσιος	Πυθόστρατος Ἀθηναῖος							
104	Φακίδης Ἀθηναῖος	Φακίδης Ἀθηναῖος							
105	Παῦρος Κυρνηαῖος	Πάρος Κυρνηαῖος							
106	Ὁ αὐτὸς τὸ δεύτερον	Πάρος Κυρνηαῖος							
107	Μικίνιος Ταραντῖνος	Μικρίας		Σμικρί[νας] [Ταραντεῖνος Πολυ[κλ]ῆ[ης] Κυρνηαῖος					
108	Πολυκλῆς Κυρνηαῖος	Ταραντῖνος Πολυκλῆς Κυρνηαῖος							

109	Ἀριστόλοχος Ἀθηναῖος	Ἀριστόλοχος Ἀθηναῖος	Ἀρισ[ε]λινος [Ἀθηναῖος]
110	Anicles of Athens (from Armenian)	Ἀντικλῆς Ἀθηναῖος	Ἀντικλῆς
111	Κλεόμαντις Κλειτόριος	Κλεόμαντις Κλειτόριος	Ἀθηναῖος Κλεόμαντις
112	Εὐρύλος Χαλκιδεύς	Εὐρύλος Χαλκιδεύς	Κλειτόρειος Γρύλλος
113	Κρίτων Μακεδών	Κρίτων Μακεδών	Χαλ[κιδεύς] Κρίτων
114	Μικίνος Ρόδιος	Μικίνος Ρόδιος	Μακεδών
115	Δαμασῖος	Δαμασῖος	Μικίνος Ρόδιος Δαμασῖος
116	Ἀμφιπολίτης Δημοσθένης Λάκων	Ἀμφιπολίτης Δημοσθένης Λάκων	[Ἀμφιπο]λίτης [Δημο]σθένης Λάκων
117	Παρμενίδης	Παρμενίων	
118	Μυτιληναῖος	Μυτιληναῖος	
119	Ἀνδρομένης Κορίνθιος	Ἀπολλωνιδῆς Τεγεάτης	
121	Πυθαγόρας τὸ δεύτερον	Ἀνδρομένης Κορίνθιος	
177	Ἐκατόμνος Ἡλείος		Ἐκατόμνος Μιλήσιος

[Πυθαγόρας
Μαγνης ἄλτιο
Μασιώδισ]

^a Only victors listed in extant *Olympionikai* are cataloged here. For a complete listing of information about all known Olympic victors, see Moretti 1957 and the updates thereto.

^b The text of the Eusebian victor list was emended by Gutschmid and others on the basis of the information found in other literary sources. (See Christesen and Martirosova-Torlone 2006.) The version given here shows the text as transmitted, not as emended. This removes the bias toward similarity introduced through emending one text on the basis of the others. The sources other than the Eusebian list have been much more sparingly emended and primarily by comparison of different manuscripts of the same text, not on the basis of each other. The variant readings in these sources have not, therefore, been given here.

^c All athletes were *stadion* victors unless otherwise specified.

^d Olympiad numbers are specified in the leftmost column.

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GENERAL INDEX

- Abydenus
 Eusebius' *Chronographia*, cited in source
 list in: 258–266
- Africanus, Sextus Julius: 14
 first Olympiad, his date for: 153–156
 source of Eusebius' Olympic victor list:
 250–276
- Agaclytus: 168–169
- ageneioi*, definition of: 16
- akme*, definition of: 49
- apene*, not listed in *POxy* II 222: 480
- Alexander Polyhistor
 Eusebius' *Chronographia*, cited in source
 list in: 258–266
- Alpheios River (Elis). See *Elis*,
 description.
- Annianos: 235–239, 251–252
- Annus Mundi* (AM), definition of: 14
- Apollas the Pontian: 168
- Apollodorus of Athens
 Chronika: 13
 first Olympiad, his date for: 19–20,
 151–156
- Argos, list of priestesses of Hera at. See
 eponyms and eponym lists.
- archon list, Athens. See eponyms and
 eponym lists.
- Aristodemus of Elis: 37–38, 153–154
 text of extant fragments: 366–367
- Aristotle
 athletics, interest in: 207
 discus of Iphitos and Lycurgus,
 mentioned by: 60–62
 lists of his work: 198–201
- Olympiads, numbered by him for first
 time: 172
- Olympic truce, views on: 466–467
- Olympionikai*: 24, 170–173
 inscribed in Lyceum: 206–207
 text of extant fragments: 369–370
- Pythiads, numbered by him for first
 time: 186–187, 202
- Pythionikai*: 179–202
 books, names and contents of:
 198–201
 contents summarized: 180–181
 date of composition: 188–190
 First Sacred War described in:
 187–188
 honorary inscription at Delpi
 mentions this work: 181–183
 inscribed and displayed at Delphi:
 185–186
 list of Pythian victors, first
 cumulative: 183–185, 514–516
 Macedonian influence at Delphi
 reflected in: 189–190
 Olympionikai, useful for analyzing:
 201–202
 organization of material in:
 198–201
 Pausanias draws upon: 195–198
 Philip, commissioned by?: 189–190
 Pindar's *Pythians*, hypotheses to
 probably based upon: 191–195
 text of extant fragments: 374–381
 victor catalog in: 186–187, 190–191,
 202

- Athens, archon list. See eponyms and
eponym lists.
- athletic festivals, Panhellenic. See also
Isthmian Games; Nemean
Games; Olympic Games;
Pythian Games.
- introduction to: 15–16
- books, length of in ancient works: 3
- Callimachus
first Olympiad, his date for:
153–155
Olympia, writes about: 169–170
- Callisthenes of Olynthos
collaborates with Aristotle on
Pythionikai: 188–189
honorary inscription at Delpi:
181–183
Pythionikai. See Aristotle, *Pythionikai*.
- Cassius Longinus. See also Olympiad
chronicles.
source of Olympic victor list in
Eusebius' *Chronographia*: 250–276
- Castor of Rhodes. See also Olympiad
chronographies; Olympiad
chronicles.
Eusebius' *Chronographia*, cited in source
list in: 258–266
Olympionikai (*Chronikon Epitome* and
Kanon): 311–322
contents and structure: 313–322
text of extant fragments: 418–432
titles for: 311–313
- catalogs of Olympic victors: See Olympic
victor lists.
- Cephalion
Eusebius' *Chronographia*, cited in source
list in: 259–266
- Charon of Lampsacus: 106–107
chronicles. See Olympiad chronicles.
chronography. See also eponyms and
eponym lists; Olympiads.
- Actiads: 11
Christian: 14–15
history of, in Greece: 8–15, 315–317
intervals, use in: 151–152
Isthmiads: 11
Nemeads: 11
Pythiads: 11, 186–187, 197–198, 202
regnal years: 15
Roman rule, effects of: 15
contests, athletic, treatises on: 169–170
Coroibos of Elis: 19–20, 480–481
Ctesicles of Athens. See also Olympiad
chronicles.
Olympionikai (*Archonton kai*
Olympionikon Anagraphe): 307–309
text of extant fragments: 416
- Daochos monument (Delphi): 124,
183–184
- Dexippus of Athens. See also Olympiad
chronicles.
Olympionikai (*Chronike Historia*):
341–347
text of extant fragments: 453–460
- diaulos*, definition of: 16
- Dicaearchus of Messene: 169
- Diodorus Siculus. See also Olympiad
chronicles.
Eusebius' *Chronographia*, cited in source
list in: 258–266
method of compilation and
composition: 281–285
Bibliotheca Historica: 310–311
- discus of Iphitos and Lycurgus: 62, 85–88
probably dates to first half of sixth
century BCE: 87–88
- Dionysius of Halicarnassus. See also
Olympiad chronographies;
Olympiad chronicles.
Antiquitates Romanae: 289–294
Chronoi: 289–294
- dolichos*, definition of: 16
- Elis
description: 17
geography of region: 51
Hollow (*Koile*) Elis defined: 51
local histories of (*Eliaka*): 166–168
Olympia, control over legitimized by
Hippias: 72–73
Pisatis, struggle with for control of
Olympia: 53–54
chronology of: 112–122
sacred and inviolable, according to
Hippias: 62–65

- Sparta
 conflict with in fifth century BCE:
 51–57
 war with (c. 401–398 BCE): 54–56
 possibly described in Hippias’
 Olympionikai: 65
- ephors. See eponyms and eponym lists.
- Ephorus of Cyme
 Elis as sacred and inviolable, described:
 62–65
- Hippias’ *Olympionikai* as his source for
 Elean–Spartan war: 64–65
- Olympia and Olympic Games, his
 account of: 165–166
- struggle between Elis and Pisatis, his
 account of: 112–122
- eponyms and eponym lists: 9–10. See also
 Argos; Athens; Hellanicus of
 Lesbos; Sicyon; Sparta.
- accuracy of early eponym lists: 94, 99
- Athenian archon list: 9–10, 13, 100–104
- Carneia at Sparta, list of victors in
 (Hellanicus): 99–100
- ephor list (Sparta): 9–10, 104–107
- epigraphic evidence for date of earliest:
 92–93
- first kept in sixth century: 90–107
- Greek, history of: 8–15
- Priestesses of Hera at Argos* (Hellanicus):
 9–10, 94–99
- scholarship on, early (Jacoby,
 Wilamowitz): 88–93
- Eratosthenes of Cyrene
 first Olympiad, his date for: 19–20,
 151–156
- Olympiad dating: 11–13
- Olympiads, numbers years within:
 174–175
- Olympionikai*: 19–20, 173–179
 possible source for Eusebius: 523–527
 text of extant fragments: 371–373
- Peri Chronographion*: 11–13, 174–175
- Euanoridas of Elis
 inscribes Olympic victor list in
 gymnasium at Olympia: 77–80
- Eusebius of Caesarea. See also *Olympiad
 chronographies*.
- Chronika* (*Chronographia* and *Chronikoi
 Kanones*)
- Chronikoi Kanones*, contents and
 structure of: 234–235
- Chronographia*
 contents of, general: 233–234,
 240–243
 contents of section on Greek
 chronology: 240–243
 introduction to: 232–240
 textual history of: 235–240
- first Olympiad, his date for: 18, 19–20,
 153–154
- Olympic victor list in his *Chronographia*:
 chronographic document: 248–250
 contents:
 athletes winning multiple victories
 at Olympia, information about:
 216–217
 Elis and Pisatis, account of struggle
 between: 112–122
 Messenian *stadion* victors, dates for
 problematic: 120–121
 Olympic Games
 founding, account of: 57–62
 program of events at, account of
 the evolution of: 206–215
 only complete, extant Olympic
 victor list: 3–4
 source of: 250–276
 text of, complete (Greek): 386–407
 translation, English, partial: 30–31,
 244–248
- Spartan king list: 505–507
- guilds, athletic: 141
- gymnikos agon*, definition of: 16
- Hecataeus of Miletus: 9
- Hellanicus of Lesbos: 95. See also eponyms
 and eponym lists.
- Athenian kings and archons, list of:
 100–101
- Carneia at Sparta, list of victors in:
 99–100
- Near Eastern chronicles, possibly
 influenced by: 96–97
- Priestesses of Hera at Argos*: 94–99
- Hellanodikai* (Olympia): 493–495
- heralds, Olympic victors not listed in
 Olympionikai: 212

Herodotus

Athenian archon list, use of:

100–104

Pausanias, model for: 224–225

Spartan king list: 505–507

Hippias of Elis. See also Elis; Olympic victor lists; *Olympionikon anagraphai*.

accuracy of his *Olympionikai*: 73–160, 475–481

author of first Olympic victor list:

21–24, 46–50, 461–465

compilation of data, his predilection for: 50

contents of his *Olympionikai*: 57–73

date (his): 48

date of first Olympiad, how he calculated it: 146–157, 491–501

discus of Iphitos and Lycurgus, his reference to: 62

Elis

envoy to Sparta for: 57

control of Olympia, attempts to legitimize: 72–73

sacred and inviolable, so described in his *Olympionikai*: 62–65

historical context in which he produced his *Olympionikai*: 51–57

Iphitos and Lycurgus, his views on: 57–62, 67–68

obsolescence of his *Olympionikai*, reasons for: 24

Olympia, known activities at: 50

Olympic games, changes to programs, supplies dates for: 66

Olympic truce, his views on: 57–62

sources he used for his *Olympionikai*: 122–146

oral traditions: 122–125, 488–490

written records: 125–145

Spartan Olympic victors, number of possibly exaggerated by him: 159–160

stadion victors as eponyms in his *Olympionikai*: 68–71

stadion victors, Olympic, his list of possibly partly fabricated: 156–157

victor catalog in his *Olympionikai*: 67–71

hippikos agon, definition of: 16

hoplites (footrace), definition of: 16

horse races. See *hippikos agon*.

Inscriptiones Graecae (IG) II² 2326:

206–207, 218–219

inscribed copy of Aristotle's *Olympionikai*: 207

Iphitos of Elis

discus of, at Olympia: 62, 85–88

first Olympiad, ostensible organizer of: 19–20, 22, 57–62

Isthmian Games: 15–16. See also *athletic festivals*, Panhellenic.

lists of victors in: 108–112, 129–135, 141

Pausanias' account of: 110–111

treatises on: 169

iteration, definition of: 22

Jerome

his translation of Eusebius' *Chronika*: 235

kalpe, not listed in *POxy* II 222: 480

Lepreon

Elis and Sparta, involvement in struggle between: 54–55

polis in Triphylia: 51

Longinus, Cassius

Olympionikai: 250–276

source of Eusebius' Olympic victor list: 250–276

identity of: 274–276

Lycurgus

biographical information about him problematic: 87

dates for: 87, 151–156

discus of, at Olympia: 62, 85–88

Olympiad, ostensible organizer of first: 19–20, 22, 23–24, 57–62

used by Hippias to date first Olympiad: 147–151

magistrates, eponymous. See eponyms and eponym lists.

Magnesia-on-Maeander

festival of Artemis Leucophryene: 469–472

- Mahaffy, J. P.
 re-opens debate on accuracy of
 Olympic victor lists (1881): 75
- Manetho
 Eusebius' *Chronographia*, cited in source
 list in: 258–266
- Menaechmus of Sicyon
 Pythikos: 169, 514–516
- Messenia, Olympic *stadion* victors from:
 120–121, 482–487
- Messenian Wars, chronology of: 112–122,
 482–487
- music contests, victors in: 16
- Nemean Games: 15–16. See also athletic
 festivals, Panhellenic.
 lists of victors in: 108–111, 141
 Pausanias' account of: 110–111
- Nero
 at Olympia: 81–83
- Newton, Sir Isaac
 expresses doubts on accuracy of
 Olympic victor lists: 74
- nudity, athletic
 date of introduction of: 353–359
- Olympia. See also Elis; Hippias; Olympic
 Games; Pisatis.
 earliest inscriptions at: 86–87
 early history, archaeological evidence
 for: 19, 20–21, 158
 periegetic writings about: 168–169
 tripods at, significance of: 478–479
- Olympiads. See also chronography;
 Hippias; Lycurgus; Olympic victor
 lists; *stadion*.
 anolympiads: 80–83
 date of first Olympiad: 17–18, 21, 22,
 23–24, 67–71
 accuracy: 157–160
 how calculated: 146–157, 491–501
 variants: 508–513
 first Olympiad as epoch: 12–13
 first Olympiad linked to Iphitos and
 Lycurgus: 19–20, 22, 23–24,
 57–62, 146–157, 491–501
 numeration of: 10–12, 24
 Aristotle responsible for: 172
 confusion about in ancient world:
 155–156
 overlap with other calendrical systems:
 18
 stadion victors used to identify: 10, 11,
 68–71
 “unregistered” (between Lycurgus and
 Coroibos): 151–156
 use limited primarily to written sources:
 11
 years within numbered by Eratosthenes:
 174–175
- Olympiad chronicles: Chap. 5 *passim*. See
 also Cassius Longinus; Ctesicles of
 Athens; Castor of Rhodes;
 Dexippus of Athens; Diodorus
 Siculus; Dionysius of
 Halicarnassus; Olympic victor lists;
 Phlegon of Tralleis; *POxy I 12*;
 POxy XVII 2082; Thallus.
- catalogs of victors in:
 contents and structure summarized:
 296–299
 start and end points: 296
 types: 32–35
 contents and structure summarized:
 296–299
 defined: 27, 28
 development of: 37, 299–303
 evidence for: 299–304
 origins of: 11, 25–26, 306–307
 types: 32–35
 used as source of information about
 recent events: 5–6
- Olympiad chronographies. Chap. 4 *passim*.
 See also Africanus; Castor of
 Rhodes; Dionysius of
 Halicarnassus; Eusebius of
 Caesarea; Olympic victor lists;
 Panodorus; Timaeus of
 Tauromenium.
 catalogs of Olympic victors,
 chronographic, defined: 27–28
 contents and structure, summarized:
 228–230
 defined: 27–28
 development of: 36–37
 evidence for: 231
 origins of: 24–26

- Olympic Games. See also athletic festivals, Panhellenic; Olympiads.
 archaeological evidence for: 19, 20–21, 158
 date of earliest: 18–21
 enneateric originally, possibly: 154–155
 introduction to: 15–21
 origins of: 18–21, 477
 program of events
 dates of changes to: 66
 earliest version unknown: 476–478
 summarized: 16–17
 treatises on: 169–170
- Olympic truce
 associated by Hippas with Iphitos and Lycurgus: 57–62
- Olympic victor lists (*Olympionikai*). See also chronography; eponyms and eponym lists; Hippas of Elis; Olympiad chronicles; Olympiad chronographies; Olympiads; *Olympionikon anagraphai*.
 accuracy of early parts: 24, 157–160
 anolympiads: 80–83
 archival source for, absence of
 catalogs of victors in other
 Panhellenic games: 108–111
 comparable eponym lists: 88–107
 discus of Iphitos and Lycurgus: 85–88
 documentary records in
 eighth-century Greece, absence of: 76–112
 Eleian records, mentioned by
 Pausanias: 77–85
 inscriptions at Olympia, earliest date to c. 600 BCE: 86–87
 inscriptions in Greece, public, earliest date to seventh century BCE: 86
 Messenian Wars, no chronological records about at Olympia: 112–122
 Near Eastern kingdoms and Rome, analogy of: 93–94
 scholarship on, early: 73–75
 catalog of Olympic victors, contents of first: 67–71
 catalogs of Olympic victors, chronographic. See Olympiad chronographies.
- catalogs of Olympic victors, standard.
 See *Olympionikon anagraphai*.
 chronographic documents: 25, 30–31
 contents of earliest: 57–73
 definition: 1–3
 extant examples summarized: 3–4, 39–43
 genre: 4, 348
 historical context in which Hippas wrote first: 51–57
 inscribed in gymnasium at Olympia: 77–85
 Messenian Olympic *stadion* victors, dates for problematic: 120–121, 482–484
 origins and development: 21–44, chapter 2 *passim*, 461–465
 reasons why of interest to modern scholars: 4–6, 348–359
 recognizable type of text: 4, 348
 relationships between: 519–527
 source of information on contemporary events: 5–6, 348–351
 sources on which first was based:
 122–146
 oral traditions: 122–125, 488–490
 written records: 125–145
 Spartan Olympic victors, number of possibly exaggerated: 159–160
 start with Olympiad of Iphitos and Lycurgus: 67–68
 systematizing texts: 4–5, 351–353
 types: 26–28
 victor lists, athletic (from Olympia and elsewhere)
 inscribed, extant examples from
 Panhellenic games: 128–136, 138–141
 inscribed, for groups: 138–141
 inscribed, list of some extant
 examples from local games: 129–132
 inscribed on stone or bronze: 127–136
 written on whitened boards: 126–127
 victor monuments, athletic: 136–138
Olympionikai, definition of: 3. See also Olympic victor lists.
Olympionikon anagraphai. Chap. 3 *passim*.
 See also Aristotle, *Pythionikai*;

- Hippias of Elis; Olympic victor lists.
- catalogs of Olympic victors, standard: 202–215. See also *POxy II 222*.
- contents and structure summarized: 161–163
- defined: 27–28
- order in which events were listed: 206–214
- structure of earliest versions sets pattern: 213–214
- contents and structure (see also *victor* catalogs, immediately above)
- contest rules for Olympic Games: 220–227
- discontinued events at Olympic Games: 220–227
- historical information on athletics, Olympia, Olympic Games: 173–179
- lists of athletes with multiple Olympic victories: 215–219
- order in which events were added to Olympic program: 206–215
- order in which events were contested at Olympic Games: 220–227
- stories about famous athletes: 170–179
- summarized: 161–163
- defined: 27–28
- development of: 35–36, 165–170
- evidence for: 162
- origins (Hippias' *Olympionikai*): 21–24
- reasons why not written after Eratosthenes: 165–170
- Orsippos of Megara: 353–359
- Oxyrhynchus (city in Egypt)
- Olympic victor lists from: 3, 334–335. See also *POxy I 12*, II 222, XVII 2082.
- Panodoros
- author of revised version of Eusebius' *Chronika*: 235–239, 250–252
- excerpts preserved in CPG 2600: 238–39
- Paraballon of Elis
- inscribes Olympic victor list in gymnasium at Olympia: 77–80
- victor list possibly circulated in book form: 79–80
- Pausanias
- Elean records as source for: 77–85
- Elis and Pisatis, account of struggle between: 112–122
- Herodotus, uses his work as a model: 224–225
- Isthmian Games, account of: 110–111
- Nemean Games, account of: 110–111
- Olympic Games
- description of: 220–227
- founding, account of: 57–62
- program of events at, account of evolution of: 206–215
- Pythian Games, account of: 195–198
- Spartan king list: 505–507
- Peneios River (Elis). See *Elis*, description.
- peri agonon* treatises: 169–170
- periegetic writings: 168–169
- periodonikai*, definition of: 16
- periodos*, definition of: 15–16
- Pheidon of Argos: 112–122
- Philistus of Syracuse
- earliest known use of Olympic *stadiion*
- victor as eponym in his work: 48–49, 69–71
- Philochorus of Athens
- first Olympiad chronicle, author of: 306–307
- Olympionikai* (*Olympiades*): 25–26, 304–307
- text of extant fragments: 415
- On the Contests at Athens*: 169
- Peri Hemeron* (used by Timaeus): 288–289
- Timaeus' *Olympionikai*, uses: 307
- Philostratus, Flavius
- De Gymnastica*: 178–179
- Olympic Games
- program of events at, account of evolution of: 206–215
- Phlegon of Tralleis. See also *Olympiad chronicles*.
- Eusebius' *Chronographia*, cited in source list in: 258–266
- first Olympiad, his date for: 153–154
- Olympic Games
- founding, account of: 57–62

- Phlegon of Tralleis (*cont.*)
 program of events at, account of the evolution of: 206–215
Olympionikai (*Olympionikon kai Chronikon Synagoge* and *Epitome Olympionikon*): 326–334
 notes on athletes winning multiple Olympic victories: 217
 relationship to *POxy* II 222 and XVII 2082: 520–523
 text of extant fragments: 437–444
 victor catalog, structure of: 210–213
- Pisatis:
 defined: 17, 51
 Elis, struggle with for control of Olympia: 53–54
 chronology of: 112–122
 Olympia, controls briefly starting in 365 BCE: 56
- Polemon of Ilium: 168–169
- POxy* I 12: 337–340. See also *Olympiad chronicles*.
 Greek text: 448–451
- POxy* II 222: 202–206, 210–213, 216
 Chap. 3 *passim*, 480, 520–523
 Greek text: 382–384
- POxy* XVII 2082: 210–213, 216, 332–334, 518–521. See also *Olympiad chronicles*.
 Greek text: 445–447
- Porphry
 Eusebius' *Chronographia*, cited in source list in: 258–266
 Olympic victor list, Eusebius', source of?: 268
- priestesses of Hera at Argos. See eponyms and eponym lists.
- Pythian Games (Delphi): 15–16. See also Aristotle, *Pythionikai*; athletic festivals, Panhellenic; chronography.
 Aristotle's treatise on (*Pythionikai*): 179–202
 enneateric originally, possibly: 154–155
 history of: 179–180
 iterations of numbered by Aristotle: 186–187, 202
 lists of victors in: 180–181, 183–185
 Pausanias' account of: 195–198
Pythionikai. See Aristotle.
- Scaliger, Joseph: 255–257
- Scopas: 37
 text of extant fragments: 363
- Sextus Julius Africanus. See Africanus, Sextus Julius
- Sicyon
anagraphe: 517–518
 kings, list of: 241–243, 315–317
- Sparta
 conflict with Elis in fifth century BCE: 51–57
 ephor list. See eponyms and eponym lists.
 excluded from Olympia by Elis in 420 BCE: 54–55
 king list
 summarized: 505–507
 used by Hippias to date first Olympiad: 147–151
 number of Olympic victors from possibly exaggerated by Hippias: 159–160
- stadium*
 definition of: 16
 earliest known use of names of Olympic victors in as eponyms, in Philistus of Syracuse: 48–49, 69–71
 Messenian victors in at Olympia: 120–121
 names of Olympic victors in used to identify Olympiads: 10, 11, 68–71
- Strabo
 Elis sacred and inviolable, according to: 62–65
 Elis and Pisatis, account of the struggle between: 112–122
Geographia, nature of: 168
 Olympics Games, account of the founding of: 57–62
- Thallus. See also *Olympiad chronicles*.
 Eusebius' *Chronographia*, cited in source list in: 258–266
Olympionikai (*Historiai*): 322–326
 text of extant fragments: 434–436

- Thucydides
 chronological system in his work,
 absence of Olympiad dates: 46–48,
 468–473
- Tiberius Claudius Polybius: 37
 first Olympiad, his date for: 153–154
 text of extant fragments: 364–365
- Timaetus of Tauromenium. See also
 Olympiad chronographies.
- Olympiad chronography, author of first:
 24–26, 279
- Olympiads to date historical events,
 begins use of: 286–288
- Olympionikai* (*Chronika Praxidika*):
 277–289
 number of books in: 278–279
 starting and stopping point of victor
 catalog: 285–286
 structure and contents: 279–285
 text of extant fragments:
 408–409
 title of: 277–278
- Philochorus' *Peri Hemeron*, uses:
 288–289
 synchronizes ephor lists: 10
- trumpeters, Olympic victors not listed in
 Olympionikai: 212
- Tryphilia (region south of Elis)
 defined: 51
- victor catalogs, Olympic. See Olympic
 victor lists.
- victor lists, athletic. See Olympic victor
 lists.
- victor monuments, athletic. See Olympic
 victor lists.

INDEX LOCORUM

- Aelian *Varia Historia*
 14.1: 189
- Africanus, Sextus Julius (Routh)
 F11: 270
 F37: 154, 155
- Apollas the Pontian (*FGrH* 266)
 F1, 5, 7: 168
- Apollodorus of Athens (*FGrH* 244)
 F61a: 19
 F64: 152
- Aristodemus of Elis
 (*FGrH* 414)
 Greek text of all *Olympionikai*
 fragments: 366–367
- Aristotle:
 Greek text of all *Olympionikai*
 fragments: 369–370
 Greek text of all *Pythionikai* fragments:
 374–381
- Athenaion Politeia* 47.2–5: 127
- FHG*
 F92: 167
 F118: 172
 F261: 171
 F262: 171
 F263: 68, 171
 F264: 171–172
 F264a: 172
 F615: 188
 F616: 187
 F617: 187, 191
- Politics*
 1270a1–8: 120
 1271b25–26: 151
 1339a1–5: 172, 188
- Bacchylides
 II 1–10: 140
- Cassius Dio
 72.23: 275
 74.3: 275
 79.10: 127
- Cassius Longinus
 (*FGrH* 259)
 T1: 452
- Castor of Rhodes
 (*FGrH* 250)
 Greek text of all
Olympionikai fragments:
 418–432
- F1: 312
 F1a: 312
 F2: 313
 F2a: 312
 F4: 319
 F8: 312
 F12: 319
 T2: 320
- Censorinus
De die natali 18.4: 154–155
- Cicero
De Republica 2.10.18: 153
- Comarchus (*FGrH* 410)
 F1: 167
- Ctesicles of Athens (*FGrH* 245)
 Greek text of all *Olympionikai*
 fragments: 416
- F1: 308
 F2: 308
 F3: 308

Delphes, Corpus des Inscriptions de, II

- 97.42–43: 185
- 98.B.5–7: 186
- 99.A.9–10: 186
- 102.i.44–6: 186

Demetrius of Phalerum (Wehrli)

- F191: 155

Dexippus of Athens (*FGrH* 100)

- Greek text of all *Olympionikai* fragments: 453–460

- F1: 343–345
- F2: 346
- F11: 345
- T2: 342–343
- T4: 341–342
- T6: 345–346

Dicaearchus of Messene (Wehrli)

- F87: 169

[Dio Chrysostom]

- 37.14: 110, 464

Diodorus Siculus

- 1.1.3: 310
- 1.3.2: 284
- 1.4.1–1.5.1: 282, 310
- 1.5.1: 152
- 5.1.3: 284
- 13.68.1: 283
- 13.74.4–75.2: 283
- 14.17.4–12: 65
- 14.34.1–2: 65
- 14.93.1: 282
- 16.53.1–2: 13, 34, 417
(Greek text)
- 16.56.1: 35, 417 (Greek text)
- 20.5.5: 18

Diogenes Laertius

- 1.68: 105
- 5.1.6: 188
- 5.26: 200

Dionysius of Halicarnassus

- Greek text of *FGrH* 251 F1–9:
410–414

Antiquitates Romanae

- 1.1.1–6.5: 290
- 1.3.4: 290
- 1.7.2: 290
- 1.8.1: 290
- 1.22.3: 96
- 1.74.1–4: 12, 290, 292

- 5.50.1: 291, 433 (Greek text)

- 5.52.1: 291, 433 (Greek text)

De Thucydide 5: 90, 96–97

FGrH 251

- F1: 292
- F2: 292–293
- F3: 293
- F4: 293
- F5a, b: 294
- F6–9: 294

Ephorus of Cyme (*FGrH* 70)

- F115: 63–64, 113–120, 166
- F122a: 120, 166
- F216: 116
- T7: 166
- T10–11: 166

Eratosthenes of Cyrene (*FGrH* 241 except where otherwise noted)

- Greek text of all *Olympionikai* fragments: 371–373

Etymologicum Magnum s.v. Ἡλῆς: 177

- F1a: 19, 20–21, 152
- F1b: 174–175
- F4: 174, 175
- F5: 175
- F6: 175, 178, 226
- F7: 175–176
- F8: 176, 217, 526
- F11a: 176
- F11b: 176, 525
- F14: 176–177
- F15a: 177
- F15b: 177
- F44: 177
- T1: 174

Eusebius of Caesarea

Chronikoi Kanones

- 27g (Helm): 262
- 44a–b: 236–237
- 45a: 262
- 64a: 262
- 66a: 262
- 79c: 151
- 83d: 151
- 84c: 262
- 84f: 151, 262
- 89c: 118
- 89i: 119

- 92a-b: 238-239
 113a: 259
 174d: 262, 263
 213a: 267
Chronographia (Karst)
 34.9-13: 259
 61.11-12: 271
 81.6-83.9: 241-243
 105.11-106.27: 505, 506
 106.28-29: 264
 106.16-18: 149
 125.6-24: 258
 Olympic victor list in his *Chronika* (lines numbered as per Appendix 4.1):
 Greek text: 386-407
 1-8: 272
 9-37: 60, 272-273
 38-48: 153, 273-274
 98-100, 113-114: 113-120
 678-685: 251
 1st-16th Olympiads, entry for:
 120-121
 211th Olympiad, entry for: 82
 samples from in English translation:
 30-31, 244-248
Praeparatio Evangelica 10.9.2-3: 18
 Eustathius
Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem Vol. 3, p.
 309, 16-20: 116
 Gorgias of Leontini (Diels-Kranz)
 82 F10: 167
 Hecataeus of Miletus (*FGrH* 1)
 F25: 165
 F121: 165
 Hellanicus of Lesbos (*FGrH* 4)
 F79b: 96
 Heraclides Lembus (Dilts)
 F10: 61
 Hermippus of Smyrna (Wehrli)
 F85: 467
 Herodotus
 1.65: 150
 4.148: 54
 6.127: 116
 7.204: 505, 506
 8.51: 102
 8.131: 506
 Hieronymus of Rhodes (Wehrli)
 F33: 67
 Hippias of Elis (*FGrH* 6)
 F2: 22, 46, 368 (Greek text),
 473-474
 Hippys of Rhegium (*FGrH* 554)
 F3: 464
Inscriptiones Graecae (IG)
 I²
 606: 137
 II²
 956-966: 128, 130
 2313-17: 130
 2326: 206-207, 385
 3125: 137-138
 V 1
 20: 127
 213: 107
 357: 130
 VII
 52: 355
 414: 130
 416-420: 131
 1764-72: 131
 2871: 132
 IX 2 531-534: 131
 X 2 525-29: 131
 XII 5
 608: 139-141
 647: 127
 XII 8 273-276: 93
 XII 9
 91: 131
 952: 129, 131
Inchriften von Ephesos (IE)
 1121: 512
Inchriften von Magnesia am Maeander (IM)
 16.10-18: 469
Inchriften von Olympia (IvO) (and newly published inscriptions from Olympia)
 2: 495
 17: 135-136
 22: 461, 495
 44: 495
 186: 138
 240/1: 510
 299: 79

Inscriptiones von Olympia (cont.)

- Olympia 1148: 141–142
- Olympia B6362: 494–495
- Inscribed victor lists and victor monuments: (only those not assigned numbers in *IG*, *IvO*, *SEG*, or *SIG*)
- Alexandria (Basileia): 130
- Athens (Eleusinia): 131
- Athens (Panathenaia): 130
- Corinth (Isthmian Games): 129, 132–135
- Cos (Asclepieia): 130
- Delphi (Pythian Games): 78
- Lebedeia (Basileia): 128–129
- Oropos (Amphiaria): 130
- Rhodes (Great Erithimia): 130
- Samos (Heraia): 131
- Isidore of Seville
- Chronicon* 34: 120

Josephus

- Antiquitates Judaicae* 18.167: 323–324

Miletus (inscriptions from)

- 1.3 122: 92

Minucius Felix

- Octavius* 21.4: 275

Pausanias

- 1.44.1: 355–356
- 2.1.7–9: 111
- 2.15.2–3: 111
- 2.17.3: 96
- 3.2.1–4.10: 505, 506
- 3.7.1–11: 506
- 3.8.3–6: 65
- 3.21.1: 84
- 3.22.1–12: 278
- 4.5.10: 117
- 4.13.7: 117
- 4.15.1–3: 118
- 5.1.3–4.9: 60
- 5.7.6–8.11: 60, 221
- 5.8.5–9.2: 111, 208–209
- 5.9.1–6: 222–223
- 5.9.6–5.10.1: 221–222
- 5.13.3: 225–226
- 5.14.2: 225–226
- 5.20.1: 61

- 5.21.8–9: 83
- 5.25.4: 50
- 6.1.1: 170
- 6.13.8: 108
- 6.13.9–11: 83–84
- 6.4.1–2: 81
- 6.6.3: 77–78
- 6.14.2–3: 225
- 6.22.2–4: 80–81, 113–120
- 6.127: 116
- 8.34.4: 224
- 9.33.3: 278
- 10.7.1–10.8.1: 195–197
- 10.7.2–8: 111
- 10.34.5–6: 225
- 10.36.9: 81

Phlegon of Tralleis (*FGrH* 257)

- Greek text of all *Olympionikai* fragments: 437–444
- F1: 58–60, 147, 153–156, 273
- F9: 333
- F12: 32–33, 210–213, 329–330
- F13: 333
- T1: 327
- T3: 298, 329–330

Philistus of Syracuse (*FGrH* 556)

- F2: 48, 70

Philochorus of Athens (*FGrH* 328)

- T1: 304–305, 415 (Greek text)

Philostratus, Flavius

- De Gymnastica*
- 2: 175, 178
- 11: 474
- 12–13: 209–210

Pindar

- Olympian* VII 87: 130

Plato

- Apology*: 19e: 49
- Hippias Major*
- 281a–b: 57
- 282d–e: 49
- 285b–d: 148
- Hippias Minor*
- 363c–d: 50
- 368c–d: 50

- Protagoras* 337c–338b: 49

- Republic* 452c: 355

Plutarch

- Agesilaus* 21.2–3: 110, 111

- Lycurgus*:
 1.1–2: 61, 148
 7.1: 105
 23.1: 50, 65
 29.10: 150
- Moralia*
 293c: 155
 675e: 169
 792f: 191
 839b: 49
 867a: 92
 1131f–1132a: 517
 1134a–b: 517
- Numa* 1.4: 22, 46
- Solon* 11.1–2: 91
- Polemon of Ilium (*FHG*)
 F52: 170
- Polybius
 5.94.6: 79
 12.10.4–11.3: 10, 279
 12.26: 284
- POxy*
 I 12: 33–34, 337–340, 448–451 (Greek text)
 II 222: 28–30, 203–204, 210–213, 382–384 (Greek text)
 VI 853: 47
 XVII 2082: 210–213, 334–336, 445–447 (Greek text)
 XXIII 2381: 205, 382–384 (Greek text)
- Pseudo-Joannes *FHG* 1.20: 272–273
- Scopas (*FGrH* 413)
 Latin text of all *Olympionikai* fragments: 363
- Scholia
 to Apollonius Rhodius III 1179: 50
 to Lucian Lucianic work 41 section 9: 20
 to Pindar
Isthmian I 11c: 110
Nemean VII
 inscr.: 109
 53: 50
Olympian XII
 inscr.: 110
Pythian
 hypothesis a: 192–193
 hypothesis b: 193
 hypothesis c: 155, 194
 hypothesis d: 194
 to Plato
Phaedrus 236b: 502
Republic 465d: 154
- Sicyonian *anagraphe* (*FGrH* 550)
 F1: 517
 F2: 517
- Sosibius (*FGrH* 595)
 F2: 149
 F3: 100
- Strabo
 8.3.30: 113–120
 8.3.33: 63, 113–120
 8.4.10: 115, 118
- Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* (*SEG*)
 3.367–68: 131
 11.290: 136
 11.638: 130
 11.918: 130
 11.919: 130
 18.140: 136
 19.335: 128
 28.456: 131
 35.930: 132
 47.1772: 132
 49.1146: 131
- Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, third edition (*SIG³*)
 275: 181–182
 314: 130
 723: 99
 959: 132
 1020: 98
 1060: 130
 1061: 131
 1062: 131
 1063: 132
- Syncellus
Ecloga Chronographica
 123.12–13: 256
 232.5–11: 153
 232.12–15: 230
 233.14–17: 258
 251.27–29: 256
 394.4–11: 263
- Tatian
Ad Graecos

- Tatian (*cont.*)
 31: 262
 41.3: 154
- Tertullian
Apologeticum 10.7: 275
Ad Nationes: 275
- Teupalus of Elis *FGrH* 408 T1: 167
- Thallus (*FGrH* 256)
 Greek text of all *Olympionikai*
 fragments: 434–436
 F1: 323
 T1: 324
- Themistius of Constantinople
 Βασανιστής ἡ φιλόσοφος Harduin pg.
 249d: 207
- Theophilus of Antioch
Ad Autolycum 3.29: 14
- Thucydides
 1.1.1: 47
 1.6.5: 354
 1.97.2: 96
 2.1.1–2.1: 46–47
 3.8.1: 468
 4.133.2–3: 95–96
 5.31: 54
 5.49.1: 468
- Tiberius Claudius Polybius
 (*FGrH* 254)
 Greek text of all *Olympionikai*
 fragments: 364–365
- Timaues of Tauromenium (*FGrH* 566)
 Greek text of all *Olympionikai*
 fragments: 408–409
 F11a: 278
 F12: 279
- F19: 286
 F34: 277
 F35a, b: 278
 F60: 285, 287
 F71: 287
 F80: 287
 F94: 284
 F106: 289
 F124d: 277
 F125: 280–281, 285
 F126: 281
 F127: 152, 281
 F128: 281
 F141: 288
 F142: 288
 F150a: 289
 T1: 277–278
 T3: 277
 T6b: 278
 T8: 278
 T9a, b: 278
 T12: 278
- Velleius Paterculus: 508
Vita Menagiana (Aristotle) 122–126:
 200
- Xanthus of Lydia (*FGrH* 765)
 F30: 465
- Xenophon
Hellenica
 1.2.1: 48
 2.3.1: 48
 3.2.21–31: 56, 65
 4.5.1–2: 111